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A RETURN TO THE VILLAGE: A STUDY OF SANTA FE AND TAOS,
NEW MEXICO, AS CULTURAL CENTERS, 1900 - 1934

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By
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To
Bazoline and Millie

Whether the human race gains in wisdom as time goes by is uncertain; the one thing we can be sure of is that its absurdities take changing forms.

Frederick Lewis Allen

Living with my Indian friends, I found I was a stranger in my native land. As time went on the outward aspect of nature remained the same, but a change was wrought in me. I learned to hear the echoes of a time when every living thing, even the sky, had a voice. That voice, devoutly heard by the ancient people of America, I desired to make audible to others.

- Alice Cunningham Fletcher

My final summing up of this subject is that experiments will not destroy, but will prove civilization; that there is no disintegration going on, but rather a slow, firm integration of the elements that make for manhood--a rapid, vital casting off of traits discredited by costly but convincing experience; that the transition is being made successfully; and that solid groundwork is being laid for stable, progressive civilization.

- Edgar Lee Hewett

From "From Culture to Civilization"

PREFACE

The idea for this dissertation was suggested to the writer in a course in American art given by Dr. Dimitri Tselos, and final selection of the topic was made under the counsel of Dr. Henry Nash Smith who has since gone to the University of California at Berkeley. To both of these men the writer is indebted for their encouragement and suggestions, but in no way are they to be held responsible for whatever errors he has made.

The writing of the thesis was under the general supervision of Dr. Robert F. Spencer of the Department of Anthropology. I shall be forever grateful to Dr. Spencer for the many hours he spent counseling me and for all of the assistance he gave during the final stage of revision. I wish to thank, especially, Dr. Tremaine McDowell, Chairman of the Program in American Studies, for the general direction of my work at the University of Minnesota from the first day of my entrance into the doctoral program to the final oral examination. Dr. Bernard Bowran and Dr. Lowry Nelson also gave me invaluable aid.

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James M. Gaither

Chicago, June, 1957

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

In 1893, a sort of travel book came from the pen of Charles F. Lummis. It was romantic in tone, yet the descriptions were fairly accurate. Lummis called his book The Land of Poco Tiempo. In his chapters he glorified the Pueblo Indian, wove a blanket of mystery and awe about the Penitentes, sketched both pastoral and festive scenes of the Spanish descendants and their activities, and espoused a philosophy of the power of the land. Lummis included in The Land of Poco Tiempo most of the subjects and themes that were to appear and still are appearing in New Mexican literature.

In his book, Lummis introduced the idea of a retreat from the busy world:

Sun, silence, and adobe--that is New Mexico in three words. If a fourth were to be added, it need only to clinch the three. It is the Great American Mystery--the National Rip Van Winkle--the United States which is not United States. Here is the land of poco tiempo--the home of 'Pretty soon.' Why hurry with the hurrying world? The 'Pretty soon' of New Spain is better than the 'New.' Now! of the haggard States.¹

¹Charles F. Lummis, The Land of Poco Tiempo. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928 edition), p. 3.

The turn of the century, when Lummis is writing, is somewhat of an interlude in New Mexico. He describes the calm which has come after the heyday of the frontier boom:

It [the countryside] is pockmarked with cattle ranches and mines, where Experience has wielded his costly birch over millionaire pupils from the East and from abroad. But the virus never reached the blood--the pits are only skin-deep. The Saxon excrescences are already asleep too. The cowboy is a broken idol. He no longer 'shoots up the town,' nor riddles heels reluctant for the dance. His day is done; and so is that of the argonaut--and around them is New Spain again, dreamy as ever after their rude but short-lived nudging. The sheep--which fed New Mexico--doze again on the mesas, no longer routed by their long horned foes; The brown or gray adobe hamlets of the descendants of those fiery souls who wreaked here a commonwealth before the Saxon fairly knew there was a New World; the strange terraced towns of the aboriginal pioneers who out-Spaniarded the Spaniards by unknown centuries; the scant leaven of incongruous American brick--all are under the spell.¹

Lummis's descriptions of the Indian and their background as cliff-dwellers no doubt called attention to the value of American archaeology and ethnology, but they also carried a plea for a new attitude toward the aborigines.

Lummis mentioned the vast amount of folklore--songs and stories--that New Mexico possessed. Here was a great source of both Spanish and Indian lore.

¹Ibid., p. 5.

He elaborated, especially, upon the folksongs of the Spanish American shepherds and the origins of these songs.

Although The Land of Poco Tiempo was clearly an advertisement of New Mexico, many passages were sensitive and perceptive. The beauty of phrase and appropriateness of local vocabulary undoubtedly influenced the writings, later on, of Mary Austin. Along with Adolph Bandelier's The Delight Makers,¹ Lummis's book served as motivation for archaeologists, ethnologists, anthropologists, writers, and artists.

Between 1900 - 1920, people who heard of Santa Fe and Taos thought of these towns as being in a Never Never Land. By 1920, Santa Fe and Taos were two of the most talked of communities in the United States. Their publicity had come chiefly from the School of American Archaeology, the reputation of the Taos Society of Artists, the advertising of the Santa Fe Railroad, and from individuals such as Mary Austin and Mabel Dodge Luhan.

When Mabel Luhan, one of the legendary personalities of New York, fled to Taos in 1916, she had read Ignatius Donnelly's story of Atlantis;²

¹Adolph Bandelier, The Delight Makers. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1890).

²See Ignatius Donnelly, Atlantis: the Antediluvian World. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882).

and she said that for all she knew, at the time, she might have been going to that antediluvian world. "Whether it was to Atlantis I went or not I do not know," she wrote later, "nor have I ever been interested in conjecturing about it. I suppose when one gets to heaven one does not speculate about it any more."¹

Before and after Mabel Luhan went to New Mexico, hundreds of others, Americans and foreigners, journeyed there and visited or remained. This gathering of individuals from all over the globe made Santa Fe and Taos known throughout the world during the first quarter of the century.

Up to 1920, both Santa Fe and Taos were isolated indeed. The roads were poor and the Santa Fe Railroad did not include either of the towns on its main route. In 1912, the population of Santa Fe was around 6,000; Don Fernando de Taos, the old trading village, had a population of about 600. Don Fernando de Taos, now called simply Taos, was not incorporated as a village until 1932.² Before 1920, one could rent two or three rooms in Santa Fe

¹Mabel Dodge Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 6.

²New Mexico: A Guide to the Colorful State, (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1940), p. 215.

for ten dollars a month.¹ The artists and writers heated their adobe houses with piñon and cedar which burned in adobe fireplaces and airtight stoves. Adobe huts predominated in Santa Fe, although the "Angios" had brought into this sacred place their profane "store-fronts" and "Bungle-O's." Very little attempt was made to develop an orderly street plan; disorder was preferred. Streets wandered "as inconsistently as a woman's fancy." Hollyhocks, geraniums, flox, and other flowers along with Spanish and Indian designs helped to create, in the intense New Mexico sunshine, a crazy quilt pattern which to many was indicative of individualism.

Here in the twentieth century, as one writer explained, artists and writers found a culture old in time, American in place, artistic in its sincerity; a vast field of art neglected by those blind too long to anything other than English culture.² They also found, as one finds today,

a land that is strangely beautiful. Dry
and sun-baked . . . between horizons that
stretch for hundreds of miles and only mesas
and sage-brush; red and purple and yellow

¹Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "The Santa Fe Group," The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. XI (December 8, 1934), p. 352.

²Muriel McClanahan, "Aspects of Southwestern Regionalism in the Prose Works of Mary Austin," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1940), p. 9.

sands; awkward cacti; and here and there, in valleys by the foothills, square adobe houses in the sun, and the burning red of peach trees in blossom. There are snow capped peaks that blush to a deep red in the sunset. In the foothills, among dark pines, aspens turn a sun yellow in the fall. It is a land of brilliant colors, blended together into harmony by the clearness of the sunlight.¹

Between 1900 and 1934, a distinct cultural movement was initiated and sustained at Santa Fe and Taos. Though criticisms of this movement have been both favorable and unfavorable, as yet, no one has presented a study which adequately describes the constituent activities of the movement and the major ideas which influenced these activities.

Statement of Problem

The writer's purpose in this dissertation is to describe this movement at Santa Fe and Taos; to point out some of the underlying ideas and principles which guided the movement; to show that it was nurtured largely by the climate of ideas existing elsewhere in the United States during the period under observation; to show that the two towns were cultural centers and to point out their influence both locally and nationally.

One hardly needs to refer to the difficulty imposed by the mass of material involved in a cultural

¹Ibid., p. 10

study and to the obvious need for selection. It was not expected that the investigation be a complete cultural or social history. From the beginning, it was intended that this study be a survey of certain kinds of activities and groups of individuals participating in them. Thus, those activities which seemed to evince a more direct connection with what might be called a movement and whose participants were more articulate were chosen.

Three major groups of activities are presented: archaeology, literature, and art. The relative importance attached to these activities was determined by the space devoted to them in newspapers and other periodicals, the content of literature published by the group of individuals residing in the area as well as by outsiders, the overall pattern of town development, and the publicity issued by the State of New Mexico. Attention is thus focused upon archaeology, literature, and art, because they consumed the greater portion of the group's time and exhibit the mold around which major thought and action of the articulate group revolved. Although these three areas receive major attention in this dissertation, other disciplines such as ethnology, music, sociology and philosophy are, in some way or another, necessarily connected.

Obviously, all persons, events and institutions connected with the three major activities could not be treated; therefore, only some of the outstanding personalities and their work along with representative institutions have been studied. It is assumed that the most articulate individuals will be representative of the purposive direction of a general movement.¹

This investigation is primarily a historical survey of a culture center. It is also to some degree an analytical study for some attempt has been made to examine the ideas implicit in both art and literary productions. Insofar as possible, the writer has tried to recognize and to point out connections and influences of operative ideas. Yet, because of the nature of the materials and the procedures, no comprehensive classification of ideas is possible.

The period 1900 - 1934 was not altogether arbitrarily chosen. Although it is a truism that no activity begins or ends at any given moment - formation

¹See Edward Sapir, "Cultural Anthropology and Psychology" in Selected Writings of Edward Sapir, (ed.) David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), p. 515.

beginning long before and influences lasting long afterwards--even a minimum of research shows that the period after 1900 is distinct in that the motives of the citizens and their cultural productions show group and individual awareness of participating in a distinct cultural movement. The date 1934 is the year of Mary Austin's death. She was one of the leading figures of the movement, and her death, along with other events, appropriately marks the end or at least the decline of the period. The writer does not strenuously argue for the selection of this latter date; however, the mid-thirties and the early forties ushered in many new influences not only in New Mexico but in the world in general.

Definition: A Culture Center

A culture center may be defined as a particular geographic location where a group of human beings engage conscientiously and unconscientiously in the promotion of cultural activities. From this location or center definite influences are extended outward in all directions, the area and degree of influence constituting concentric zones.

Further, it may be stated that the group of individuals most prominent in the promotion and diffusion of cultural elements is an intellectually élite group who holds in common a set of élite values.

Edward Sapir points out that

An oft-noted peculiarity of the development of culture is the fact that it reaches its greatest heights in comparatively small, autonomous groups. In fact, it is doubted if a genuine culture ever properly belongs to more than a restricted group, a group between the members of which there can be said to be something like direct intensive spiritual contact.¹

The group, in most cases, conscientiously reflects upon cultural development and its processes; it conscientiously directs and integrates activities of the center so that greater impact will be felt in the immediate center upon which attention is focused and that diffusion in extended areas will be assured. Such coordination of activities requires some definite planning which in itself has an immeasurable influence.

Since all endeavors in the center are directed toward common goals, an esprit de corps is developed and sustained for an indefinite period, during which time more ideas and ideals develop. A core of easily identifiable culture complexes result from a set of ideals which are common to the group. Yet, the culture complexes resulting from the interaction of individuals, institutions and geography finally transcend any individual personality or specific

¹Ibid., p. 328.

institution and become self-propelling by the internal combustion of the mutual influence of different complexes and the interplay of individuals and institutions.

The culture center manifests a strong emphasis upon non-utilitarian spheres--social, religious, scientific, and esthetic. Remote or intellectual and esthetic ends are stressed along with the immediate ends of procuring the necessities of life--food, clothing and shelter.

Because of the influence of the given group of individuals and the institutions which they establish and sustain, the center gains prestige. A small group prestige is often recognized by the majority and the area is set off by its relative internal homogeneity and differentiation against the outside. The center is looked upon as developing and fostering those sentiments, forms of conduct, attachments, and ceremonies which are characteristic of the general area.

Importance of Study

If one undertakes to defend a cultural study of this kind, he must at least connect it with the history of ideas as well as show its significance in social or cultural history. Perhaps this significance may be partially indicated by pointing out certain relation-

ships of the Santa Fe - Taos "motives" and work to those of the country at large.

The writer asserts that the movement studied was in part a criticism of American society and at the same time an attempt to redirect American culture along new lines. Since one of the main purposes of the student of American civilization is to examine American culture--its past and present--for a better understanding so that a more intelligent approach to cultural advancement might be developed, the social criticism inherent in the Santa Fe - Taos movement is worthy of examination. Despite certain obvious weaknesses and limitations, the movement should be studied, understood and appreciated for the contribution it makes to American cultural history. As the movement is an index to social behavior, thought and esthetic creation of the country during the period, it contributes to an understanding of national as well as local development.

As cultural centers, Santa Fe and Taos gained their greatest momentum during the years when the culture not only of the United States but that of other countries as well, was being reappraised.

In his Exile's Return, Malcolm Cowley presents a penetrating analysis of the art and literary atmosphere in the United States, at least in the East, during the first quarter of the present century.

Especially interesting is his exposition of the "lost generation" personalities--their background and their general attitudes. He points out that American writers had gone, by the kind of education they received, through a process of "unamericanization":

It often seems to me that our years in school and often after school, in college and later in the army, might be regarded as a long process of deracination. Looking backwards, I feel that our whole training was involuntarily directed toward destroying whatever roots we had in the soil, toward eradicating our local and regional peculiarities, toward making us homeless citizens, not so much of the world as of international capitalism.

In school, unless we happened to be Southerners, we were divested of any local pride. We studied Roman History and American History, but not, in my own case, the history of western Pennsylvania. We learned by name the rivers of Siberia--Obi, Yenisei, Lena, Amur--but not the Ohio with its navigable tributaries, nor why most of them ceased to be navigated, nor why Pittsburgh was built at its forks.¹

Cowley explained that the "lost generation" was lost, first, because it was uprooted and wrenched away from its attachment to any region or tradition. "The generation," Cowley wrote, "belonged to a period of confused transition from values already fixed to values that had to be created."²

¹Malcolm Cowley, Exile's Return: A Narrative of Ideas. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1934), p. 30.

²Ibid., p. 11.

According to Cowley, those members of the "lost generation" who came to Europe in the early twenties sought one thing and found another. "They came to recover the good life and the traditions of art, to free themselves from organized stupidity, to win their deserved places in the hierarchy of the intellect. Having come in search of values, they found valuta."¹ The exiles came to discover that Europe was not as divorced from utilitarian values as they had thought. They discovered that "their own nation had every attribute they had been taught to admire in those of Europe."² They began to appreciate the fact that America possessed a folklore and traditions, that their country had produced new forms of art which Europeans were glad to borrow and that American themes had all of the dignity required for artistic interpretation.

The writer of this dissertation contends that many of the people who came to Santa Fe and Taos between 1916 and 1934 were motivated by the same background of ideas as the "lost generation." The sojourners at Santa Fe and Taos were also seekers of new values.

In addition to the problem of being cultur-

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Ibid., p. 107.

ally alienated by the type of education they received, the individuals who went to New Mexico had encountered the problem of industrialism and its attendant evils-- evils depicted by writers, artists and other personalities sensitive to the discrepancy between mechanical and ethical progress. Industrialism had brought about standardization in thought and action as well as in production. Urbanization made even more ominous the growth of mass movements and their power over the individual. Cowley summed up the problem in this way:

The situation had been turned end for end, so that the very existence of the individual seemed to be threatened by the increasing power of society; this had become the central problem of an era. Although the system could satisfy men's physical needs . . . it could never satisfy the needs of the individual spirit.¹

This desire to retain one's individuality, in spite of the encroachments of industrial society with its levelling and standardizing, objectified itself in certain types of action:

It seemed in those days that nobody could hasten or direct the heavy march of history or hope for any political solution of his problems: the individual would have to solve them for himself. He could either adjust himself to society by yielding to its standards, or else, if he was too proud to accept this course, he could escape society by seeking new places, new ideals, new ways of living. He could either surrender or else assert his independence by running away.²

¹Ibid., p. 227.

²Ibid., pp. 228-229.

Santa Fe and Taos became havens of the sore distressed. Many could not go to Europe; some had been abroad and were bored with it; others just wanted to get away for awhile and come back again. New Mexico was a refuge for these "temporary expatriates." Here was a part of the United States which was little known by the average person. It was relatively untouched by industrialism. Its landscape was strangely beautiful. The Pueblo Indian, still clinging to his primitive way of life and the Mexicano, still meagerly existing in his Spanish colonial village, lured the escapist mind to these valley hideaways.

The dissatisfaction with society and the peculiar situation which existed in the upper Rio Grande Valley region combined to produce an attitude and practice which has recurred throughout the ages, cultural primitivism.¹ As defined by Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Cultural primitivism is the discontent of the civilized with civilization or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it. It is the belief of men living in a relatively highly evolved and complex cultural condition that a life far simpler and less sophisticated

¹ See Arthur O. Lovejoy et. al., A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1935).

in some or all respects is a more desirable life."¹

What is the history of this transplanting in New Mexico of sensitive souls whose chief intent was to escape an industrial society which they abhorred and to maintain their individuality? Since they participated in a cultural movement, what can be deduced concerning their cultural ideals and their attitudes toward American life? To what extent were shortcomings of American civilization in general reflected in the conflicting aims and the numerous deficiencies of the diversified groups who attempted to shape the culture of Santa Fe and Taos and eventually, perhaps, to reach beyond those communities?

¹Ibid., p. 7.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ACTIVITY:

EDGAR L. HEWETT AND THE MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

Establishment of the School of American Archaeology

In 1909, the School of American Archaeology was officially established at Santa Fe. This event was significant in that it constituted part of the background for the cultural movement which took place in New Mexico during the first three decades of the present century. Also, it should be pointed out that the School of American Archaeology was the results of diverse influences some of which were directly connected with the history of American archaeology; others were clearly attributed to local circumstances.

Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, American archaeology, like many other sciences, was not clearly defined. It was an auxiliary of studies in history, ethnology, and geology. As William Culp Darrah put it, "Archaeology was, for most of the individuals who pursued it, an avocation. Collecting trips were pleasant excursions on which one might find some striking curi-

osity or rarity."¹ The Royal Society of London, established in 1662, saw an abundance of the same kind of activity during its early years.² Some of the American colonial members of the Royal Society were admitted because of their observation and collection of rarities.³ Throughout the American colonial period and up to the mid-nineteenth century a variety of scientific activities were in progress, but it was not until the founding of the Smithsonian Institution⁴ that certain branches of anthropology such as ethnology and archaeology emerged, taking shape during the latter years of the century.

Between 1850 and 1900, American archaeol-

¹See William Culp Darrah, Powell of the Colorado, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951).

²See Dorothy Stimson, Scientists and Amateurs, A History of the Royal Society, (New York: H. Schuman, 1948).

³See Theodore Hornberger, Science and the New World, 1526-1800. Catalogue. An Exhibition to illustrate the scientific contribution of the New World and the spread of scientific ideas in America. San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, 1937. See also Hornberger, "Puritanism and Science," New England Quarterly, X (September, 1937), pp. 503-515.

⁴See G. B. Goode, The Smithsonian Institution--Its History, Objects and Achievements (Washington, D. C., 1895). See also W. B. True's The First Hundred Years of the Smithsonian Institution.

ogy was given a powerful stimulus by the work of the Smithsonian Institution. Scattered work of individuals became unified, and more interest in that science was developed throughout the country.¹

In addition to the Smithsonian Institution, the U. S. Geological Survey which was established by act of Congress approved March 3, 1879 (20 Stat. 394) aided immensely in the development of archaeology and helped to direct attention to the American Southwest. The government ordered the ethnological material which had been collected on the geological surveys prior to 1879 turned over to the Smithsonian, and John Wesley Powell was recommended to take charge of it. This action marked the official beginning of the Bureau of American Ethnology with Powell as its director.²

¹The Smithsonian directed the course of American geology, archaeology, and ethnology because of its federal basis. The National Museum, the National Art Gallery, and the Bureau of American Ethnology were under its administration from the beginning. The Smithsonian published in its annual reports the important work in science and thus stimulated more new activity. Under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, important scientific expeditions were launched. It also published directions for collecting and studying new phenomena. The collections of the Institution were utilized advantageously at national and international exhibitions. Prior to 1900, it had handled exhibits at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and Cotton States Exposition at Atlanta in 1895.

²John Wesley Powell was especially fitted to head this department because of his work with the Geological Survey of which he became director in 1881. See Paul H. Oehser, Sons of Science (New York: Henry Schuman, 1949), pp. 81-86. See also two comprehensive biographies of Powell: William C. Darrah, Powell of the Colorado (cited above) and Wallace E. Stegner, Beyond the Hundredth Meridian--John Wesley Powell and the Second Opening of the West (Bost: Houghton Mifflin, 1954).

The work of John Wesley Powell as Director of the Bureau of Ethnology was one of the cohesive forces in the development of anthropology and consequently archaeology.

In 1879, when the Bureau of American Ethnology and the U. S. Geological Survey were being established, another institution, the Archaeological Institute of America, was founded under the aegis of Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard College. "It is thus clear," wrote Louis Lord, "that one of the chief reasons that moved Norton to establish the Archaeological Institute was a belief that an American school [of classical studies] in Athens for the study of the classics would be of the greatest importance in maintaining and increasing an interest in classical art and literature, to which he was so deeply devoted."¹ Although Norton showed preference for classical archaeology, he acknowledged the work of Adolph F. Bandelier who had been employed by the Institute to study the life of the Pueblo Indians. "The reports of this work by Mr. Bandelier, published by the Institute," said Norton, "take their place among the most valuable contributions to the progress

¹Louis Lord, A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1882 - 1942 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 1.

of archaeology in America."¹

Despite his lack of formal training, Bandelier read widely and translated many of the Spanish chronicles of the conquistadores. He arrived in Santa Fe for his first work on August 23, 1880, having secured the opportunity to study the Indians of New Mexico under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute.² Bandelier made Santa Fe his headquarters during this first stay in New Mexico--making trips from there to the various pueblos. He returned to Santa Fe in 1882 and again in 1885. Thus, Adolph F. Bandelier was the first individual to advertise Santa Fe as a center for archaeological studies. Through his studies and his popular book, The Delight Makers (1890) many Eastern scholars and museum men became interested in this region.³

¹Charles Eliot Norton, "The Work of the Archaeological Institute of America," Bulletin of the American Archaeological Association (1909), p. 254.

²See Edgar F. Goad, "A Study of the Life of Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier with an Appraisal of his Contributions to American Anthropology and Related Sciences," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1939).

³Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857 - 1900), who was brought into the Bureau of Ethnology by J. W. Powell in 1879, came to the Southwest to study the Pueblos of Zuni where he remained for five years. His Zuni Creation Myths (1896) and his Zuni Folk Tales (1901) are results of his sojourn at that pueblo. Cushing's interest in the folk tale gave rise to general anthropological as well as literary interest in the Indians of the Southwest.

Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850 - 1930) has been

Then several local circumstances combined with outside influence to determine the establishment of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fe.

called "the first systematic excavator in the Southwest." Having taken his Ph. D. at Harvard in 1877, Fewkes went to the Southwest on the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition 1891 - 1894. From 1895 - 1918, Fewkes worked with the Bureau of American Ethnology and concurrently worked extensively and intensively with the Hopi Indians--studying especially their cults.

Three more individuals, William Henry Holmes, Frederick W. Putnam, and Alice Cunningham Fletcher, must be mentioned in connection with the background of Southwestern Archaeology and the establishment of the School of American Archaeology. William Henry Holmes (1846 - 1933) went to Washington to study art and was later employed by the Smithsonian Institution. In 1872, he was appointed artist to the U. S. Survey of the Territories and went to New Mexico and Arizona through this connection in 1874. In 1880 he joined the staff of the U. S. Geological Survey, and from 1889 to 1894 he worked with the Bureau of Ethnology, becoming its director in 1902 after the death of Powell. Throughout his career, he was concerned with the art and archaeology of America. As a member of the Archaeological Institute of America, Holmes was especially concerned with the American field and consequently with New Mexico.

The George Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology was established at Harvard College in 1866. After 1874, this museum had as its director one of America's most distinguished museum experts, Frederick W. Putnam. It was under Putnam's direction that the Peabody Museum sent out numerous archaeological expeditions to the Southwest, and that scientific studies on the American continent were given a respectable position by one of the nation's leading universities. Putnam's enthusiasm and his adroitness in museum direction encouraged museum development throughout the United States; the museum became one of the leading symbols of culture.

At the turn of the century, Alice Cunningham Fletcher was one of the chief authorities on Indian culture. She was a pioneer in the field of aboriginal music. As one of the "Americanists" of the Archaeological Institute, she was instrumental in getting the School of American Archaeology located at Santa Fe.

Chief among the local conditions which influenced the founding of the new institution was the advertising campaign for new citizens. Since New Mexico was still a Territory, it was imperative that both new citizens and tourists be attracted in order that the fight for statehood be successful.¹ "Rich men, poor men, bankers, politicians," says Marion Dargan, "--all had one thought--to put New Mexico on the map."²

The Santa Fe New Mexican had started publishing in 1849. By 1900, one of its main concerns was advertising for new citizens for the Territory which this newspaper's owner³ hoped would soon become a State. The chief attraction up to around 1900 seems to have been the climate. Throughout the pages of the newspaper appeared references to the "Sunshine Cure." New Mexico had the "Purest Air in the World," and it would "Do Wonders in Curing Persons Afflicted with Tuberculosis." Some of the stories on the climate had humorous touches as in the following:

New Mexico has so fine a climate to live in, offers so many advantages to every one within its bounds, that suicide is seldom heard of in

¹See Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood (1895 - 1912)," New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. XVIII (January, 1943).

²Ibid., p. 90.

³Max Frost became owner of the New Mexican in 1883.

any of the New Mexico cities, towns, or country districts. It is therefore somewhat of a sensation that within a brief period a young girl at Carlsbad, a young woman at Aztec, and a man at Monroe should decide to shuffle off this mortal coil. Their reasons for doing so are very insufficient, and it must be that the suicides in the territory did away with themselves not because they were tired of New Mexico or expect to find a country with more sunshine beyond death, but because they had imbibed the suicide bacillus somewhere.¹

Another advertisement which was typical of the New Mexican's vigorous campaign for immigrants read:

It is safe to estimate that there are over 300 sunshiny days in the Taos Valley. The tourist and the health-seeker will find here many things to interest them, particularly the Taos Pueblos, called by Lummis, 'The American Pyramids.' Here one can study the customs of centuries ago, folklore, and try to fathom out the secrets of the 'kivas' or Council Chambers, and many ceremonial functions and mystic dances. Here one can find rest from the daily monotony of an active life and recuperate his gray matter. It is an ideal spot for a summer's outing, and will compare favorably with a trip to Egypt, while not taking up so much time and being less expensive.²

Archaeological resources were advertised more and more after 1900. This feature of New Mexico was already known by Eastern schools and museums, but now the pre-historic ruins near Santa Fe were to be popularized for scholars and tourists to support

¹The New Mexican Review, 12 April 1900, p. 1.

²Ibid.

a new institution which the campaigners felt would aid in the fight for statehood.

Edgar L. Hewett was "the leader and the driving energy in this undertaking"¹--the establishment of the School of American Archaeology. He had been inspired, undoubtedly, by the archaeological and museum work done by men like J. W. Powell, J. Walter Fewkes, W. H. Holmes, Frederick W. Putnam and Adolph F. Bandelier.²

Hewett was born November 23, 1865 in Warren County, Illinois, of English and Scotch-Irish parents. The family moved to Hopkins, Missouri in 1880. At 15, he began to earn his way through school, and he managed to finish Tarkio College. From 1884 - 1886, he taught at a country school; then, for the next two years he was professor of literature and history at Tarkio College. He served as superintendent of schools, first at Fairfax, Missouri, then at Florence, Colorado, from 1889 - 1892. In 1891 he married Cora E. Whitford who died in 1905; six years later

¹Paul A. F. Walter, "Twenty-five Years of Achievement," an address delivered at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers of the School of American Research, August, 1932. Paper No. 24, School of American Research, Santa Fe.

²Lansing B. Bloom, "Edgar Lee Hewett: His Biography and Writings to Date," in So Live the Works of Men, (eds.) Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1939), p. 17.

he married Donizetta Jones. At Greeley, Colorado, he was superintendent of the training department of the New State Normal College from 1894 - 1898. Although he had not been trained in either of the branches of anthropology, Hewett took classes on archaeological field trips in the Santa Fe area while he was connected with the Normal College at Greeley. From there he was called to become the first president of the Normal University at Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1898.

Hewett had somehow acquired a reputation for his archaeological investigations and had been asked by Frank Springer of Las Vegas to lecture in that city in 1897.¹ After he became president of the Normal University, Hewett organized a course in American Archaeology which included a field session during the summer.² He made friends at Santa Fe where he came to lecture in 1898 and 1899.³ He aroused enough interest among the members of the New Mexico Historical Society⁴ and other citizens to cause them to organize an Arch-

¹ Ibid.

² Paul A. F. Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewett, Americanist," American Anthropologist, Vol. XLIX (April - June, 1947), p. 261.

³ Walter, "Twenty-five Years of Achievement," p. 4.

⁴ The New Mexico Historical Society was first organized in 1859 and incorporated in 1860. It was said to be the first historical society west of the Missouri River (See Santa Fe New Mexican, 5 February 1915, p. 6.) The Society was scattered during the Civil War but reorganized in 1880. Hon. L. B. Prince became president in 1883. Archbishop Lamy was a member of the original group (Interview with Fra Angelico Chavez, 10 August 1953.) The Palace of the Governors was used as headquarters.

aeological Society at Santa Fe in 1900. The Santa Fe New Mexican was happy to advertise these cultural beginnings:

The organization of a Santa Fe archaeological society last evening should be the start for a New Mexico society of that nature with branch societies in every town and city. Gallup has already signified its intention to form such a society. An archaeological library will also be started at Santa Fe and will find a place in the rooms of the historical society in the old palace No doubt the Smithsonian Institute will take hold of the matter later on, and then the project of establishing a state academy of sciences at Santa Fe may assume tangible shape. The society will also send an archaeological exhibit to the Buffalo Pan-American exposition and probably in 1903 to the St. Louis exposition, which exhibits will be of real value to the territory in drawing the world's attention to the antiquities of New Mexico, which are worth while a visit and study.¹

It would seem that many of the ambitious plans outlined in the above article were suggested by Hewett, who was really the founder of the society. Among the goals which he explained at the first meeting of the Archaeological Society was the establishment of a Southwestern branch of the Smithsonian Institution at Santa Fe.² The next year, the Society drafted a bill which would cede to the national government Santa Fe's historic Palace of the Governors on the condition that it be made an archaeological branch

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 14 September 1900, p. 2.

²Ibid.

of the Smithsonian.¹ Efforts were made also to have the archaeological branch established at the University of New Mexico instead of Santa Fe.² However, by 1906 - 1907, Hewett and others were campaigning for a School of American Archaeology to be established under the direction of the Archaeological Institute. This new direction, it seems evident, was occasioned by Hewett's own ambitions and activities.

In 1901, Hewett joined the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the next year he read a paper at the Association meeting in Washington. It was at this time, perhaps, that he met important persons like Holmes, Fewkes, and Powell.

Up to 1903, excavation of Southwestern ruins had been a free-for-all.³ There was no custodianship of archaeological and historic sites. Even groups or individuals from foreign countries were allowed to dig and take what they found.

In the spring of 1903, Congressman J. F. Lacey of Iowa, chairman of the house committee on public lands, came out to New Mexico to investigate special historic sites. Lacey spent two weeks, during which

¹New Mexican Review, 14 February 1901, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 2.

³Edgar L. Hewett. Ancient Life in the American Southwest. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1930), p. 184.

time, Hewett was his guide.¹ It appears that some public interest had been aroused, and a movement to preserve American Antiquities through national law was under way. Hewett was asked to make the original draft of the bill which Lacey presented to Congress in 1906.² The Lacey Act was passed on June 8th of that year and part of it read as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled, That any person who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States, without the permission of the Secretary of the Government having jurisdiction over the lands on which said antiquities are situated, shall, upon conviction, be fined a sum of not more than five hundred dollars or be imprisoned for a period of not more than ninety days, or shall suffer both fine and imprisonment, in the discretion of the court.³

The President was given power to declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scientific interest on lands owned by or controlled by the United States Government. The Act also provides that permits for the examination of ruins, the excavation of archaeological sites, and the gathering of objects of antiquity upon the lands under their

¹Bloom, op. cit., p. 19.

²Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewett, Americanist, 1865 - 1946," loc. cit., p. 261.

³U. S. Statutes at Large, XXXIV, Part 1, 225.

respective jurisdiction be granted by the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and War to institutions which they deemed properly qualified.¹ Permits would be granted when and if the agency having jurisdiction was satisfied:

That the examinations, excavations, and gathering . . . [would be] undertaken for the benefit of reputable museums, universities, colleges or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view to increasing the knowledge of such objects; and that the gathering shall be made for permanent preservation in public museums.²

No doubt Hewett's work in connection with the Lacey Act introduced him to scientific circles in Washington; consequently, in order to prepare himself further for a position which by this time he must have been assured, Hewett decided to make American Archaeology his major interest. He went to the University of Geneva in Switzerland in the fall of 1903 to begin study for the doctorate.³ While in Europe, he visited the School of American Archaeology at Athens and other archaeological schools and sites. He was back in the United States in 1904, however, and spent some time at the National Museum.⁴ In 1906, Hewett secured a

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Hewett received the degree of Sc. D. in 1908, after having prepared in French his dissertation called Les Communautés Anciennes dans le desert Americain. See Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewett Americanist etc." pp. 261-262. See Also Bloom op. cit.

⁴Bloom, op. cit., p. 20.

fellowship from the Archaeological Institute for exploration in Mexico. This work was incident to a report on a plan for work of the Institute in the American field.¹

Between 1898 and 1906, Hewett had acquired local support at Las Vegas and at Santa Fe. His chief supporter at Las Vegas was Frank Springer, a former Iowa lawyer who had made a fortune on the Maxwell Land Grant and was politically powerful.² In Santa Fe, he was supported by L. Bradford Prince, President of the New Mexico Historical Society, Judge McFie, whose home served as a rendezvous for Bandelier, Lummis, and others,³ J. L. Seligman, and members of the Archaeological Society. The Chamber of Commerce and the Santa Fe New Mexican were willing supporters because of their interest in attracting more prospective citizens and visitors.

During 1906, the New Mexican printed numerous articles dealing with the local archaeological sites. One ran:

From Santa Fe are reached the ancient Indian pueblos still occupied by the Pueblos, a peace-loving, industrious, mysterious people who follow their own peculiar crafts and still adhere

¹See Annual Report of the School of American Research (1937), p. 23.

²Erna Ferguson, New Mexico (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 365-369.

³Bloom, op. cit., p. 20.

to their ancient dress and customs. Some of these Indian pueblos are over a thousand years old. Santa Fe is also the gateway to the 20,000 and more cave and cliff dwellings of the Pajarito Park, which is also the gateway to Rio Arriba, Taos and San Juan Counties¹

Following Hewett's report in 1906 to the Archaeological Institute on his regional study, which he made while on the fellowship, the Institute appointed a permanent Committee on American Archaeology. At this time a large majority of the Institute's membership "minimized the idea that study of the ancient life in the Americas could be dignified by so classic a term as archaeology."²

Hewett was appointed Director of American Research in January, 1907.³ He immediately began excavations in the name of the School of American Archaeology with headquarters in the field. The Santa Fe Archaeological Society and the Historical Society, under Hewett's direction, invited the Archaeological Institute to locate its School in Santa Fe and encouraged the New Mexico Legislature to turn over the old Palace of the Governors to the Institute for the permanent headquarters.⁴ After proper negotiations, the

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 24 May 1906, p. 14.

²Walter, "Twenty-five Years of Achievement," pp. 6 - 7.

³Organic Acts and Administrative Reports of the School of American Archaeology, 1907 - 1917, pp. 1 - 5.

⁴A resolution to establish a School of American Archaeology in the United States was adopted by the Council of the Archaeological Institute in Chicago on December 20, 1907. See Organic Acts, pp. 24 - 26.

Territorial legislature approved the establishment of the School under certain conditions, one of which was that the School operate as a part of a larger institution, a Territorial museum. The Act granted the use of the Palace of the Governors for the seat of the School and Museum of American Archaeology "which Museum shall be the Museum of New Mexico."¹ Thus, the Palace became the home of the New Mexico Historical Society and its museum, the new School of American Archaeology, and the New Mexico Archaeological Society. All of these groups were to operate for administrative purposes as the Museum of New Mexico.

It has been shown that the establishment of the Museum of New Mexico was the result of two converging forces: (1) the desires and efforts of a community wishing to symbolize its cultural development and its qualification for Statehood through the erection of a State Museum and (2) the ingenuity and aggressive personality of an individual whose wisdom enabled him to utilize resources at hand and to solicit community support. Edgar L. Hewett, despite his lack of adequate scientific training in archaeology, was able to so direct the activities of the Museum of New Mexico that it became a center of influence for art and literature.

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, 1936, p. 6.

Archaeological Field Work

Between December 30, 1907 when the School of American Archaeology was founded and February 19, 1909 when official headquarters were provided at Santa Fe, Hewett and several students and assistants worked entirely in the field.¹ Hewett's experience in excavation and his limited academic training in archaeology led him to emphasize the field sessions, which were little more than digging for artifacts, fossil remains, and other evidence of human habitation.

In 1908, Hewett began excavation in the Rito de los Frijoles Canyon where he and the group restored one of the cliff dwellings. Of this work Hewett announced:

It is now possible for the first time for travelers to see in the great cliff dwelling region of the United States a house with its ancient furnishings in place and the manner of life that existed there made clear. It is the belief of the Director that the educational value of our American ruins can be vastly increased by an extensive use of this idea. It is the beginning of the field museum in our country.²

¹"Devising his own techniques he had the advantage of employing in the field the Indians whose ancestral homes had been in the ruins explored and excavated, in many instances occupied into post-Spanish times, and whose culture was a continuation of that of the cave and cliff-dwelling period. This was especially the case of the Pajarito Plateau, whose numerous cave and communal ruins and geographical features he mapped and named. . . ." See Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewett, Americanist," p. 261.

²Organic Acts, School of American Archaeology, 1908, p. 35.

It seems obvious that Hewett's great interest in the museum is typical of contemporary movements in his field of study. The graduate Department of Anthropology was inaugurated at Harvard in 1890 under the leadership of Putnam of the Peabody Museum. One of the outstanding events which had led to the great period of anthropological museum development in the United States was the great exhibit of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893.¹ Frederick W. Putnam and Franz Boas were in charge of the ethnological exhibits. As a result of the Exposition, Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History was founded.² Hewett, however, was a pioneer in the area of the field museum. He felt that "Cultural material is nowhere else so instructive as in conjunction with the buildings and in the environment where it was produced. Therefore the field museum should be developed wherever it can have proper custodianship."³ The first field museum of the Museum of New Mexico was set up at Puyé, near Santa Fe, primarily for the purpose of attracting tourists. The Chaco Canyon Field Museum was the second, and the purposes of its establishment appear to be the same.

¹ Donald Collier and Harry Tschopik, "The Role of Museums in American Anthropology," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVI (October, 1954), p. 770.

² Ibid.

³ Organic Acts, School of American Archaeology, 1908, p. 37.

The early excavations were not limited to the Southwest. Under the direction of Hewett, the School of American Archaeology excavated the Maya ruins of Quirigua, Guatemala. The experience gained here and the material collected were used for setting up exhibits for the Panama-California Exposition at San Diego during 1915 - 1916.¹

Publications and Publicity

Ever since the days when Josiah Gregg and other traders led their caravans over the trail to Santa Fe, that city and its activities have been advertised. Advertising has played a great role in giving form and prestige to the cultural movement at Santa Fe, and at the same time it has been one of the forces making for artiness and romanticization of the locale. Even the publications of the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico have had, in too many instances, more of the quality of commercial advertising than truly scientific essays and reports. Throughout the official reports appear constant references to the amount of publicity being received or new ways of creating it.

El Palacio, first published in 1913, was the official organ of the New Mexico Archaeological Society, and it contained accounts of the general activity of

¹See Below, pp. 51 - 54.

the Museum of New Mexico. While El Palacio was founded to gather and diffuse cultural and scientific information it was also designed to introduce Santa Fe to the world. With a ten thousand dollar bequest of a Miss Abby White of Boston, Hewett purchased the El Palacio Press, the administration of which was placed in the hands of Paul Walter.

For the Museum and for Santa Fe, Paul A. F. Walter was one of the most sincere and indefatigable promoters. Walter, formerly of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, came to New Mexico for his health around 1898. He came to Santa Fe to take a position with the Santa Fe New Mexican whose owner and editor, Max Frost, was in the thick of an advertising campaign for immigrants and a battle for statehood. As editorial writer for the New Mexican, Walter was able to keep the activities of the Museum always before the public. He became a member of the Historical Society and the Archaeological Society. Energetically he promoted the cause of art, architecture, and literature. Next to Hewett, Walter, who became Postmaster of Santa Fe in 1902 and later Vice President of the Santa Fe First National Bank, was one of the leading exponents of cultural activity. Too self-consciously, perhaps, Walter boosted the home resources, but he was a stabilizing influence when such influence was so badly needed.

El Palacio, a review of the arts and sciences,

encouraged all cultural activities which might enhance regional as well as local status. Some of the contributors to El Palacio were Mary Austin, Marsden Hartley and Alice Corbin Henderson.

The El Palacio Press which Walter managed was leased to the University of New Mexico in 1931. This printing plant served as the foundation for the University of New Mexico press. This transaction influenced the founding of the New Mexico Quarterly in 1931 and the establishment of classes in Journalism at the University.¹

Much of the publicity for the School of American Archaeology was obtained through the official journal of the Archaeological Institute, Art and Archaeology, founded in 1914. Hewett was influential in the establishment of the journal; consequently, it devoted many pages to the movement in the Southwest. Hewett wrote: "The management of the magazine has been most generous to us allowing us every year one and sometimes two numbers devoted entirely to our local interests, which because of such generous publicity, are becoming nation-wide."²

Through the affiliation of the New Mexico

¹Annual Report, School of American Research, 1931, p.62.

²Specimen letter drafted by Hewett for Art and Archaeology membership drive. Hewett papers, Museum of New Mexico.

Historical Society with the History Department of the School of American Research, the New Mexico Historical Review was founded in 1926. Lansing Bloom of the School of American Research contributed immensely to the Review's development through articles and counsel. Unquestionably, these early studies which focused so keenly upon local history gave impetus to the long series of outstanding articles and books, dealing with Southwestern history, that have appeared in the United States during the last three decades. New Mexico has provided materials for scholarship for a whole region from Missouri to California.

"The daily press in the Southwest," Hewett reported, "has the distinction of carrying columns devoted to art, archaeology and science. It is a singular fact only in the Southwest is news of this kind given space and prominence commensurate with its importance, and no class of news is read with greater interest by the people generally."¹ The Santa Fe New Mexican continued to advertise Santa Fe and its resources; consequently, the Museum around which most of the cultural activity centered was given sustained publicity. The New Mexican was interested in any movement which would attract visitors.

¹Annual Report, School of American Research, 1918, p. 10.

Around the turn of the century it solicited interest in a Chautauqua: "Santa Fe and vicinity have an ideal summer climate, and a Chautauqua summer resort opened in this vicinity and properly advertised should draw hundreds, if not thousands of visitors every summer."¹ Although the artists and writers successfully attacked and repelled the Chautauqua in 1926,² the agitation for this institution was part of the thirst for some type of cultural movement as well as for economic advancement--the economic motive being uppermost. The Santa Fe Fiesta which was introduced later by Hewett served the same purpose, economically; consequently, the Chamber of Commerce supported it enthusiastically and the Chautauqua never materialized.

The New Mexican pleaded for better roads, better streets, better hotels and better service in general in order that Santa Fe might profit by the tourist trade. The newspaper thus emphasized the value of the archaeological sites, the Taos Art Colony and the Indians.

The economic value of archaeological excavation and the location of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe was pointed out to the business

¹New Mexican Review, 26 May 1900, p. 1.

²See discussion of the attack upon the club women below.

men of the city:

The Archaeological Society of New Mexico this summer raised \$500 toward paying for the expenditure of making archaeological excavations in the cañon of the Rito de los Frijoles, west of Santa Fe. Eastern universities and friends of the work, gave \$1,000 additional. The total sum of \$1,500 being spent with Santa Fe merchants for supplies. In other words for every dollar raised, three dollars were returned immediately and directly to the channels of trade of this part of New Mexico. . . . Professor Edgar L. Hewett, director of the American work of the Institute of Archaeology, who superintended the work of excavation, had with him for six weeks a class of post graduate students from the leading universities of the country, who, under other circumstances, would probably never have seen Santa Fe. Now, they have become Santa Fe boosters, carrying the fame of New Mexico's attractions to distant parts of the world, directly and indirectly urging others to come.¹

According to the estimations of the New Mexican, in 1908, the establishment of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe would be a definite and perpetual economic advantage:

The school in addition to being an institution of learning that is coveted by the largest cities of the land, will also be incidentally a great material advantage that will cause streams of gold to flow into every corner of the commonwealth Instead of being supported merely by territorial funds and tuition and lecture fees, it is now proposed to have the school endowed by the wealthy men of the east who are giving thousands of dollars for archaeological work and who have munificently endowed archaeological schools at Rome, Athens and Jerusalem. In other words the school will be of world-wide consequence and necessarily its fame and its importance

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 5 November 1908, p. 4.

will be the fame of New Mexico and particularly Santa Fe¹

In addition to the source of income to be derived from the archaeological activities, the Indian was suggested as a "best bet." Colonel R. E. Twitchell wrote the following letter to the editor of the New Mexican from the San Diego Fair in 1915:

We of the state of New Mexico, owing to our long residence and acquaintance with the Indian, fail to properly recognize his value from the tourist's angle. It is Santa Fe's one best bet. It seems to me that a vigorous campaign of publicity asking for local cooperation of all communications between Taos and Santa Fe should be begun and kept up. The citizens of Santa Fe and Taos counties could very well afford to build and maintain the road and bridge along this line in Rio Arriba county . . . at Washington they are willing to spend any amount on the Indians. It occurs to me that this subject is one worthy of careful consideration by the people of Taos and Santa Fe and should be exploited at the coming convention of the New Mexico Good Roads Association at Albuquerque. . . . why not ask for a meeting at Taos and interest all of the native people exclusive of the Indians, along the entire route. The artist colony at Taos is proving to be one of the most effective advertising mediums for New Mexico.

I trust that these few suggestions in the line of your editorial will meet with that response which is characteristic of the spirit displayed in your editorial columns in the way of state exploitation.

Any scheme of advertising which serves to materially enhance property values in any one portion of the state adds to the sum total of assessed values of property throughout the entire state, and therefore it cannot be said that the whole people of New Mexico are without

¹Loc. cit., 3 December 1908, p. 4.

substantial interest in increasing value in any particular locality by every agency possible.¹

An editorial followed this letter the next day, and in its "characteristic" manner the New Mexican used the Indian and the Taos Art Colony in its argument for good roads:

Santa Fe Indian attractions are many and various. She [Santa Fe] can show off more kinds of spectacular red men to the eastern visitor, and exhibit more of their interesting dwellings more readily than any other city in the state. They are right at our doors, costumes, handicraft, traditions, ruins, and all. And the most interesting of all, probably the most interesting Indian community in the United States is Taos, the ancient pueblo, mecca of tourists and artists from all over the world just north of this city. To make it easy and simple to get to Taos from Santa Fe is one of the first necessities in properly accomodating the tourist traffic.²

Equally vigorous in advertising the Indian and the artists was the Santa Fe Railroad. Speaking at a meeting of the Newcomen Society in Albuquerque in 1950, F. G. Gurley, president of the Santa Fe, reminded the group that "The commerce of New Mexico's capital [capitol] influenced the organization of our railroad and from that capital [capitol] we derive our name."³ The Santa Fe Railroad has consistently maintained an ad-

¹ Loc. cit., 29 June 1915, p. 6.

² Loc. cit., 30 June 1915, p. 6.

³ F. G. Gurley, "New Mexico and the Santa Fe Railroad," An address before the Newcomen Society meeting at Albuquerque, 1950, The Newcomen Society, 1950.

vertising department since 1895.¹ In that year Edward P. Ripley appointed William H. Simpson advertising clerk at Topeka.² Ripley, the Santa Fe's president, had encountered the work of Thomas Moran whose landscapes displayed the grandeur of the West, and as part of the railroad's policy, competent painters were commissioned to paint whatever appealed to them in the Southwest.³

In addition to the interest in painting, the Santa Fe Railroad's advertising department in cooperation with other departments developed an interest in architecture for the Santa Fe hotels and stations, and encouraged the production of Indian pottery, rugs, silverware etc. Indian designs appear on the trains and in hotels and stations, and the symbol of the Santa Fe Railroad is derived from primitive Indian design.⁴

Merle Armitage, one historian of the Santa Fe Railroad, found that reviewing old magazines and publications for tracing the development of Santa Fe advertising was "an illuminating experience for anyone interested in the psychology of influencing the

¹Merle Armitage, Operations Santa Fe (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948), p. 111.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 118.

mass audience."¹

The Fred Harvey System, in 1926, cooperated with Hewett and the Museum in establishing a rest-house at the Puyé ruins on the Santa Clara Pueblo site. This project was considered feasible because of the introduction of the Fred Harvey bus tours in that year. Dr. Hewett wanted some kind of archaeological work going on, and the Harvey System wanted to attract visitors. These interests are seen in the following letter of R. H. Clarkson, Harvey representative, to Hewett:

I certainly agree with you, however, that a custodian sufficiently familiar with archaeological work to carry on a certain amount of excavation would be much more appropriate, and I personally would like something of this kind worked out. The more interest we can have on the ground, of course, the more people we are likely to attract.²

Throughout the present century, the Santa Fe Railroad has advertised the sections through which its lines run. The railroad has been especially interested in movements which tend to attract tourists. Keeping Santa Fe and Taos architecturally unique naturally gained support of the Santa Fe and the Fred Harvey System.³

¹Ibid., p. 116.

²Letter from R. H. Clarkson to Hewett dated 18 May 1926 in response to a letter of Hewett dated 13 May 1926, Hewett papers, Museum of New Mexico.

³See discussion on architecture below.

The part played by the Chamber of Commerce in Santa Fe's cultural development is interesting indeed. Although no attempt to outline the history of that group is intended, we must cite it here in connection with publicity and the Museum. In 1913, when the Chamber inaugurated a strong publicity campaign, Santa Fe was to be labeled the oldest city in the United States. Dr. Hewett wrote a letter to the president of the Chamber of Commerce objecting to the use of the motto on the simple grounds that Santa Fe was not the oldest city. Both Charles F. Lummis and Adolph F. Bandelier, to whom Hewett appealed, wrote letters in which they demonstrated that Santa Fe could not possibly hold the historical position given it by the Chamber of Commerce.¹

Shortly thereafter, Hewett and the School of American Archaeology were attacked. The Chamber of Commerce with Bronson Cutting and other citizens questioned the importance of the School and Hewett's ability as director. A letter from Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard to the president of the Chamber of Commerce discredited Hewett.² Tozzer said that the

¹See letter from Lummis dated 23 September 1913 and letter from Adolph Bandelier to Lummis dated 26 September 1913, Hewett papers, Museum of New Mexico.

²Letter of Alfred M. Tozzer was printed in the Santa Fe New Mexican 24 October 1913. Tozzer was a Maya specialist who graduated from Harvard in 1900 and received the doctorate in 1904. He did research in New Mexico after his graduation from Harvard, and

School of American Archaeology was not really a school, that it had no reputation in America, and that Hewett was not qualified as director:

I know of no one interested in scientific work along archaeological lines in America with the exception of two or three at Washington and a few personal friends who stand for Hewett. His Scientific Reputation is of no value.¹

Tozzer asserted that Hewett was only an "advertiser" and that his influence was harmful to men like Morley in Mayan studies and John Harrington in linguistics. It was Tozzer's contention that Hewett succeeded in getting his position by certain manipulations.

Although the attack was forceful, Hewett was able to marshall a defense. His most important defense by an official connected with the Archaeological Institute was that of William H. Holmes, then Head Curator of Archaeology at the National Museum. Holmes pointed out the significance of Hewett's work as being American progress in a new field, and he also endorsed Hewett's special qualities and abilities.²

it is likely that he met Hewett at this time. Tozzer became Director of the Peabody Museum in 1910; the Peabody sent out annual archaeological expeditions between 1891 - 1917. (See S. K. Lothrop, "Alfred Marston Tozzer, 1876 - 1954," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII (June, 1955), pp. 614-617).

¹Ibid.

²Letter from William H. Holmes, Hewett papers, Museum of New Mexico.

Ironically, Hewett's chief support in Santa Fe came from women's groups, the type which the artists and writers scorned in 1926¹--the Woman's Board of Trade, the Woman's Aid Society of the First Presbyterian Church, the Santa Fe Woman's Club, and the Guild of the Episcopal Church. In addition to the women's clubs, Hewett was defended by the State Superintendent of Education, the U. S. Indian School officers and teachers, and above all Frank Springer of Las Vegas, New Mexico.

Springer, one of the richest and most politically powerful citizens of New Mexico, was an old friend of Hewett; and Springer, like many other citizens, seemed bent upon establishing cultural institutions like the Museum despite the fact that their leaders were not the best qualified, academically. Springer wrote:

I wish also, as a citizen of New Mexico, to emphasize the statement that these results [establishment of the School and the Museum of New Mexico] are due wholly to the efforts of the Director, Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, aided by personal friends in New Mexico, who are not archaeologists, but who were led by him to see the possibility of a great scientific work, and were thus enlisted in its promotion. Without his great energy and inspiring personality, it would not, and could not, have been accomplished.²

¹See the discussion of the Texas Club Women below.

²Copy of letter from Frank Springer to the Managing Committee of the School of American Archaeology, Hewett papers.

The women's groups considered the School of American Archaeology an asset to the community, an "educational factor in Santa Fe's development." It had "aroused interest in the prehistoric and historic past and established the fame of Santa Fe as a center of culture."¹

The School of American Archaeology was allowed to remain at Santa Fe, and Hewett was retained as its Director, a position he held until his death in 1946. It seems fairly clear here that many of the accusations were justified. One cannot say whether, under the circumstances, the School of American Archaeology would have attained a greater scientific reputation if Dr. Hewett had been removed or whether the Museum of New Mexico would have developed otherwise. Many other factors would have to be considered. However, the Museum of New Mexico continued to function according to the original laws. Another touch of irony is the fact that the attack of the Chamber only made Hewett more secure. In later years, the Chamber of Commerce cooperated wholeheartedly with Hewett and the School, and many movements which had their origins chiefly at the Museum were publicized and implemented by the Chamber itself.

¹Copy of Statement of the Women's Auxiliary of the Museum, Hewett papers.

The Panama-California Exposition

When it was learned that both San Francisco and San Diego planned expositions to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal, San Francisco chose to hold a truly cosmopolitan world's fair. San Diego, on the other hand "would specialize in Pan-American themes and would attempt to illustrate the concepts of the time concerning the Pacific Southwest. Thus the San Diego fair came to be more truly a dramatization of a regional culture, with its social and economic concomitants, than any other exposition which America had known."¹

In 1911, David Charles Collier, who was President of the Exposition at San Diego, invited Hewett and the School of American Archaeology to establish and conduct a department of archaeology and ethnology at the fair. With a budget of \$100,000 for expeditions, acquisitions, and installation of materials, the School of American Archaeology conducted expeditions to Central America and Mexico.² From the Central American expeditions, Hewett and his associates obtained an abundance of Mayan materials

¹Franklin Walker, A Literary History of Southern California (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1950), p. 254.

²Hewett and the School of American Archaeology conducted an expedition to the Maya region of Guatemala and excavated the Maya site of Quirigua.

for use at San Diego. The ethnological and archaeological exhibits were included in the major theme, "The Story of Man" or the "Science of Man", as Hewett called it.

Hewett was appointed director of exhibits and he utilized the skill of assistants like Kenneth M. Chapman, Carlos Vierra, Gerald Cassidy, Jesse Nusbaum, Wesley Bradfield, and Sylvanus Morley. Especially significant at the fair were the Mayan exhibits and paintings of this group. These exhibits created interest in American archaeology and especially in the Mayan field which had been entered already by men like Tozzer of Harvard and his pupil, Sylvanus G. Morley. William H. Holmes reported in Art and Archaeology that "native American culture is presented in a manner more illuminating than ever before."¹

Since the San Diego Fair was to be a glorification of Hispanic culture in southern California, D. C. Collier employed the master of Spanish colonial architecture, Bertram Goodhue, to take charge of the architectural arrangements. Although Goodhue succeeded in having most of the buildings designed and constructed in the Spanish mission style, the group from New Mexico under the leadership of R. E. Twitchell of

¹W. H. Holmes, (Introduction), "Ancient America at the Panama-California Exposition," by Edgar L. Hewett, Art and Archaeology Vol. II (November, 1915), pp. 65 - 102.

Santa Fe utilized the New Mexico mission style which was a combination of Spanish and Indian designs. The New Mexico State Building, designed by I. H. Rapp, was called "The Cathedral of the Desert," and it appeared as one of the most unique structures at the fair.

Two features of the San Diego Fair and Hewett's participation had significant influences in Santa Fe and to some extent in the United States in general. First, the archaeological exhibits created a general interest in American archaeology--especially in the archaeology of Central America and the Southwest. Second, the architecture of the San Diego Fair had a considerable influence upon architectural trends throughout the country. This mission style was employed, somewhat sparingly perhaps, from New York to Oregon. Santa Fe's contribution was the Maya exhibits which perhaps influenced to some extent Frank Lloyd Wright's California buildings which showed strong traces of the Mayan design. Although Wright was inspired first by the Mayan exhibits at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893,¹ it seems likely that the full utilization of the Mayan designs around 1917 in California was due to the interest created by the San Diego exhibits.

¹See Dimitri Tselos, "Exotic Influences in the Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright," Magazine of Art, Vol. XLVI (April, 1953), pp. 160 - 169.

At Santa Fe, Hewett and the staff of the School of American Archaeology initiated the revival of Spanish colonial architecture, using primarily the State Building of the fair as a model. The prestige given the Museum and the School by the work at San Diego facilitated the movement to carefully plan the architectural development of Santa Fe.

One of the most outstanding results of Hewett's connection with San Diego was the establishment, at the close of the Exposition in 1916, of the San Diego Museum as a branch of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe. As its director also, Hewett managed to get several of the fair buildings reserved for the Museum and many of the exhibits retained. Hewett's friendship with Charles F. Lummis who had been instrumental in establishing the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles must have been a great influence in the success of Hewett's venture at San Diego. An art gallery was installed in the Fine Arts Building, the Central American Museum was housed in the California Building and the Indian Arts Museum remained in the Indian Arts Building. It was due to Hewett's efforts to establish the Museum that most of the buildings still remain in Balboa Park, even though several are in ruins.

The Revival of Spanish Colonial Architecture

When the Museum of New Mexico was created by the State Legislature in 1909, the Act granted the use

of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe for the seat of the Museum; repair of the old Palace shortly afterwards was really the beginning of the revival of Spanish colonial architecture. Although a group of leading citizens met in 1900 to consider the question of beautifying the city,¹ no definitely organized attempts to develop Santa Fe architecturally were made until after 1909.

The Act creating the Museum showed that a movement was already under way to preserve the old architecture:

Sec. 7. The Board of Regents is directed that all alterations, extensions and additions to the main Palace building shall be made so as to keep it in external appearance as nearly as possible in harmony with the Spanish architecture of the period of its construction, and preserve it as a monument to the Spanish founders of the civilization of the Southwest.²

The Old Palace at Santa Fe is the old government building and residence of the Spanish viceroys. It was constructed in 1598. To the Old Palace on March 3, 1807, Zebulon Pike was brought after he had been captured in the San Luis Valley. In 1846, the Palace became the headquarters of General Kearney, and it was the official residence for most of the governors

¹New Mexican Review, 15 February 1900, p. 1.

²Extract from the Legislative Act of 1909 printed in Organic Acts and Administrative Reports, School of American Archaeology (1909), p. 46.

of the Territory, including General Lew Wallace who wrote a part of his Ben Hur in one of the rooms. After 1885, the New Mexico Historical Society was given space in the Palace for its exhibits. It was natural that an attempt be made to preserve this historic monument; however, the removal of the balustrade and other ornamentation, added since colonial days, was suggestive of the renaissance which stressed the original simplicity.

As Director of the Museum, Edgar Lee Hewett was a key figure in the revival of colonial and pre-colonial architecture. Yet, the small group of men who surrounded him between 1909 and 1915 were largely responsible for setting the pace. One of the men was Sylvanus G. Morley¹ who helped to publicize the idea of developing the whole town along the same lines. Alfred V. Kidder gave this account of Morley's early interest in the colonial architecture:

One thing about Morley's life in the Southwest should be recorded, for perhaps few people realize how much he did to make Santa Fe architecturally what it is today When he

¹Sylvanus G. Morley (1883 - 1948), a Harvard graduate and pupil of the Maya scholar, Alfred W. Tozzer, was attached to the Museum from 1909 to 1914. Morley was responsible for a large share of the work on the Mayas at the San Diego Fair. He spent many years in Central America and the results of which sojourn and study are included in his monumental work, The Ancient Maya which was completed in Santa Fe in 1946. Morley became Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico in 1947, remaining until his death in 1948.

took a position with the newly-founded School of American Archaeology and in 1909 came to live in Santa Fe, he bought a semi-ruinous adobe on a little knoll at the foot of Fort Marcy. It had a lovely portal with posts and corbels. Instead of tearing the house down or 'modernizing' it, as was then the regrettable practice in such cases, he kept the portal as it was and replaced the rotting vigas of its rooms with fine old carved beams. I cannot remember where he found those, but I do remember his joyous letter about their discovery and purchase. His hunt for them and his study of adobe construction in general, fired him with enthusiasm for the strong and simple Pueblo-derived architecture of Colonial days.¹

Morley, with the aid of others like Kenneth Chapman and Carlos Vierra, associates at the School, drew up a complete plan and constructed a model of their vision of the Santa Fe of the future. In 1912, the Santa Fe New Mexican reported that plans for the beautification of Santa Fe were to be exhibited in detail. The plans were "accompanied by maps, by plaster of paris models, by wash drawings and by photographs showing scenes in about the ancient city that . . . [would] astonish many life long residents of Santa Fe."² As usual the newspaper saw in this project a definite economic advantage: "Because Santa Fe has had her awakening . . . she is going to grow more than she ever has grown. It is therefore simply a question of directing that growth and planning for the future of the city along lines that will give

¹ Alfred Vincent Kidder, "Sylvanus Griswold Morley 1883 - 1948" in Morleyana (Santa Fe: The School of American Research, 1950), p. 97.

² Santa Fe New Mexican, 18 November 1912, p. 1.

the most revenue to the people of the city and make the place attractive to the visitor."¹

At a meeting of the City Council on December 3, 1912, the City Planning Board, of which Edgar L. Hewett and Sylvanus G. Morley were members, presented the following report:

It is the opinion of this board that the preservation of the ancient streets, roads and structures in and about the city is of the first importance and that these monuments of the first Americans should be preserved intact at almost any cost, that neither climate, healthfulness, prehistoric ruins nor scenery compare in value as an asset to Santa Fe, with these relics of a romantic history and that it should be the duty of all city officials to guard the old streets against any change that will affect their appearance or alter their character such as widening or straightening. We further recommend that no building permits be issued to any person intending to build on any of the streets listed hereafter and indicated on the map as old or ancient streets until proper assurance is given that the architecture will conform exteriorally with the Santa Fe style.²

The City Planning Board recommended also "the remitting or rebating taxes for a limited number of years on any structure built in any of the hundred variations of the Santa Fe style"³ in order to encourage building and to create a strong public sentiment. The Chamber of Commerce later awarded prizes for the best designs and structures.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., 24 December 1912, p. 7.

³Ibid.

Carlos Vierra, writing in Art and Archaeology stressed the Indian influence in Spanish colonial mission architecture.¹ "In considering the mission structures," wrote Vierra, "too much has been made of its relation to Spanish architecture. It is an error natural to architects who under the influence of conventional training, are inclined to see everything through the cold and formal medium of mathematical precision and symmetry, and the conventional forms of geometric ornament."² Vierra pointed out that the New Mexico missions differed from those of California, perhaps because the California Indians did not have architectural examples of their own as did the Pueblos of the Santa Fe region. "It is not improbable," Vierra asserted, "that, among the Pueblos, the Franciscans turned a seeming poverty of materials to their decided advantage, perhaps realizing that by building in harmony with their surroundings they would establish a closer sympathy with the inhabitants than if they had built an imposing, an arrogantly foreign cathedral in the midst of simple and well organized homes."³

¹Carlos Vierra, "New Mexico Architecture," Art and Archaeology, Vol VII (January-February, 1918), pp. 37 - 49.

²Ibid., p. 40.

³Ibid.

He concluded that the simple adobe and wood of the Indian builders were used either because of the limitations of environment or the appreciation by the Franciscans of the advantages of harmonious construction. In addition to the materials, the form of structure was influenced finally by the climate. After a certain amount of erosion, the missions were repaired, and this "gradual change through erosion and repair" resulted in the unique structures.

Vierra appreciated the New Mexico missions for certain qualities which many modern architects, painters, and sculptors have come to admire and attempt to achieve in their work:

The gradual clearing away of any artificially ornamental excrescences has left nothing but the essentials beautifully varied in outline. Any superficial ornamentation characteristic of the Spanish Colonial that might have been attempted could not stand the test of time in adobe.¹

One sees in the early New Mexico paintings of Georgia O'Keefe the same technique of simplification. Her "Black Cross, New Mexico" and "Ranchos de Taos Church" illustrate this simplification and economy of design and ornamentation which characterized the mission churches. Vierra also emphasized the natural element in this regional product:

¹Ibid., p. 42.

It is in reality a free-hand architecture, with the living quality of a sculptor's work, and that pliant, unaffected and unconfined beauty--characteristic of natural growth--is nature's contribution to the final product. Through this contribution, too, the architecture is unique in bearing the closest relation to the surrounding landscape. In this sense it is complete, having attained perfection through the absence of that precision upon which all other architecture seems to depend.¹

Vierra felt that the New Mexico style should not be adopted as a national style, but that it should be developed in the section of the country where it appears natural. As an American product this style was to be appreciated, and foreign imports were to be looked upon with disfavor.

Not many of us who have ever been interested in what we call American architecture, [Vierra wrote] realize that we have, within the limits of the United States, a type which had its origin in the pre-historic life of the section in which it exists today, and which was an established and sound development long before America was 'discovered.' Only a few architects of this section realize that we have a native architecture as sound and as adequate in its development as any of the complications of foreign architecture in which they have been absorbed. . . . In most of the communities of the Southwest the tendency is to build in the mixtures of foreign architecture characteristic of American towns, and the possibilities and advantages of the original type have been ignored.²

In his discussion of New Mexico architecture, Carlos Vierra shows a typical interest in regional development, but he also criticizes the general trend in American architecture.

¹Ibid., p. 43.

²Ibid., pp. 38 - 39.

Vierra made special studies and paintings of all of the old Franciscan missions in New Mexico. His work was especially valuable when a group of citizens under the aegis of Hewett and the School of American Research began a program of restoration of the missions. Although one of the churches had been partly restored by 1915, the major work started in 1920.¹ By 1934, all of the mission monuments had been restored.²

An early study of the New Mexico missions resulted in the construction of the unique New Mexico State Building at the San Diego Fair. The Fair building was a blend of features from several of the missions such as Ácoma and Cochití. When the new Art Gallery was constructed in 1917 as a part of the Museum of New Mexico, the San Diego Fair building was used as the model. This construction was one of the high points in the revival.

Because of the many variants of the style which were available to architects, many satisfying examples of both public and domestic buildings were constructed. In Santa Fe, the post-office and the La Fonda Hotel are outstanding examples of the style.

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 12 May 1920, p. 3.

²See Edgar Lee Hewett and Reginald G. Fisher, Mission Monuments of New Mexico. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943).

The New Mexico Historical Society presented to the Treasury Department in Washington a special resolution recommending the adoption of the Santa Fe style for the post-office in 1920.¹

For years both citizens and tourists clamored for a first class hotel in Santa Fe. As early as 1912, the location was decided upon in light of the town's history:

The end of the Santa Fe Trail is the logical location for a hotel. No other spot in the United States offers as appropriate a place for a tourist caravanserai as does the Old Fonda. History, sentiment, business, all combine to tempt enterprise and capital to make the most of Santa Fe's unsurpassed attractions and advantages for a hostelry that would have for its special business the catering to tourists.²

In the early twenties the La Fonda Hotel was designed and built by I. H. and W. M. Rapp. In 1926 the hotel was acquired by the Santa Fe Land Improvement Company and turned over to the Fred Harvey interests.³ La Fonda was enlarged and its operations were integrated with the Fiesta and other activities. The development of La Fonda accorded with the revival spirit of Santa Fe and at the same time it was another example of the Santa Fe Railroad's policy of making their hotels

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 23 March 1920, p. 4.

²Ibid., 17 February 1912, p. 4.

³L. L. Waters, Steel Trails to Santa Fe (Lawrence Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1950), p. 281. See also James Marshall, Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire (New York: Random House, 1945), p. 104.

and stations conform to the geographic and historical background of the Southwest.

During the Twenties, many wealthy individuals came to Santa Fe and had homes built in the characteristic manner. Additions to the Santa Fe and Taos art colonies contributed to the progress in domestic architecture and the perpetuation of the native style.

In Taos, the same efforts to preserve the old and to develop the town along the Santa Fe lines were made:

The world has its eyes on Taos. Artists from Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, have made Taos a fireside word. We can not, it seems, see the beauties of our own New Mexico. If Taos is to be and remain the mecca for renowned artists, tourists and a business center, we must preserve the ancient style of architecture. To command the admiration of these gifted men, who come from all quarters of the globe to portray Taos, N. M. on canvas, we must also beautify the Plaza, streets, the park and our roads. To do so means a string of dollars rolling continually into our safes and pockets. Boost or get out. Beautify Taos or Santa Fe will put us out of business as a center of world attraction.¹

The editorial urged Taos to get rid of the "tin front" and the "peaked roof"--both "modernisms of ugliness"--which were commercial drawbacks.

In 1905, Dr. William George Tight, then President of the University of New Mexico, proposed that the

¹Article from the Taos Valley News reprinted in the Santa Fe New Mexican, 26 March 1920.

University buildings be constructed in the Pueblo style. One such building was completed, but there was immediate opposition. It is claimed that some of the faculty members used the President's preference for this style as a means of creating dissension to cause his resignation. According to President Popejoy, Tigh's forced departure in 1909 could be traced to the latter's interest in the Pueblo style.¹ However, President Zimmerman, who was quick to see the advantage of utilizing local resources, sanctioned the Santa Fe style in 1927, and evidently little opposition developed, for most of the University's buildings follow this Pueblo motif.

Perhaps the architect who was the greatest exponent of the Santa Fe style was John Gaw Meem. He founded an architectural firm with Cassius McCormick, under the name of Meem and McCormick in 1924. Since his career began in the 1920's, Meem has developed variants of the Santa Fe style ranging from the Spanish-Pueblo to the Modern which manifests a cultural fusion of Indian, Spanish, and Anglo American. Mary Austin, undoubtedly, used John Gaw Meem as the prototype of one of the characters in her novel, Starry Adventure.

¹See Thomas L. Popejoy. University of New Mexico a Calculated Risk. Newcomen Society Speech at Albuquerque, 1952. Published for the Newcomen Society by the Princeton University Press, 1952.

Meem was appointed architect of the University of New Mexico in 1933 and has designed more than thirty of its major buildings. In his work Meem has demonstrated that modern methods and materials can still reflect regional culture-history, and in his work, the Santa Fe style finds its greatest expression.

The Art Gallery of the Museum of New Mexico

It may not be amiss to say that Hewett's academic background, his limited training in science, and his preoccupation with artifacts, discovered on archaeological excavations, led him in the direction of the humanities. Then too, his work with the Museum of New Mexico made him more and more a museum man than a scientist or a field expert which he wanted to become.

During the first two decades of the century, the great art galleries of the Smithsonian were constructed, and art began to play a larger role in the great expositions of the time.¹ Since Dr. Hewett was the kind of individual who took advantage of every available opportunity, it was almost inevitable that he would make some efforts to capitalize upon the art colonies developing in Taos and Santa Fe. Obviously, a gallery of art would enhance the reputation of the

¹The art exhibits of the World's Columbian Exposition (1893), the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (1904) and the Panama-California Exposition (1915) were highly publicized.

Museum. The magazine of the Archaeological Institute carried the title, Art and Archaeology. Although the business interests of Santa Fe had made the Taos Art Colony advertising copy, Hewett and the Museum began to further exploit this resource under the name of culture and regionalism. From all directions, it seemed fitting for Hewett to make a permanent association of art and archaeology at Santa Fe.

When Hewett and others decided upon the art gallery, plans were made to secure necessary legislation and funds. Hewett's old friend, Frank Springer, one of the strongest supporters of the Museum, took charge of raising funds. The Legislature, on March 18, 1915, "provided an appropriation for the construction of a building to be a part of the Museum, devoted to the purposes of an Auditorium and Art Gallery, on condition that \$30,000 be raised from outside sources and a site donated by the City of Santa Fe."¹

After much opposition was weakened, a site was donated by the Santa Fe Board of Education. The difficulty created by the opposition of certain citizens and the success of the friends of the Museum indicate the fact that a small group of influential persons developed the gallery and not "the people of Santa

¹Annual Report, School of American Research, 1936, p. 6.

Fe" as Hewett delighted in stating. Although J. D. Sena, a prominent citizen, favored the building of La Fonda in 1920, he opposed, as shown in a letter to the New Mexican, the Board of Education's giving property to the Museum for the art gallery:

Before this matter is acted upon I would ask the citizens of Santa Fe not to be carried away by such high sounding expressions as 'the Art Gallery will be of immense benefit to the City of Santa Fe,' or 'we would have an auditorium.' How many of the children of our city would become artists and derive material benefit from the art gallery? Are you not aware that an exceedingly small percentage of the citizens of this great government of ours can and do dedicate themselves to art, and then of those that dedicate themselves to that profession, many become subjects of the poor house?¹ Yet, the walls of opposition crumbled and the defenders of art rode to victory.

Frank Springer was able to solicit the aid of several friends in the East as well as in the Southwest, and the necessary sum to match that of the State along with the deed to the site was turned over to the Board of Regents in 1916. The building, an exact copy of the San Diego Exposition State Building, included an auditorium and art gallery; it opened for the public in November, 1917.²

Murals depicting events in the life of St.

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 24 April 1915.

²See Edgar L. Hewett, "On the Opening of the Art Galleries," Art and Archaeology, Vol. VII (January - February, 1918), pp. 50-52.

Francis, for whom the auditorium was named, were started by Donald Beauregard, protégé of Frank Springer, and finished by Kenneth Chapman and Carlos Vierra, all of whom were attached to the School of American Archaeology as associates of Dr. Hewett.

From the beginning, it was intended that the auditorium of the Art Gallery be used as a community center. When Mary Austin was in Santa Fe gathering material for The Land of Journey's Ending, she was assigned a study in the Museum. At this time also she organized a community theater which presented its plays in the auditorium.¹ During the twenties, poets and writers like Vachel Lindsay, Harriet Monroe, Carl Sandburg, Witter Bynner, Edgar Lee Masters, and John Gould Fletcher lectured or read their poems there.

The Santa Fe artists exhibited their work as a group at the Museum for the first time in August, 1915 and the Taos artists held their first exhibit there in September of that year. In 1916, Dr. Hewett was extremely optimistic concerning the development of art. In his annual report for 1916, he stated that the development of art in the preceding five years had been phenomenal. "The School," he reported, "is endeavoring to encourage this movement by extending its facilities to artists and by helping,

¹"Community Theater," El Palacio, Vol. VI (May 24, 1919), p. 1.

through its various activities, to bring them into intimate touch with the phases of life and nature which artists are finding of such absorbing interest."¹ Hewett was convinced that they were witnessing something in the Southwest that was destined to a high place in the history of American art. He felt that this development in art demonstrated that America could have an esthetic life. "In a time of abnormal stress in politics and economics," he wrote in his report for 1919, "one can but hail with delight a strong, new impulse in esthetic life, vigorous enough to challenge the supremacy of commercialism and compel attention to what is worthwhile outside the too absorbing field of material welfare."²

Reflecting the motives and ideals of "291" and the New York Independents,³ Hewett advocated freedom, individuality, and the opportunity to exhibit. He explained:

I trust that no one will attempt to dissect, to classify in the language of criticism, this noble art of the painters of the Southwest; nor should we wish to see it circumscribed by any local name. Pride might lead us to hope that it might come to be known as 'The New Mexico

¹Organic Acts. School of American Archaeology, 1919, p. 171.

²Ibid., pp. 41 - 42.

³Both Robert Henri and George Bellows visited Santa Fe between 1916 - 1917. See discussion of Robert Henri below.

School,¹ but that would limit it in its big universal character. It is, in my estimation, the most democratic group of painters in America that is now painting in the Southwest. Here are the canvases of forty artists working under the same potent influences, and remaining absolutely independent in method of expression, each sincerely concerned with the unfolding of his own spirit.¹

Hewett rhapsodically announced his anticipation of the results of this Southwestern declaration of independence in art:

Thus may America begin to know herself, and go forward with power and majesty to the destiny which invited her. Thus from borrowers and imitators shall we become creators, and our creations shall challenge the respect of mankind. Depending no longer on other lands or times for inspirations . . . we shall find at home the themes for boundless achievement, and our arts shall grow--as this temple the new Art Gallery has grown, and as all true and enduring art must ever grow--straight from our own soil.

Hewett was a fervent Americanist and never failed to declare America's cultural potentialities.

Although the Art Gallery of the Museum of New Mexico had its beginnings in the visions of Edgar L. Hewett and Frank Springer, it would seem that the spirit in which the policy of the new gallery was set and the emphasis upon American as well as Southwestern art were manifestations of the climate of ideas existing in the United States toward art and artists. Although much of the support of the Art

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, Official Acts, 1919, p. 20.

Gallery was encouraged by the prospects of business or economic gain of some sort, it was also part of the attempt to develop cultural institutions for a new and growing state.

The School of American Research

Reorganization

During the first decade of the operation of the School of American Archaeology, the Director and other officials saw that many activities not classified under the discipline of archaeology were developing at the Museum. Since Hewett, as Director of the School of American Archaeology, was also Director of the Museum of New Mexico, it was necessary to reorganize the School so that it would encompass these new activities and direct them along lines which would be more beneficial to the general scheme of the Museum. Art and history were two disciplines which needed more attention. Archaeology and its methods were too limited for extended work along new lines.

The reasons for reorganization were stated as follows:

The reorganization of the School is not so radical as it may seem. The original plan has been sufficiently modified to require a restatement of purposes. With the large understanding of the field that has come with ten years of experience it is possible to make certain changes which, without altering the spirit of the

Institution remove some undesirable restrictions upon its activities. This is indicated in the change of name. The word 'archaeology' implies a field confined to antiquity. The study of new-world cultures does not permit of such restrictions. The master works of the remote ages were achieved by ancestors of the living people. Consequently, they may be studied best if related intimately to the race as it survives at the present time.¹

As Hewett concentrated more and more upon the living Indian, he saw the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach for study. The complete interrelation of all aspects of Indian society could be understood only with the contributions of several disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, art, history, religion--in fact the "entire group of subjects that proceed from the study of man."²

According to Hewett, the artists were just as truly researchers as the scientists. "They [the artists] are seeking new truths, experimenting in human expression, offering new opinions, testing new evidence, recording cultural advancement."³ He felt that anthropologists alone could not fully interpret the Indian. "It is through the artists, poets, and scientists combined that this remarkable race is at

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, (1917) Official Acts, p. 7.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

last being truthfully represented."¹ Thus, changing the name of the School of American Archaeology to the School of American Research showed a recognition of the necessity for interdependence in scholarship, a recognition of new avenues by which the Museum could progress, and a recognition of resources that had been developed by other groups such as artists and writers.

Hewett arranged the work of the School of American Research in four departments: Archaeology, Art, History, and Anthropology. It seems that he envisaged an expansive program in the sciences and the humanities. The course taken by Hewett after the reorganization and his emphasis upon more museum work, however, stamped him as a humanist.

Francis W. Kelsey of the Archaeological Institute stressed at the opening of the Art Gallery the need for a "new humanism."² He pointed out that the School of American Research at Santa Fe could be devoted to the sciences of man in order to discover phases of development in the native American race "that shall best reveal the capabilities of man as man and fit youth to live in accordance with ideals

¹Ibid.

²Francis W. Kelsey, "The New Humanism," Art and Archaeology, Vol. VII (January - February, 1918), pp. 14 - 29.

in a world of human kind."¹ It would seem that individuals in responsible positions outside New Mexico also rejoiced in the idea that new values might be discovered through the work of the Museum.

Affiliation with Universities

The inherent weaknesses in the School, already pointed out by Tozzer and Wissler led Hewett to establish in 1927 a Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of New Mexico. This association allowed him to place the resources of the School of American Research at the disposal of the University; at the same time, the State University gave to the School "an academic connection, the lack of which in past years," said Hewitt, "has been its most serious handicap."²

Hewett continued his practice of conducting field sessions; students were able to study materials first hand at the cliff dwellings and at the pueblos. For his summer session of 1927, Hewett envisioned an interdisciplinary program. The courses were to include the whole history of the area from the cliff dwellers down to contemporary life. "All of these

¹Ibid., p. 29.

²Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, (1927), Official Acts, p. 39.

movements are related to one another," he wrote in his report for that year, "and with the very latest, the development of the architecture and arts of New Mexico form a final chapter, uniting the old and the new as nowhere else on the American continent. Here indeed, we have the most original movement toward the advancement of human culture which is to be found within the borders of the United States, the Santa Fe renaissance, the new Americanism of the West, of which the world has already heard, although of it as yet only the first promises have been realized."¹

No less enthusiastic over the possibilities of exploiting the local resources than Dr. Hewett was Dr. James Fulton Zimmerman, President of the University of New Mexico from 1927 to 1944. He was mainly responsible for the establishment of the Department of Anthropology, the Division of Inter-American Affairs, and the College of Fine Arts and for the strengthening of the Departments of Geology, Modern Languages, History, and Biology.²

"The Department of Anthropology," Dr. Thomas L. Popejoy reported in 1952, "with an abundance of natural laboratories which include many ancient aboriginal ruins, living ethnic groups of different tribes

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, (1927) Official Acts, pp. 166 - 167.

²Popejoy, loc. cit., pp. 17 - 18.

of Indians, and homogeneous population clusters of Spanish peoples . . . has through the leadership of an excellent faculty, developed into one of America's leading instructional and research units."¹ The College of Fine Arts was recommended for college status by President Zimmerman mainly because of the large number of artists at Santa Fe and Taos which represented a cultural resource.² The University called some of the artists such as Kenneth Adams and Kenneth Chapman to the faculty to develop the Department of Art. Dr. Zimmerman took "a calculated risk"³ in drawing upon the cultural resources of Santa Fe and Taos, and at the same time, Dr. Hewett along with artists and writers of Santa Fe and Taos were provided with an academic connection which they needed.

Dr. Hewett established a Department of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Southern California in 1932.⁴

The Museum Library

In 1931, the Museum of New Mexico Library was moved into its new quarters adjoining the Palace

¹Ibid., p. 18.

²Ibid., p. 19.

³Cf. title of Popejoy's address above.

⁴Bloom, op. cit. See also Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewitt Americanist," loc. cit., pp. 261 - 262.

of the Governors. At this time the Library had the largest collection of New Mexico newspapers and magazines outside the Library of Congress and attracted many students who wished to do research in New Mexico history. Through the work of the Historical Society, the Library had gathered quite a collection of old books and manuscripts dealing with the State and the Southwest in general. After the New Mexico archives were returned to the State they were housed here at the Museum. For a number of years, the Museum Library was the chief research center; however, in recent years, it has been superseded by the Library of the University of New Mexico.

The State Library Extension Service became a function of the Museum Library in 1929.¹ Under the direction of Mrs. Julia Brown Asplund, the Extension Service proved an invaluable cultural resource for the State and enhanced the importance of the Museum. In 1932, the Extension Service began the publication of The New Mexico Library Bulletin which has been an important cultural asset for the State.

The Santa Fe Fiesta

A very important undertaking of the School of American Research during this period was the direction

¹"Museum Library at Santa Fe," The Library Journal, Vol. LVI (December 15, 1931), p. 1060.

of the Santa Fe Fiesta. The idea of a great annual pageant took shape in 1918 when Dr. Hewett discussed the possibilities of such a project with Col. R. E. Twitchell, Col. D. C. Collier, Levi A. Hughes and others.¹ The first Fiesta was held in 1919 with the School of American Research in charge of most of the activities. During the next four years the Fiesta was managed by the Chamber of Commerce. In 1924, the Fiesta was under the complete direction of Hewett and the School where it remained until 1927.

The Fiesta was a revival of an old Spanish tradition; however, the Santa Fe Fiesta's historical foundation was the Fiesta which the Marques de la Penuela ordered in 1712 to celebrate the reconquest of the province by Diego de Vargas in 1692.

Dr. Hewett and Col. Twitchell, historian and President of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, conceived of the Fiesta as an historical pageant exhibiting the history and civilization of the State. The Indian, Spanish, and Anglo-American periods would be presented in a long parade the first day, and for the remainder of the Fiesta period, Indian and Spanish dances could be performed.

We might consider here the preparations and

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 27 July 1918, p. 6.

activities of the 1924 Fiesta as typical of these presentations. It was directed by the School of American Research, but it represented community cooperation.¹ Field expeditions were sent to the pueblos to solicit the participation of the Indians. "It was impressed upon the Indians that it was desired that the ceremonies be staged in their primitive beauty, in accordance with their own traditions and their religious significance."² Dr Hewitt wanted to present the ceremonials in as dramatic a setting as possible because of their ethnological interest and because of the esthetic achievement of native America that they represented.³

For the 1924 Fiesta, an Indian Fair was established.⁴ To encourage Indian arts of superior quality, a committee worked with the staff of the School and prizes were offered for the best work. About this time, the Pueblo Pottery Fund was established.⁵ It was hoped that this encouragement would

¹Paul A. F. Walter, "The Santa Fe Fiesta of 1924," Art and Archaeology, Vol. XVIII (November - December, 1924), p. 181.

²Ibid.

³See Edgar L. Hewett, "Native American Artists," Art and Archaeology, Vol. XIII (March, 1922), pp. 103 - 112.

⁴Kenneth M. Chapman, "The Indian Fair," Art and Archaeology, Vol. XVIII (November - December, 1924), p. 215.

⁵Ibid.

help to "restore their [the Indian] self-respect by opening to them a means of support along these lines that they have cherished from time immemorial."¹

In addition to the Indian groups, other community and State organizations contributed: the National Guard, the American Legion, the Rough Riders of the Spanish-American War, local Protestant ministers, members of the Roman Catholic priesthood, the Knights of Columbus, Masons, the Santa Fe Railroad Company, and artists and writers.²

The artists and writers, headed by Witter Bynner, inaugurated in 1924, "El Pasatiempo" to create a carnival atmosphere reminiscent of old Spain. This emphasis upon the Spanish aspect was due partially to Dr. Hewett's over-emphasis upon the Indians. A colorful market place with numerous booths was set up in the plaza. Will Shuster originated the idea of Burning Zozobra, Old Man Gloom in effigy. One of the highlights of the Pasatiempo was the Art colony's Hysterical Pageant, a burlesque of the Historical Pageant proper. Old Spanish dances, songs and games were revived along with Spanish colonial arts. Competition for a historic play brought forth "Tonita of the Holy Faith" by Mrs. Naud McFie Bloom and the

¹ Ibid.

² Walter, "The Santa Fe Fiesta of 1924", pp. 182 - 183.

Santa Fe Players presented it as folk drama.

The restoration of the Fiesta in Santa Fe was considered by the New Mexican as a patriotic service:

. . . No other distinctive community observance, celebration or pageant has received so much publicity in the magazines and newspapers of the country American antiquity, American traditions, are attracting the sight-seer, the student and the artist from the Old World to the historic treasures of our own land.

This great annual Fiesta of Old Santa Fe is doing more than amuse, entertain, delight the eye and please the ear of Americans. It is educating them in things intrinsically American, stimulating their pride in their own great traditions, awakening them to the beauty and the worthiness of things of America which have long lain forgotten.

The Santa Fe Fiesta is thus accomplishing a great patriotic service, an idealistic service for America in an age which has tended toward commercial common-placeness and absorption in material things of the present.¹

E. Dana Johnson, in 1924, expressed the expatriate dissatisfaction with America in his discussion of the purpose and spirit of the Fiesta:

It is the Spanish atmosphere, we seek to renew at Santa Fe Fiesta time, the merrymaking spirit of old Spain and Mexico; but most of all of old New Mexico.

We are keeping alive all the beauty and grace of the Spanish culture, because it is beautiful and graceful; and because a country that becomes too much steeped in the common place and the ugly needs to preserve all the picturesqueness and artistry and all the beauty to which it is heir from the civilizations that have contributed to it.

We are keeping alive the American imagination and appreciation of the beautiful when we do it.

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 3 September 1921, p. 2.

It is difficult to estimate the value of Santa Fe's service to the nation and the world in preserving that which the Pueblo and the Latin have contributed to our traditions and history, a service whose annual demonstration occurs in September.

The fine old folk dances and the songs of our Spanish people, their beautiful ancient customs, are as worthy of preservation as the Eagle Dance or the Corn ceremonial. Such things as the Christmas bonfires and the saint's festivals are priceless; and little by little they are slipping away, as automobiles increase and tourists grow in number.

In preserving all these things, we are keeping Santa Fe different; and at Fiesta time it is for us, who have come from afar into this wonderful old country, to enter into the spirit of its traditions and its old customs and join all together in making them live again.

.
To succeed, every man, woman and child in the old city must share that spirit. It is our assurance and guarantee of immunity from the commonplace and the ugly.¹

John Gillin, in his article, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," states that "A careful psycho-socio-cultural analysis would doubtless demonstrate that the fiesta complex is often a culturally patterned outlet for the frustrations imposed upon the individuals by the over-all system."² It would seem that the Fiesta at Santa Fe, as suggested by E. Dana Johnson, was a means of escape from the vulgarities of contemporary life as well as an attempt to preserve cultural values. Apparently,

¹Editorial in Santa Fe New Mexican, 29 July 1924.

²John Gillin, "Ethos Components in Modern Latin American Culture," American Anthropologist, Vol. LVII (June, 1955), p. 499.

the Fiesta was also a relief from the "quiet charm of the garden" which became boring to so many of the exiles!

We might conclude that a number of motives were at work to initiate and perpetuate the Santa Fe Fiesta; however, it is likely that they are identical to those which gave impetus to and accelerated the whole Santa Fe - Taos cultural movement.

The Fiesta helped to reinforce the renaissance by providing incentives and publicity. With the influx of outsiders, New Mexicans became more aware of their cultural resources. Indian arts and Spanish colonial arts were developed for discriminating tourists and thereby made a contribution to American art development.

Preservation and Revival of Indian Arts

When, in 1907, Dr. Hewett began a series of excavations in the ancient ruins of the Pajarito Plateau, he had employed a group of Tewa Indians from the San Ildefonso Pueblo as shovel men. From that time until his death, the welfare of the Pueblo Indians was always one of his immediate concerns.

"It was as a student of the Indian," says Paul A. F. Walter, "that he [Dr. Hewett] became almost sentimental in emphasizing the virtues of the Red Man as contrasted with wrongs inflicted by white men, and

the efforts of missionaries to suppress native customs."¹ Hewett felt that the completely integrated life of the aboriginal Americans as exhibited in the artifacts of the past and the community life of the living descendants conveyed a message for contemporary America.

In contact now with all the races of the world, [Hewett wrote] it becomes imperative to work out a just measure of human values; to take notice of the distinct factors in civilization, reconsider the terms 'superior' and 'inferior;' acknowledge that fitness to live and probability of survival does not depend solely on material efficiency and that the culture that rests on material power is probably the most unstable of all; that esthetic and ethical values are persistent beyond all others; that the races called by us 'inferior' have qualities that are priceless to human society and that in the discovery, recognition and cultivation of the special abilities in the less powerful races, lies our soundest insurance against spiritual decline and extinction by way of our own material violence.²

The Indian heritage had to be interpreted; since the record of their lives was contained chiefly in art, it was necessary that artists as well as scientists and historians engage in the study. He explained this conception in his report for 1919:

As the Indian disappears into the citizenship of our country, it is imperative that the record of this great racial experience be made complete and true. It is the problem of the

¹Walter, "Edgar Lee Hewett, Americanist," loc. cit., p. 261.

²Hewett, "Native American Artists," loc. cit., p. 105.

artist and poet as well as of the historian and scientist; therefore Americanists welcome into their field the advent of a distinguished and numerous company of artists, in the hope and belief that ample justice may be done to the race which has given the world its best example of orderly, integrated racial life The Indian is the first and only process of Americanization that has been carried to completion.¹

Not satisfied with just preserving relics of the past, Dr. Hewett became intensely interested in the living Indian. He desired to test the cultural vitality of the Pueblos still existing. "The question was," he said, "what could be done toward the revival of hereditary talents, rendered dormant through several generations of inaction."²

Experiences with the men and women of San Ildefonso Pueblo suggested to Dr. Hewett and his staff of the School of American Archaeology that pottery making as an art might be revived.³ The pottery makers of San Ildefonso were shown what the Museum considered fine work and were encouraged to imitate or create work of their own. Potters like Antonita Reybal, Ramona Gonzales, Maximiliana Martinez, and Maria Martinez began to produce outstanding examples, and

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, (1919) Official Acts, pp. 38 - 39.

²Edgar L. Hewett, Ancient Life in the American Southwest (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1930), p. 146.

³See Carl E. Guthe, Pueblo Pottery Making - A Study at the Village of San Ildefonso (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925).

good work in the other pueblos followed--each pueblo maintaining its individuality. By 1915, Maria Martinez far surpassed the other potters and her work began to achieve a national reputation.¹ In 1934, she was presented the Indian Achievement Award at the Chicago World's Fair.

The Museum of New Mexico encouraged the revival of pottery making by insisting upon high standards of excellence and purchasing only the best work. Kenneth Chapman of the School of American Archaeology was the leading figure in the movement and purchased large amounts of pottery himself. Through the work of Kenneth Chapman and others like Frank Applegate, Mary Austin, Alice Corbin Henderson, Andrew Dasburg, and Dr. Hewett, the Pueblo Pottery Fund was established in 1922; in 1925 it was incorporated as the Indian Arts Fund for the purpose of encouraging Indian handicrafts in the Southwest and to gather for permanent exhibit the more noteworthy specimens of such crafts both ancient and modern. The incorporators were Andrew Dasburg, Frank Applegate, Kenneth M. Chapman, H. P. Mera and Francis C. Wilson. A very respectable collection was assembled and was temporarily housed at the Museum. Mary Austin wrote:

¹See Alice Marriott, María: the Potter of San Ildefonso (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948).

By this time we had come to a general understanding of the meaning and value of Indian art; that it concerned itself entirely with the principle of the conscious unity in all things, the gesture of a rhythmic beauty to interpret the significance of common things, the ploughing and watering and planting of the corn, the fine moralities of nature. The Indian has sought incessantly for the precise values in his body and soul of what is presaged to him in the sun and the cloud and the rain. He is an artist because he is sensitive to the spirit of existence. . . . We have made him understand that we realized his nakedness as a part of his expression, and his symbolism as the speech of his soul. So we worked together and we had little difficulty in persuading the rest of the community to work with us.¹

Two years after Willa Cather published "Tom Outland's Story,"² in which the question of America's appreciation of Indian pottery is a major concern, John D. Rockefeller Jr. came to Santa Fe on his second visit and became interested in the Indian Arts Fund. He made arrangements to contribute a considerable amount toward the building of a museum to house the Fund's collection and to provide space and facilities for scientific studies. A fifty-five acre plot of ground on the outskirts of Santa Fe was given by the Misses Elizabeth and Martha White and Francis C. Wilson; thus, with the aid of Mr. Rockefeller, the museum which was called the Laboratory of Anthropology was constructed in 1931. The purposes of the Laboratory were: "To promote human welfare through research in Anthropology and

¹Mary Austin, Earth Horizon (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1932), p. 362.

²See discussion of "Tom Outland's Story" below.

allied sciences; to establish and maintain museums for public education; to conduct excavations and other investigations and give instruction through lectures and field demonstrations; to provide laboratory facilities for scientific workers; to publish reports, etc., for dissemination of anthropological knowledge; to grant and confer degrees . . . to foster, encourage and promote the arts and industries and the spiritual, social, economic and physical welfare of the aboriginal American races."¹

The resources of the Laboratory of Anthropology have been utilized by the University of New Mexico, and the Laboratory's staff has done a considerable amount of research.² However, for the most part, the Laboratory is a museum, and regular scientific work has been at a minimum. The original purposes of preservation have continued to dominate the activities.

One of the most interesting aspects of the revival of Indian arts was the revival or at least development of Indian painting. Dr. Hewett and the Museum staff encouraged a group of young Indians to paint their ceremonial dances in water colors. The

¹Lucy Bacon, "Anthropology's Mecca," New Mexico (October, 1931), pp. 20 - 21.

²The Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, begun in 1945, is published by the University of New Mexico and the Laboratory. Cf. also the studies of H. P. Mera in the publications of the Laboratory.

first of the Indian artists to display talent was Crescencio Martinez, a Tewa of San Ildefonso. Crescencio had worked for years with the excavation parties of the School of American Archaeology when he announced that he could draw. It is likely that the tremendous art activity at Santa Fe and Taos encouraged him to proclaim his desire to participate. Dr. Hewett relates that Crescencio had not been taught anything about drawing or color, and with no preparation did his work with unerring precision and color sense.¹

Three other painters soon gained recognition: Awa Tsireh, Velino Shije, and Fred Kabotie. Kabotie was first discovered at the U. S. Indian School by Mrs. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff. It is likely that the Indian artists at this time were encouraged with examples of primitive designs provided by the Museum. They produced a kind of pictograph in the style of the work their ancestors did on skins and stone.

For several reasons, the work of the Indian painters gained national attention. First of all, the general interest in the Indian encompassed all of his native arts. Secondly, the revolt in American art-- the choice of new subjects and the growing interest in the primitive bases of Cubism and Expressionism as

¹Hewett, "Native American Artists," loc. cit.

shown in the works of Cezanne, Matisse, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Picasso directed attention to the American primitives. Thirdly, the developing "Americanism" seized upon the Indian painting as a basis for American esthetics. Lastly, the work of the Santa Fe Indian painters was exhibited by the Independents in New York.

The Indian painting was characterized by a natural symbolism, a freedom from exacting anatomical requirements, a delicate color pattern, and a severe individualism. The symbolism of the Indian was suggested as an inspiration for the modernist who wished to discard representation and to show a unifying force behind the surface of things. Since Indian art was religiously inspired, the fact suggested the weakness of American art which was detached from religion.

In a review of "The Sacred Symbol," a painting by W. E. Rollins, the critic, after explaining Rollins's attempt to express Indian philosophy and its relation to art, came to this conclusion:

Thus the Indian has seen the fundamental significance of art and has applied it to its fundamental use.

The secrets of nature which lie behind the veil of sensible phenomena are, in very truth, the raw material of real art--for on the more subtle planes of the spiritual world the ultimate destiny of man must be fought out. The recognition of the significance of these things by the Indian, is his message to the 'modernist' who only too often limits his interest to a trivial estheticism and thereby reveals the essential poverty of his nature, with a pitiful

though unconscious frankness Through this message from the Pueblo Indian, modern art may well find the inspiration of its future--confessing its insignificance and recognizing that it has concerned itself with the husk of things and ignored the kernel. In this spirit and in no other is it possible for art of our day to recover its lost position as the Herald of the Gods to men--the Initiator--the Revealer.¹

In 1920, John Sloan arranged to have the work of the Pueblo Indian painters, Crescencio Martinez, Awa-tsireh, Fred Kabotie, and Velino Shiji, exhibited during the annual showing of the Society of Independent Artists. It appears that the exhibit was comparatively successful. Sloan wrote to Sheldon Parsons of the Museum of New Mexico:

My dear Mr. Parsons: Last night's opening of the Independent Ex was a fearful jam of people, the like unknown since the Indep. Show in Thirty-fifth street between Fifth and Sixth Aves The elevators to the roof galleries had more than they could do for two hours a solid mass jammed the lower floor, thousands of people literally surged through the galleries trying to see pictures. They will have to come back. It was impossible to pause.

The Indian drawings are a great success both with the knowing ones and the 'hoi polloi.' Thank you for all your trouble. We had them framed. They look fine (Some from Mabel Dodge. They helped the group). I am looking forward to Santa Fe again this summer and to seeing you all again. The Museum of Santa Fe seems to me to be creating a very genuine art atmosphere, a comfortable art atmosphere, in fact, one in which artists may breathe, which is an unusual thing in art atmospheres.

Thanking you again and looking to see you in June, I am yours,

John Sloan²

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 19 September 1920, p. 4.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 18 March 1920, p. 5.

Sloan became more involved in the Indian arts movement during his summer visits in the twenties, and the paintings of New Mexico Indians along with others of Arizona and Oklahoma appeared in the Independents' show for many years.

The culmination of the revival of Indian arts was the establishment in 1930 of the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts Inc. One of the main purposes was to show America that the "curio concept" of the American Indian had to be revised.¹ Sloan and La Farge wrote in their introduction to the 1931 Exposition: "The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts is expected to give thousands of white Americans their first chance to see really fine Indian work exhibited as art. And it will give the Indian a chance to prove himself to be not a maker of cheap curios and souvenirs, but a serious artist worthy of our appreciation and capable of making a cultural contribution that will enrich our modern life."² They mentioned the fact that commercialization of silverwork for tourists had debased the true art of the Indians and that the Exposition hoped to off-set the idea of Indian art as merely factory products designed for the curio mind. Oliver La Farge

¹Introduction to American Indian Art. Introduction by John Sloan and Oliver La Farge (New York: The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts Inc., 1931), p. 7.

²Ibid.

had depicted this problem of silver work in Laughing Boy (1929).¹

Obviously, many of the defenders of the Indian and his arts wished to keep the native Americans living in their old primitive surroundings as a picturesque reminder of the past. These defenders, not really interested in the Indians as human beings, were enthusiastically fighting a battle against change--change in twentieth century America. The Indians of New Mexico were a symbol of stability. They represented the resistance of a people to the machine age. An editorial in the Santa Fe New Mexican sets forth the preservation spirit of the defenders:

Shall the vanishing Indian be given a chance to continue living his own happy, simple life in his own way, be encouraged to make pottery and blankets and beadwork and silver work, to keep up his ancestral ceremonies and his religious devotions as he performed them for centuries; or shall the majestic patriarch of the imposing and historic pueblo exchange the ram-parts of his traditional communal fortress-house for a job as janitor in a hardware store or move, wearing a vest and store overalls, into an unpainted wooden shack with a sheet iron roof in the midst of a patch of corn and beans enclosed by a barb-wire fence? Shall the Pueblo exchange the cunning mastery of beautiful and unique handicrafts handed down from antiquity, for the ability to shoe a horse and run a phonograph; the corn dance for the movies, the rain-chant for saxophone jazz and the councils of the kiva for a seat on the sunny side of the village store?

Or shall we save the Pueblo as we save the sequoias or guard the Old Palace?

¹See discussion of La Farge below.

Is there such a wide difference between cutting up a giant redwood into flooring and making an imitation 'civilized man' out of the Pueblo Indian?¹

This spirit of preservation is promoted by a sense of defeat, a nostalgic longing for security, and a hunger for beauty.

Despite the fact that a great deal of the sound and fury of the movement to preserve the Indian arts was provoked by the disillusion following World War I and the general intellectual rebellion against scientific progress and the standardization manifested chiefly in urban society, the results show that this movement brought about a national recognition of the Indian's contribution to American culture. Also, the movement aided immensely in the development of U. S. Indian policy in the twentieth century.²

John Collier made Indian arts and crafts a basis for much of his program as Indian Commissioner. In 1935, the Indian Service, under Collier, secured the creation of an Arts and Crafts Board which was authorized by Congress, August 27, 1935.³ "In the

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 23 April 1921, p. 4.

²Cf. E. E. Dale, The Indians of the Southwest-- A Century of Development Under the United States (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949). See also Oliver La Farge (ed). The Changing Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942).

³Dale, op. cit., p. 222.

Southwest," says E. E. Dale, "it initiated a silver project for the Navajo, Hopi, and Pueblo, and established and made public standards of genuineness and quality for the silver work of the Indians of these tribes. A government stamp was devised to be applied only to pieces which met the required standards. Efforts were also made to teach better workmanship and to arrange to supply raw materials to craftsmen. In addition a Navajo textile project was established and certificates of genuineness and quality were issued to be attached only to such fabrics as were made of wool and woven in the traditional Navajo manner."¹

Connected also with the Indian arts movement was progress made in applied Anthropology. During his administration as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier brought reputable anthropologists into the Indian service, and Indian Service personnel were encouraged to use the principle of anthropology in their work.² Several reputable studies of work in the field of applied anthropology have been published since 1940.³

¹Ibid., p. 223.

²See William H. Kelley, "Applied Anthropology in the Southwest," American Anthropologist, Vol. XVI (August, 1954), pp. 709-714.

³See works such as Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), and Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, The Hopi Way, 1945.

Conclusion

Although Dr. Edgar L. Hewett was not a first rate scholar and took his orientation from the humanities rather than from the sciences, his work in New Mexico should not be underestimated by judging it in light of present day trends and accomplishments in anthropology. Dr. Hewett had not received proper training in archaeology or in any of the other branches of anthropology, yet we might be reminded that there were few trained scholars in these fields at the turn of the century. The disciplines of anthropology and sociology were not developed along modern lines until around the twenties.

Dr. Walter W. Taylor, in surveying the history of Southwestern archaeology,¹ points out that several early approaches and conditions tended to retard the growth of archaeological studies in that area. First of all, the insistence upon joining the living and the dead through archaeology was accompanied by an emotional involvement which prevented clear scientific work. Secondly, the early archaeologists embraced a "one culture" concept. Thirdly, they failed to concern themselves with temporal distinctions and the concept of time in general.² Another influence which con-

¹Taylor, loc. cit.

²Ibid.

duced toward the non-scientific approach was the collector and museum man. The turn of the century and the first two decades of the present century was a period of excavation for the sole purpose of obtaining museum collections. Thus, an emphasis was placed upon the spectacular and the artistic and a neglect of the inconspicuous and the fragmentary. Much valuable material was therefore neglected. In archaeology as in art and literature, the restlessness and transiency prevented sustained effort and proper development. Since most of the competent workers in the field lived outside the area, local institutions like the School of American Research suffered.

The School of American Archaeology was primarily an experiment in a new field. As Dr. Hewett pointed out in his report for 1920, the School had no preconceived method of procedure, but with privilege of studying its field and developing its method as the subject unfolded to the understanding of the research staff.¹ The training and the philosophy of the staff then, as he himself suggested, determined the course of archaeological and anthropological activity at Santa Fe during the period. Dr. Hewett's training in the humanities and the absence of scholars in science, it must be admitted, hindered progress of the institution at Santa Fe.

¹Annual Report of the Director, School of American Research, (1920), Official Acts, p. 48.

It is in terms of developments during the period, it would seem, that Dr. Hewett and the Museum of New Mexico must be judged. Even the major Eastern institutions like the Peabody Museum and Phillips Andover Academy, The Smithsonian Institution and the Carnegie Institution were interested primarily in collections. Dr. Hewett was adhering to common practices. However, his effort to preserve the archaeological sites for American archaeologists and the publicity he gave the Pueblo region were of inestimable value in the history of American Anthropology. Dr. A. V. Kidder who wrote the first reputable text on Southwestern archaeology acknowledged the contribution Dr. Hewett and the Museum of New Mexico made to facilitate his study at Pecos.¹

Dr. Hewett's stress upon the necessity of close cooperation between many disciplines for a satisfactory study of Indian culture was timely indeed, although he was not able to secure a competent staff for carrying on advanced work. DR. A. L. Kroeber has pointed out in reference to anthropology, archaeology and the humanities, that

We may therefore expect a continuance of rapprochement: humanistic studies becoming increasingly pan-human in their range, and increasingly historical at the expense of their

¹See A. V. Kidder, Introduction to the Study of Southwestern Archaeology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924).

normative constituent; and natural science taking cognizance and making greater use of the humanistic data and the results of humanistic studies. In fact, anthropology may with a degree of justice be conceived, at least in part, as an avant-garde of natural science moving toward the area of conjunction--as linguistics is extending toward natural sciences from the side of humanities.¹

It seems clearly evident that the approach and attitudes developed by Dr. Hewett and the Museum of New Mexico had a tremendous influence upon artists and writers not only in Santa Fe and Taos but throughout the Southwest and that influence continues as evinced by the overwhelming number of Southwestern books which continue to take their departure from one aspect or another of the regional past.

¹See essays in Robert F. Spencer, Method and Perspective in Anthropology--Papers in Honor of Wilson D. Wallis (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1954), p. 281.

CHAPTER III

THE SANTA FE - TAOS ART MOVEMENT

Taos

When most European explorers set out on their voyages to the New World, they included among their personnel artists and cartographers, so that a pretty complete pictorial record of new discoveries and explorations could be maintained. During the early years of the Republic, the exploration of western sections of America was one of the immediate concerns of our government. Beginning with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, sketching the native inhabitants and their environment became important. The Government ordered the painting of Indian portraits for historical records.

Two of the most famous of early illustrators and Indian portrait painters were George Catlin and Frederic Remington. Catlin, who was born at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, travelled throughout the continents of North and South America painting on the scene portraits of Indians.¹ After seeing a delegation of

¹Lloyd Haberly, Pursuit of the Horizon--A Life of George Catlin, Painter and Recorder of the American Indian, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948).

Indians from the Far West, he decided, as he later wrote, "to use my art and so much of the labors of my future life as might be required in rescuing from oblivion the looks and customs of the vanishing races of native man in America."¹

Between 1820 and 1838, Catlin painted some 600 portraits of important Indian leaders. In 1837, he assembled a large exhibit in New York. Having attracted so much attention, the exhibit was taken to other cities in the United States and finally to London.² After Catlin's death, his main Indian Gallery was deposited at the Smithsonian Institution. Other pieces of his work are in museums and libraries throughout the country.³ Undoubtedly, these exhibits of Catlin's Indians helped to fire the imagination of later illustrators and other Easterners as well.

Frederic Remington went West at nineteen after attending the Yale School of Fine Arts from 1878 - 1880. Remington's illustrations represent a more comprehensive view of the West than do those of Catlin. The latter concentrated on the Indian, but Remington was interested in the cowboy and other western

¹"George Catlin," Dictionary of American Biography.

²Haberly, op. cit., p. 101 ff.

³Haberly, op. cit., pp. 226 - 239.

characters.¹ Utilizing the new discoveries in photographic art, Remington was able to portray his subjects with an amazing realism. Remington's illustrations appear in books such as Inman's Old Santa Fe Trail. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Remington's paintings of the West were known throughout the United States.

After the Civil War, many illustrators went West in search of new materials for periodicals such as Harper's Weekly and Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. During this period the lithographs of Currier and Ives depicted the progress of the railroads toward the Pacific.

Other painters of the West were the landscapists known as the Rocky Mountain School.² Albert Bierstadt, regarded as the founder of this school, made his first trip West in 1859. The painters of this school "were interested in the West only as it presented panoramic and melodramatic stretches of plain and mountain scenery, and the Indian was only introduced occasionally to lend color and add interest."³

¹"Frederic Remington," Dictionary of American Biography. See also Harold McCracken, Frederic Remington: Artist of the Old West (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1947).

²Robert Taft, Artists and Illustrators of the Old West, 1850 - 1900. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 213.

³Taft, op. cit., p. 213.

This group never settled at any one place and never made any attempt to develop a regional school.

Thus, by 1900, the American public's knowledge of the Great West had increased considerably by means of art, and more painters were discovering the West as a vast resource. "The eighty years of Western illustration," Robert Taft concluded, "beginning with the work of Samuel Seymour in 1819, had its logical conclusion in the Taos art colony of the modern day."¹

Because of unavoidable circumstances in 1854--war between an Apache band and United States troops--Catlin missed seeing Taos and the other pueblos.² However, painters had come to Taos with the fourth expedition of Colonel John C. Fremont in 1848. With the Fremont expedition were Edward and Richard Kern of Philadelphia.³ In 1880 Montgomery Roosevelt, a relative of Theodore Roosevelt, came to Taos; the next year Charles Craig sketched at Taos in the summer, and in 1888 Henry R. Poore arrived.⁴ Neither of these painters, however, settled in the valley.

¹Ibid., p. 243.

²Haberly, op. cit., p. 197.

³Blanche C. Grant, When Old Trails Were New: The Story of Taos. (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1934), p. 116.

⁴Ibid., p. 254. See also Taft, op. cit., p. 244.

Although Joseph Henry Sharp did not come to live in Taos until after 1900, he was in New Mexico in 1883 and again in 1893. It was from Sharp that the founders of the Taos art colony heard of this ideal spot for painting. Born in Ohio in 1859, Sharp began to study art in Cincinnati when he was fourteen years old. In Cincinnati a few years later, he associated with the western artist Henry F. Farny who encouraged him to go West.¹ Sharp came down to Taos in 1893 from the Crow reservation in Montana, where he had been staying in a log cabin studying and painting the Indians.² In 1896 Sharp went to Paris where he met Ernest L. Blumenschein and E. Irving Couse who were studying at the Academie Julien. Enthusiastically, he expressed the possibilities of Taos as a center for painting.

Beginning of the Taos Art Colony

The first artist to settle permanently in Taos was Bert Phillips. He and Ernest L. Blumenschien arrived in 1898. Blumenschein gives this account of his discovery of the Taos Valley:

I want to record the official beginning so we'll slip back a long time when I was an art student in Paris. There I met Henry Sharp. From him I heard

¹Taft, op. cit., p. 244. See also a discussion of Farny, pp. 217 - 225.

²Ernest Peixotto, "The Taos Society of Artists," Scribner's Magazine, Vol 60 (August, 1916), p. 258.

for the first time of the Indian village of Taos where he had sketched for a couple of weeks. It was located at the foot of a mountain in northern New Mexico. I remember being impressed, as I pigeon-holed that curious name in my memory with a hope that some day I might pass that way.

Returning soon after to America, McClure's new magazine, destined to become famous and die, assigned me a job of illustrating, that obliged me to visit New Mexico and Arizona. It was a short trip, but a thrilling one, in mid-winter. When I got back from this journey, I was so enthusiastic over the possibilities of a sketching trip in the plateau country, that I induced Bert Phillips to save his money and accompany me the following summer.

Phil and I decided to outfit at Denver. We purchased a light wagon to be delivered with harness at a corral where we had acquired two broncos. We loaded that vehicle to its capacity with our camping and painting apparatus. Without betraying our ignorance, carefully observed how the cowboys harnessed the animals. Then away we drove--headed for Mexico. . . . June, July, August we spent sketching in the Rockies in Colorado. In September we crossed La Veta Pass into New Mexico. A decided change came in the scenery--and also the roads. The heavy thunder storms of summer had ruined the mountain roads. We soon found our light wagon was no match for New Mexico One rear wheel collapsed and there we were balancing with our precious load, at an angle of 45 degrees.

Experienced mountaineers would have replaced the wheel with a spruce sapling, but we decided to take the broken member to the nearest blacksmith shop. The nearest blacksmith was at Taos, over twenty miles away. We flipped a dollar to see which of us stayed on the mountain with the outfit and one horse. It was my fortune to get the task of carrying that wheel on horseback to Taos. At 4 P.M. on the 3rd of September, 1898, I started down the mountain on what resulted in the most impressive journey of my life.¹

Blumenschein, then, was the first of the Taos artists to discover the valley. He recalls his first

¹From a MS made available to the writer by the painter at Taos 17 July 1953.

impression:

. . . . The color, the effective character of the landscape, the drama of the vast spaces, the superb beauty and severity of the hills stirred me deeply I saw my first Taos Indians, picturesque, colorful, dressed in blankets artistically draped, New Mexico had gripped me--and I was not long in deciding that if Phillips would agree with me, if he felt as inspired to work as I, the Taos valley and its surrounding magnificent country would be the end of our wagon trip.¹

Bert Phillips was so entranced by Taos that he decided to remain and make his home there. Blumenschein went back East that winter and did not return for several years; therefore Phillips is regarded as the founder of the Taos Art Colony. Irving Couse joined Phillips in 1909, and Sharp returned for permanent residence in 1912. Many others had come in by this time. As early as 1903, the advertising campaign of the railroads had attracted large crowds for the Indian festivals.²

Phillips adjusted himself to his new environment by setting up his studio in an old adobe structure. When Joseph Sharp returned several years later, his first studio was an old Penitente church. It became customary for the artists to live in as primitive a manner as possible even after facilities improved.

¹ Ibid.

² James A. LeRoy, "The Indian Festival at Taos," Outing, Vol 43. (December, 1903), pp. 283 - 287.

The Taos artists had three major subjects which they could exploit with their variety of techniques: the Indian, the Spanish American (Mexicano), and the landscape. Anglo-American folklore was explored later.

Of the landscape Mabel Luhan has written:

This is the provocative landscape that stirs the emotions. Tender and strong, sometimes darkening dramatically, the half-circle of mountains surrounds the somnolent desert and embraces the oasis that is named Taos In this high valley there is not a day that does not evoke the emotion of poesy, compounded as the surroundings are of beauty and terror, sun and shadow, revealing almost indefinable subtleties,¹ in the golden light and in the abysmal shadows.

Just as fascinating to the new-comers were the Indians of the Pueblo of Taos²--a native race, unexploited because it had isolated itself and sustained an agricultural and domestic existence. For the artists, here were "native models,. . . not the war-whooping, tomahawk-shaking, feather-crowned kind of Indians, but peaceable, dignified brown men who farmed the land and made pottery designed from and decorated with patterns found in the ruins of their ancestors' dwelling

¹Mabel Dodge Luhan, "Taos--A Eulogy," Creative Art, Vol. 9 (October, 1931), p. 289.

²Taos, as an area, is divided into three sections: (1) San Geronimo de Taos is the prehistoric Indian pueblo. (2) Ranchos de Taos was founded by the Spanish colonial settlers. (3) The other, Fernando de Taos, is the Anglo-American town lying between the Indian and Spanish villages. This was the trading post village of Taos.

places."¹ Indians posed for Phillips, Couse and the rest. This close association enabled the artists to reveal in their paintings much of the true character of the Indian.

Blumenschein, Phillips, Walter Ufer, E. Irving Couse, Victor Higgins and Oscar Berninghaus painted the Indian, the Spanish Americans and the general activity of the Taos valley with such earnestness and sympathy that they may be said to have constituted an American scene school concurrently with the Ash Can School.

Although the Taos artists devoted a great deal of time to the landscape and the Spanish American culture, the Indian was the dominant theme. Influenced, undoubtedly, by the archaeological and ethnological activity in that area, the artists produced a group of interesting expressions of Indian life.

After the School of American Archaeology was established at Santa Fe,² Dr. Hewett encouraged the Taos painters to exhibit their work at the Museum.

The Taos Society of Artists and Publicity

Art conditions being as they were at the beginning of the century--American art not patronized,

¹J. Pennington, "Taos: An Art Center on the Edge of the Desert," The Mentor, Vol. 12 (July, 1924), p. 23.

²See a discussion of the Art Gallery above.

the Academy in power, and one-man shows tantamount to perpetual obscurity--the Taos painters organized the Taos Society of Artists to facilitate their own exhibitions. The Society held its first annual exhibit at the Museum in Santa Fe under the auspices of the School of American Archaeology in the fall of 1915.¹

Although the group organized chiefly for the purpose of exhibiting, several other cultural objectives were incorporated in the Society's constitution. They are set forth in Section III as follows:

This Society is formed for educational purposes, to develop a high standard of art among its members and to aid in the diffusion of taste for art in general. To promote and stimulate the practical expression of art--to preserve and promote the native art.

To facilitate bringing before the public through exhibitions and other means, tangible results of the work of its members--to promote, maintain, and preserve high standards of excellence in painting, and to encourage sculpture, architecture, applied arts, music, literature, ethnology, and archaeology, solely as it pertains to New Mexico and the States adjoining.²

After 1915, exhibits were sent annually throughout the United States. The new subject matter plus the brilliant color and light which are characteristic of New Mexico attracted attention and many awards came home to Taos. Much of the success was due perhaps

¹Paul A. F. Walter, "The Santa Fe - Taos Art Movement," Art and Archaeology, Vol. 4 (December, 1916) p. 330.

²Kenneth M. Adams, "Los Ocho Pintores," New Mexico Quarterly Review, (Summer, 1951), p. 147.

to the modernism introduced at the Armory Show. Although all of the members of the Taos Society were more traditionalist than modern in their techniques--trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and the Academie Julien--the color and primitive Indian subjects coincided with many of the ideas of the Fauves. Interest in primitive art increased after the Armory Show; consequently, Taos art suggested much for main line moderns. Even Taos Mountain became an American "St. Victoire."

The Taos artists were hailed in New Mexico as prophets of "an American renaissance:"

Virile and prophetic is the new note in American art by a group of painters who are making Santa Fe and Taos their chosen field. Among these prophets of an American renaissance--founders of a Santa Fe - Taos School in art--are men whom the world hails as masters, Robert Henri, J. H. Sharp, Julius Rohlschoven, and E. L. Blumenschein, and a score of others. . . .¹

This rhapsodic praise was chauvinism par excellence, yet Taos artists were acclaimed in Scribner's Magazine with equal enthusiasm:

The success of these men who paint the Indian should influence and encourage others to follow their lead. Why some of our 'moderns,' with their love for vigor and 'vitality,' their fondness for primitive color and pattern and the naive crudities of aboriginal art, have not hit upon this pueblo country for their inspiration is a mystery. Why have they not studied the pictographs of Frijoles Canyon, the symbolic

¹Walter, loc. cit., p. 330. Robert Henri painted in Santa Fe during the summer of 1916 and exhibited some of his work with the Taos group.

pottery of Acoma and the Zuni villages, the crude graces of the Hopi dancers, instead of feeling impelled to fare far afield to distant Polynesia and the Malays of Sumatra?¹

Thousands who observed the paintings from New Mexico in galleries, museums and public buildings, were attracted by the color and primitive background. The Corcoran Gallery exhibit of 1922 drew from Virgil Barker this comment: "Walter Ufer's 'Fiddler of Taos' so vividly conveys the blinding quality of the desert light that it repels eyes accustomed to a more genteel style of painting; and that is one reason why his work should be viewed with interest and respect."² In other exhibits, art patrons viewed with wonder E. Irving Couse's "Making Pottery," E. L. Blumenschein's "The Peacemaker," and J. H. Sharp's "Taos Pueblo."

The public began to read in magazines that "The color and atmosphere make the place seem a painter's paradise. It is like a sunny corner of old Spain, with a dash of Parisian life, and the desert and Indians thrown in as a distinctly American asset."³ Many were impressed by the fact that one could find "a simple, unrestrained, inexpensive, and unpretentious way

¹Peixotte, loc. cit., p. 260.

²Virgil Barker, "Contemporary American Painting at the Corcoran Gallery of Art," Art and Archaeology, Vol. 13 (January, 1922), p. 10.

³Rose Henderson, "Art That Blooms at the Desert's Rim," The Outlook, Vol. 134 (August 1, 1923), p. 507.

of living."¹ In addition, the public was told that ". . . Taos is a wonderful place to loaf in. It is like a great hanging garden full of birds and flowers, and in the spring the young animals are cavorting all over the place, the little foals around their mothers, the lambs among the sheep in the wayside meadows, and calves and kids and little chicks. The meadow lark is singing on every cedar fence-post, and the wild plum blossom is white along the lanes and fills the whole valley with perfume."²

The Santa Fe Railroad was quick to recognize the advertising value of the art colony.³ The artists were given commissions to paint landscapes to be used in stations and on advertising copy. As representative of the Santa Fe, William Haskell Simpson was a forceful publicist of the art colony.

F. A. Wadleigh of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company wrote to J. H. Sharp on November 3, 1917:

Dear Mr. Sharp:

Sometime during the winter I want to reproduce in half tone, in our "Railroad Red Book," some of the work of my artists friends at Taos, the same as last year, and I would therefore greatly appreciate your sending me photographs

¹Pennington, loc. cit., p. 23.

²Luhan, "Taos - A Eulogy," p. 291.

³See discussion above.

of one or two of your 1917 paintings
I believe their reproduction will be of some
value to Taos and its artists.

F. A. Wadleigh¹

Between 1916 and 1934, the world was attracted to Taos. Writers, artists, musicians, archaeologists, anthropologists, ordinary tourists--all came to see for themselves. Mabel Dodge and Maurice Sterne arrived in 1916. Andrew Dasburg and Robert Edmond Jones joined them. Leopold Stokowski came out to record Indian music. Later Marsden Hartley, Georgia O'Keefe, John Marin and John Sloan came for short or long visits.

A host of European artists made the journey to Taos. One was Nicolai Fechin, a Russian. His wife, Alexandra has described the appeal of the valley to them in 1926:

The Indians, the Spanish and the few Anglo settlers clung to nature, seeking to live in harmony with it. To us, brought up in Old Russia on pastoral scenery, folk music and folk dancing, this was the first real faultless tune we had recognized in the New World. What we had seen before with all the industrialization, commercialization and concomitant artificiality seemed false, very much at odds with human nature itself.²

Willa Cather chose Fechin to paint her portrait. Ano-

¹Uncatalogued papers of the School of American Research, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

²Alexandra Fechin, "European Aspects of Cosmopolitan Taos," New Mexico Quarterly Review Vol. 21 (Summer, 1951), p. 159.

ther European, Leon Gaspard, made his home there. The art colony took on the same international atmosphere that characterized old Taos of the fur trade days. However, during the twenties, with the influx of dilettantes and hangers-on along with curiosity-seekers and the regular American tourists in their Fords, an "arty" climate prevailed--almost obscuring sincere and imaginative work. D. H. Lawrence viewed Taos as a great American circus.

Little coteries and satellites developed. John Collier noted that a severe individualism prevailed and a distressing social situation had been created. Around this time, however, one small group, under the leadership of Mrs. Burritt Harwood established a center which served as a sort of meeting ground. In 1923, the Harwood Foundation, which included a library, a permanent collection of various arts, and a gallery in which all Taos painters could exhibit,¹ was established as a semi-private institution, supported in part by community memberships.²

The Taos Society of Artists was disbanded in 1927. Since it had been founded chiefly for the

¹"What Art Did for Taos and its Indians," The Literary Digest Vol. 116 (October 21, 1933), p. 19.

²The Harwood Foundation became the site of the Art Extension School of the University of New Mexico in 1936.

purpose of aiding in group exhibits, the increased demand for one man shows rendered the Society unnecessary.¹

Although the work of the early Taos painters was chiefly representational in the manner of the traditional schools of the period, painting during the twenties became increasingly influenced by the Modernist Movement. That the Taos Society of Artists was organized for exhibition purposes did not affirm that the painters constituted, in respect to philosophy and technique, a school. Independence of style was orally emphasized and actively pursued.

The presence in Taos of artists like Dasburg, Hartley, Marin, and O'Keefe along with other Easterners and Europeans inevitably swayed the direction of art toward the Modern. Close association with the group in Santa Fe was also a determining factor. The work of Howard Cook, Kenneth Adams, Thomas Benrimo and Emil Bisstram is illustrative of the Modern influence in later Taos painting.

Santa Fe

The mellow glow of the Italian and Spanish Renaissance extended its rays of influence to the New World first in the Southwest and not to the severe

¹Adams, loc. cit., p. 148.

hostile climates of Plymouth or Jamestown. This impression of the beginnings of American art patronage has been declared by the Southwest regionalists. To the Spanish missions of New Mexico, particularly Santa Fe, paintings of the Renaissance period were sent for purposes of adornment and appreciation. It was these early art treasures which appropriately laid part of the foundation for the later development of an art colony.

During the Spanish colonial period, arts and crafts which rivalled those developed along the Atlantic coast provided another splended background for the twentieth century "renaissance" in New Mexico.

As in the case of Taos, many painters and illustrators visited Santa Fe during the latter years of the nineteenth century. Yet it was not until around 1909 when a group of painters initiated activities which led to the founding of the Santa Fe art colony during the years 1918 to 1920.

To the School of American Archaeology came Kenneth Chapman, Carlos Vierra, Donald Beauregard and Carl Lotave. As artists, they were chiefly concerned with archaeological expeditions in the Southwest. Sketching sites, drawing pictures of relics, and painting murals for archaeological exhibit rooms were their main activities at that time.¹ However, as the Museum

¹See Walter, loc. cit., p. 331.

of New Mexico progressed, they served as the art staff and assisted Hewett with the founding of the Art Gallery.

As artists joined the group at Taos, others stopped off in Santa Fe. In 1909, W. E. Rollins held an exhibition of his work.¹ By 1914, Gerald Cassidy² and Sheldon Parsons had arrived. Cassidy, who had come out for his health in 1912, maintained a close association with the School of American Archaeology and the Museum. Parsons became Director of Art at the Museum and contributed to the column, "Notes of Art and Artists" which appeared in the Santa Fe New Mexican.

In 1916, Robert Henri, leader of the Ash Can School, came out to spend the summer. He was given a studio in the Museum and while in Santa Fe did some excellent studies of both Indians and Spanish Americans. Henri, an admirer of "dignity in the human being" as he saw it expressed in the individual and not in races and nations,³ had encouraged the New York Realists to observe the humanity around them and find worthwhile subjects for painting. He said that he found in Santa Fe other subjects that would lend dignity to American art.

¹Taft, op. cit., p. 381.

²Cassidy's murals at the San Francisco Exposition in 1915 were awarded the grand prize and gold medal.

³Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. Margery Ryerson (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1930), p. 142.

"Since my return from the Southwest," Henri wrote, "I have been reproached with not adding to my study of these people the background of their lives. . . . I was not interested in these people to sentimentalize over them, to mourn over the fact that we have destroyed the Indian, that we are changing the shy Chinese girl into a soubrette, that our progress through Mexico leaves a demoralized race like the peons. This is not what I am on the lookout for. I am looking at each individual with the eager hopes of finding there something of the dignity of life, the humor, the humanity, the kindness, something of the order that will rescue the race and the nation."¹

The building of the Art Gallery in 1917, the renaissance in architecture, the fame of the Taos Society of Artists plus the visit of Henri drew more artists; consequently, a definite art colony was underway by 1919, taking its orientation from archaeology, ethnology and history. "While Santa Fe and Taos are the principal centers of this [art] activity," Hewett wrote in Art and Archaeology, "the whole Southwest is attracting artists and writers. Santa Fe has attained to a unique place. Its dominant interests are in its cultural assets--its art, archaeology, architecture, and history."² Hewett continued to stress the fact

¹ Ibid., pp. 147 - 148.

² Edgar L. Hewett, "Recent Southwestern Art," Art and Archaeology, Vol 9 (January, 1920), p. 32.

that the Art Gallery of the Museum was not conservative and that it encouraged the modern movement:

The Museum seeks to reflect what is passing in the minds of the artists who are working in this environment. It wants to put before the public in the most favorable light possible a view of the art that is being produced in the Southwest, to promote education in art by affording an opportunity to see all phases of modern work. The museum thus becomes a forum for free artistic and intellectual expression, and must accurately reflect the cultural progress of our time. . . . If Modernism, Ultra-Modernism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, or any other phase of esthetic endeavor appears to predominate in the exhibitions at any given time, it is merely evidence of an exuberance which no one will condemn, but on the contrary will sincerely welcome.¹

In the years just following World War I, many artists and writers were setting out for Europe and other foreign shores. Yet, here was a place right at home that one might explore. Hewett, in the spirit of the times, pleaded for American esthetic development and suggested Santa Fe as a proving ground:

America is eminent in material ways, and poor in esthetic culture. Therefore it would seem that particular encouragement should be extended to the workers in the field of creative esthetics. Our hope is to hold out such a hospitable welcome that artists and writers and scientists will continue to find in Santa Fe a congenial home.²

¹Quoted in the Santa Fe New Mexican, 13 February 1921, p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 3.

Beginning of the Santa Fe Art Colony

Artists and writers, for various reasons, did come to make their homes in Santa Fe. Frank Applegate, a native of Atlanta, Illinois, who had studied under Verlet in Paris, came and helped to found the art colony on the Camino del Monte Sol. On this hill overlooking Santa Fe, Alice Corbin Henderson had already remodeled an old adobe house.

Applegate encouraged a group of artists to "mix adobe and build their homes on that hillside."¹ This group of young painters called themselves Los Cinco Pintores (the Five Painters), the five being Will Shuster, Josef Bakos, Willard Nash, Fremont Ellis and Walter Mruck. Shuster was a pupil of John Sloan and a member of the Society of Independent Artists. Later Sloan, Randall Davey, and Andrew Dasburg joined the group on the hill and constructed their own adobes. Across the road from Los Cinco Pintores, Mary Austin built her Casa Querida (Beloved House).

"Outside, these simple mud houses conformed to traditional Spanish - Indian lines," Ruth Laughlin explained, "but inside the artists expressed their individual tastes. . . . John Sloan painted designs on his floors and ceilings. Gus Baumann carved lintels

¹Ruth Laughlin, "Santa Fe in the 1920's," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. 19 (Spring, 1949), p. 62.

and doorways with the skill he had long used for wood-block prints. . . ."1

The colony on the Camino del Monte Sol grew, and shortly other writers and artists either remodeled or constructed adobe homes along the Canyon Road. Mingled with the artists' homes were those of the Spanish Americans who provided a gay, picturesque, Old World environment. Throughout the year, the new colonists were able to take side trips to Indian villages to watch the fascinating native dances and to sketch or write. "It was obligatory to go to every pueblo dance," Erna Ferguson humorously put it, "Failure to appear on a sunny roof on every saint's day marked one as soulless and without taste."2

Many of the new-comers, having retreated to this primitive town, were thrilled to watch the wood-laden burros coming down the winding roads. They found it a joy to buy wood at their own doorsteps. Petrolino, the vendor of piñones, was a famous character on the streets of Santa Fe, and artists immortalized him on their canvases.

All of the outward appearances of the conventional East could be discarded. Native western

¹Ibid.

²Erna Fergusson, "Crusade From Santa Fe," North American Review, Vol. 242 (Winter, 1936 - 1937), p. 378.

dress became the fashion. The art colony added to the already picturesque:

The artists and writers adopted this western garb long ago [Ruth Laughlin said in Caballeros] and abandoned the velvet jacket and blowing tie of their Parisian student days. Today, by his looks, you can't tell whether an artist is an automobile mechanic, a cowboy or an Indian. Besides giving them a chance to revel in color, these clothes have the incomparable value of wearing longer for less money. It doesn't matter if they bag at the knees, and a daub of paint here and there adds to the color combinations.¹

The Santa Fe Arts Club

Perhaps sheer isolation and the need for entertainment along with the necessity for certain group endeavors of artists and writers led to the organization of the Santa Fe Arts Club in 1920. Randall Davey was elected president, Sheldon Parsons vice president, Mrs. Gerald Cassidy secretary, and Mrs Will Shuster treasurer. This club was expected to "become a most important factor in the social and cultural life of the city."²

The Santa Fe New Mexican announced that the gatherings of the Arts Club on Palace Avenue proved that Santa Fe had its own Bohemia. The meetings of the new Arts Club provided a nucleus for the Greenwich Village atmosphere and the activities of the Indian Cult-

¹Laughlin, Caballeros, p. 109.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 9 December 1920, p. 2.

ists who flourished in the latter years of the twenties. Of this period, Ruth Laughlin wrote:

For the majority, the old town is still guided by the western slogan of 'Live and Let Live.' Not taking upon himself the role of his brother's keeper, it matters very little to Santa Fe what his brother does. The placid and the passionate live as they please. Queer people become queerer against the limited background and everyday virtues are only headlined in obituary notices. Unconventionalism serves its purpose as conversation, making a good dinner table story and a marvelous tale to take back East.¹

Evidence of the growth of an Indian cult was seen in the deliberations of the Arts Club. An editorial of the day read:

The Santa Fe Arts Club, recently organized, representing art, literature and music of the Southwest, is planning an art colony in the capital of the communal type of the Pueblo Indians. They are planning the erection of a large central community house to be used as community sales shops, exhibition rooms, and a little theatre where original plays may be produced by the Santa Fe players.²

The Indian theme could not be avoided. "In those days," an early resident told the writer, "all of us were attracted by the Indian. We lived in another century."³

The Santa Fe Arts Club collaborated with the Museum of New Mexico in arranging a large exhibit for

¹Laughlin, Caballeros, p. 113.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 20 February 1921, p. 2.

³Interview with Jane Baumann, 17 August 1953, Santa Fe.

Fiesta Week in 1921. The aims of the Arts Club appeared to be essentially those of the Museum:

One of the aims of the recently organized Arts Club of Santa Fe is a recognition of the greater bond of art uniting a group of individual, free thinking, free-working artists, who are engaged in presenting to the world an American art, expressive of the esthetic spirit of this new continent, with adherence to no special school or movement as a group, except, perhaps, that expressed by the term 'freedom of expression.'¹

Not only did the artists cooperate with the Museum for the Fiesta exhibition, they also conducted past-time activities which relieved the high seriousness of the historical parade under the auspices of the Museum and the Chamber of Commerce.²

From Many Directions to an Open Door

Professor Eugene Neuhaus of the Art Department of the University of California in 1922 expressed the opinion that a truly American art would develop in Santa Fe and Taos because of their isolation:

And because Santa Fe and Taos are so far from the eastern art centers where the European influence is so strongly felt, there is reason to believe that here will grow and develop one of the most American of all art expressions, especially in view of the historic background which we have here, and the close contact with the only really true American people, the Indians. All this must necessarily have its influence upon our esthetic development.³

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 5 September 1921, p. 5.

²See discussion above.

³Santa Fe New Mexican, 7 January 1922, p. 2.

Ironically, it may not be amiss to say that Santa Fe became one of the most cosmopolitan of cities during this period and its limited geographical and social areas caused European influences in art to be more pronounced than in many Eastern cities.

The members of the Taos Society of Artists insisted that they did not constitute a school in terms of art theories and techniques. These men, following in the spirit of French and New York Moderns, helped to influence Hewett to maintain an open door policy at the new Art Gallery. Complete freedom of expression was encouraged; therefore, currents of all of the new expressions in art flowed unharnessed in Santa Fe. In 1926, Marian Murray explained in the Southwest Review that if a comparison was to be made between Taos and Santa Fe art groups, the latter would be called radical and the former conservative.¹ "I believe," Frank Applegate wrote, "any of us whom you mention would prefer not to be referred to any so-called school of painting. We try to be individual. . . . All of us are experimenters in a way, all hoping that we will never 'arrive,' as they say, and reach the stage where we may never change."²

¹Marian Murray, "Art in the Southwest," Southwest Review, Vol. 12 (July, 1926), p. 286.

²Ibid., p. 289. Letter from Applegate cited by Marian Murray.

Most of the experimenters were under the aegis of the Post-Impressionists. Cezanne was the master. One criticism of the work of B. J. O. Nordfeldt referred to his French influence:

Mr. Nordfeldt is a disciple of Cezanne, and following the teachings of this master, he attempts to express the third dimension--depth. In this he often seems quite successful. His mountains, spotted with the green piñon shrub or the red soil which is so characteristic of the region about Santa Fe, are well rounded and smoothly polished or their angularity is exaggerated.¹

The mountainous landscape supplied ample forms, and Marsden Hartley, Andrew Dasburg, and Russell Cheney also painted canvases that were reminiscent of Cezanne. For Victor Higgins of Taos, Cezanne "opened a new book."²

In his diary, Russell Cheney complained of his difficulty in adjusting to the new landscape:

I took Fordy and poked slowly up the Canyon stopping at every turn. There's lots of material. My eye is still alert for the wrong thing--- the picturesque, dramatic arrangement, not the solid construction which makes either landscape or still life worth doing. I feel in a way like sitting at home and making up a landscape to suit me. Have the big Cezanne book out and feed on that.³

At the Annual Museum Fiesta Exhibit in 1920, influences of Picasso and the Futurists were noted in Paul Burlin's "Concentric Energy," described as "a canvas of strange forms of force and weight derived from

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 16 May 1920.

²Grant, op. cit., p. 265.

³F. O. Matthiessen, Russell Cheney, 1881 - 1945: A Record of His Work (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 81

impressions of steel mills, almost socialistic in its implied grinding of humanity under the power of materialism."¹ The reviewer concluded that "One might say it is propaganda, so strong is the feeling that it conveys that man is weighted down, crushed by the material civilization."²

Although using as his subject the Indian Cliff-dwellings, W. E. Mruk's "The Ghost Rocks, Rito de Los Frijoles" which appeared at the 1920 exhibit was in no way traditional. Viewers found that "he freed himself from representation and presents to us only the strange shapes and colorings that go to build up the emotion aroused by the subject."³

Katherine Dudley brought out to Santa Fe her book on Gauguin.⁴ In this primitive region, shades of the post-Impressionists appeared everywhere. Will Shuster found color and design the sine qua non of his work:

Most people [Shuster declared] never get beyond the subject of a painting. They never even look for the design in it--I doubt if many know there is a design, a pattern, which is just as important to a painting as the foundation is to a building. If this design is not solid, in the esthetic sense--the painting can't live anymore than a building can stand without a foundation. . . . Painting is emotion, subject matter is essen-

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 12 September 1920, p. 2.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Sergeant, "Journal of a Mud House," loc. cit.

tial but may not be interesting in itself. Emotional experience in design and color when welded with subject makes a good picture.¹

John Sloan, Shuster's teacher and friend, became increasingly interested in color at this time also.

In 1923, Mary Austin published The American Rhythm, a collection of Indian poetry which she called re-expressions. In this volume she espoused the thesis that aboriginal poetry was conditioned by the rhythms of the land and the climate. It is interesting to see this idea of rhythm expressed also in an abstract painting, "Earth Rhythm No. 5" (1925)², by Raymond Jonson, another member of the Santa Fe art colony.

Jonson, who studied at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts and the Art Institute, came to Santa Fe in 1922 and returned to make his home there in 1924.³ Experimenting with modern art as Graphic Art Director for the Chicago Little Theatre before his move to the Southwest, Jonson decided to concentrate upon non-representative studies.

In Santa Fe, Jonson worked out his own principles of rhythms, space and color relationships, using Van Gogh as an inspiration rather than a master to be

¹Ina Sizer Cassidy, "Art and Artists of New Mexico," New Mexico (February, 1932), p. 18.

²New Mexico Artists, New Mexico Artist Series No. 3 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952), p. 89.

³Ibid., p. 88.

imitated. Jonson's non-representational work is an excellent example of the "radicalism" in Santa Fe between 1920 and 1934.

Most of the major Taos artists in the 1920's continued their traditional styles. Royal Cortissoz, in his review for the New York Tribune in 1920 made this appraisal of the Taos group:

The Taos Society of Artists makes at the Kingore Gallery its sixth annual exhibition, bringing forward once more its familiar transcripts of Indian life. The members of this organization are sincere, painstaking workmen, and we owe to the conscientious realism pictures which undoubtedly have value as records. They have so often made us feel, however, that they were extracting but little beauty from their highly colored themes, and now, as before, they leave us somewhat disappointed. There seems to be something about the Taos hypothesis which excluded esthetic emotion. Doggedly these artists drive at the truth.¹

However, as stated above, younger artists in Taos were moving toward the modern tendencies. Even the older ones were influenced to some extent.

As, Hewett once observed, in no city in the United States did art receive as much attention in the public press as in Santa Fe. Full columns or often full front pages of the Santa Fe New Mexican were given to art and artists. Often reviews and articles on art from other periodicals were reprinted by the Santa Fe press, when there was a scarcity of news from the Art Gallery. In this way, Santa Fe was able to carry on its own little battle of the "ancients and moderns."

Despite the various experiments in Modernism in Santa Fe, Sheldon Parsons, as Art Director of the Museum, attacked modern art as being a refuge for second

¹ Reprinted in the Santa Fe New Mexican, 28 November 1920, p. 2.

rate artists:

The second-rate artist [Parsons asserted] is the power behind the critics judgment. He it is who sensing his own ignorance of great art, sees in mystery and transcendentalism an opportunity for recognition; he realizes that symbolism can masquerade as fertility of thought and that ambiguity is not seldom a synonym for profundity.¹

Parsons attacked the Dadaist's Greenwich Village art:

"To bring forth Greenwich Village art, it is not necessary to have any understanding whatsoever of anatomy. Composition is a negligible consideration, and the less the aspirant for fame in this school of art observes the rules of drawing, the greater are his chances of success."²

Seeing in the work of many artists in Santa Fe a close adherence to the ideas of the French Moderns, Parsons submitted for publication a long analysis of Expressionism.³ The article was entitled in the New Mexican "Artists Surrender to Expressionism; Younger Dominated by the New Creed; Reality 'Too Stupid,' Their Belief."⁴ The ideas expressed in the article not only explained many aspects of the art movement at Santa Fe but it also presented the general spirit of the lost generation. The article made these observations:

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 13 June 1920, p. 7.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 16 May 1920, p. 3.

³It is likely that Parsons' article was copied from an Eastern periodical.

⁴Santa Fe New Mexican, 12 September 1920, p. 2.

. . . A priestly pathos vibrates through art today. Related to it alone is the primitive art of the distant past when painters and sculptors, untutored and unspoiled, stood amid nature in order to translate its wonders simply and naively but with a glorious, noble breadth. And it is, possibly the modern desire to be a child again and begin afresh once more that is at the base of this expressionist cult.

There is even a religious element in these endeavors. A theosophic tendency is visible in a whole series of modern works, a striving for the mystic, a new ethical purpose and an adoration of godly things that springs from a profound spiritual experience.

.
Realism is dead; under the recent explosion of materialistic forces its last remnants lie buried. The new spirit that arises from the ashes bears the image of a higher, less terrible world, and the mystics of the East have left their traces here.

All such compositions are grounded in the desire to get absolute effects from color alone, and to such a state of mind the introduction of objects would appear banal and cheap. Thus he seeks to liberate the world from the bonds of external manifestation by recognizing its inner being, its absolute character or 'soul.'¹

Certainly the writings and paintings of Marsden Hartley, living at this time in Santa Fe, manifest many of the above tendencies.

Although the Santa Fe New Mexican had helped to foster the art movement, the editor joined the attack on the Moderns. In the above article reference was made to the contributions of Russians like Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy to the modern temper, and the editor based his attack on his defense of Santa Fe against Bolshevism:

¹Ibid.

The New Mexican has heretofore lightly applied the term 'Bolshevistic' to some of the execrable things displayed at the state Museum in the name of art. It develops that this term was not so far misplaced. It appears that two of the principal exponents of the lunacy which has sought to get in under the term 'Modernist' are real Bolshevists; one has gone back to Russia to join the Soviets and believes the Lenin - Trotzky regime is 'much maligned'; the other it is understood is openly preaching here the wild and woolly doctrines of these creatures and slurring the government and governmental institutions of the United States.

We have had a good deal of fun out of the controversy over the alleged 'modernism' which has raged in Santa Fe recently. It might be well to become serious for a moment and suggest that Santa Fe nor New Mexico wants any Bolshevism, on canvas or out of it. The attempt to make it appear that the Museum art gallery is principally identified with the violent extremes in art advocated by the 'new school' as it loves to call itself will not do the Museum much good in any event, and when we thus call attention of the Museum extremism propagandists to the fact that some of the leading exponents of their pet hobby are openly preaching Sovietism, doubtless they will take the hint.

Three fourths of the official publicity put out from the Museum art section has been labored propaganda for art extremism of the most absurd kind. We urge that it will be the part of wisdom to regain a proper balance on this subject and take every precaution to see that the gallery is not regarded as a center of anything remotely connected with Bolshevist ideas in art or otherwise.¹

In the true spirit of individualism and anti-commercialism, Alice Corbin Henderson retaliated:

The mistake of the Santa Fe artists was that they maintained the only free show during the Fiesta! If they had charged admission doubtless they too would have been above reproach!

But the addition to this mistaken policy of the State Museum in keeping a public place open

¹ Editorial in Santa Fe New Mexican, 29 September 1920, p. 4.

and free to all at all times, the Museum must also, it seems, be criticized, for its liberal policy of showing the work of all the artists, however divergent in method. As a matter of fact any other policy on the part of an Art Museum would be self-destructive and also unfair to the people, who have a right to see all phases of contemporary art, as the artists, for whom presumably the museum exists, have a right to paint as they please, and not as the Santa Fe New Mexican dictates.¹

Nineteen artists, including such men as Paul Burlin, Randall Davey, Gustave Baumann, John Sloan and Robert Henri, signed a round robin protest accusing the editor of confusing politics and art.² The position of the New Mexican was reiterated as being "unalterably opposed as an American newspaper to any kind of publicity or propaganda of any nature for any persons engaged in advocating the soviet doctrines of Red Russia in this community."³

After a few more literary skirmishes, the Museum and Art News disappeared from the New Mexican. However, in a clever speech at a Museum dinner, Randall Davey paid respects to the newspaper for its militancy and the editor recanted. An editorial in December of 1920 read:

Believing that 'Art is long and Time is fleeting' also believing that there is need of art in the life of our city and of our state as well as in our individual lives, the New Mexican in spite of some unfortunate misunderstandings in the past,

¹Letter to the Editor, Santa Fe New Mexican, 10 October 1920, p. 4.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 24 October 1920, p. 4.

³Ibid.

proposed to continue to give space as liberally as heretofore to art news in general as well as notes of the activity of our own local artists, with the hope that in time there may come to be a better understanding between the public, the editor and the artists themselves.¹

Because of the influx of artists from all parts of the United States and Europe and the appearance of the latest ideas concerning art in the New Mexican, Santa Fe reflected the history of art in the United States during the period studied. The policy of the Art Gallery of the Museum of New Mexico helped to stimulate excursions into Modernism and at the same time contributed toward the development of a new attitude toward American art.

The Attack Upon the Bursum Bill

As the art colony became more identified with the environment, the members immersed themselves in Indian lore and Spanish colonial literature and history. This affinity manifested itself in the paternalistic encouragement of Indian arts,² in the concerted attack of the Bursum Bill, and in the feverish participation in the movement to preserve Spanish colonial arts.

In 1922 the corruptions of the Harding Administration reached distant New Mexico. A bill introduced

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 5 December 1920, p. 4.

²See a discussion of the Indian Arts Movement above.

in Congress by Senator Holm O. Bursum of New Mexico was ostensibly a measure to settle the disputed titles of non-Indian claimants to Indian patented lands.¹ Eight thousand Pueblo Indians were involved, and the passage of the bill by Congress presaged an end to the internal harmony of tribal life.² The Bureau of Indian Affairs was charged with exploitation. The attitude of the Bureau was due largely to Albert B. Fall.³

Under the leadership of John Collier,⁴ the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs was organized, and artists and writers of both Santa Fe and Taos enthusias-

¹See Alice Corbin Henderson, "The Death of the Pueblos," The New Republic, Vol. 33 (November 29, 1922), p. 11. For a careful analysis of the foreseen iniquities of the bill, see also Witter Bynner, "'From Him That Hath Not'", The Outlook, Vol. 133 (January 17, 1923), pp. 124 - 127.

²Ibid.

³Albert B. Fall, former senator from New Mexico, was Secretary of the Interior and exerted a great influence in determining the Administration's attitude toward the Indian. Cf. Frederick Lewis Allen's treatment of the Harding scandals in Only Yesterday.

⁴John Collier was persuaded to come to Taos by Mabel Dodge Luhan. Collier's work with the Indians and his religious defense of them against the Bursum Bill led to his appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs under Harold Ickes. Cf. E. E. Dale, The Indians of the Southwest - A Century of Development Under the United States (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1949). See also Erna Fergusson, "Crusade from Santa Fe," North American Review, Vol. 242 (Winter, 1936 - 1937), pp. 376 - 387. See also Mabel Dodge Luhan, "Paso Por Aqui," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. 21 (Summer, 1951), p. 143.

tically supported it. "Here we have a race of eight thousand Pueblo Indians in our midst," argued Alice Corbin Henderson, "and for political or private greed we propose to wipe them out. And what this loss would be to us, aesthetic, social, moral, is incalculable."¹ She reminded the public that "The life of these Pueblo Indians is a survival of an archaic world, a beautiful living experiment and achievement in social relations. The Pueblo Indians are artists in ceremonial dances, in music, in poetry, in pottery, in weaving, in silver work; and in the art of pure design alone their continuing and developing achievement is superb, comparable to the early Greek and Etruscan art and far surpassing the most ambitious achievements of American artists in this direction--as the American artists themselves are the first to acknowledge."²

The following letter, drafted by the writers and artists, was sent to The New Republic:

Sir: When legislation affecting the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico has been introduced in Congress by a Senator from that state, with the alleged support of the Indian Office; when it has been briefly questioned by Senator Borah and then accepted by the Senate unanimously, the American public might suppose the legislation known as the Bursum Indian Bill to be an act dealing justly with the Indians and bringing credit to the state and the nation responsibly concerned. As it happens, the American public would be deceived. The bill,

¹Henderson, "The Death of the Pueblos," p. 13.

²Ibid.

which has passed a misinformed Senate and is now before the House, is grossly unjust to the Indians, violates every official protestation that the government is their protector, and is, moreover, in such imminence of becoming law that only that vaguely accessible power, the public, can prevent a great wrong.

The Indians, helpless, politically, have issued, with one voice from all the pueblos, a dignified but moving manifesto, asking fair play. Adding our voice to theirs in this emergency, we the undersigned, who have had an opportunity to study conditions among the villages and to understand the faithless provisions of the projected law, and who intend doing our best to expose the facts, call upon the American people to protest immediately against the impending Bursum Indian bill, whether in the present form or with disingenuous amendments. We ask this for the sake of the Pueblos who, though probably the most industrious and deserving of all our Indian wards, are now threatened with the loss of their lands and of their community existence. We ask it even more for the sakes of Americans themselves, as a test of national honor.

F. G. Applegate	Ralph Meyers
Mary Austin	Harriet Monroe
Joseph Bakos	Willard Nash
Ruth Laughlin Barker	B. J. Nordfeldt
Gustave Baumann	Mrs. Fremond Older
E. L. Blumenschein	Elsie Clews Parsons
Witter Bynner	Sheldon Parsons
Gerald Cassidy	B. G. Phillips
Ina Sizer Cassidy	Warren E. Rollins
John Collier	Olive Rush
Alice Corbin	Carl Sandburg
Randall Davey	Lew Sarett
Fremond Ellis	Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant
Charles K. Field	J. H. Sharp
Leon Gaspard	Will Shuster
Stephen Graham	John Sloan
Zane Grey	Professor Frederick Starr
William Penhallow Henderson	Mabel Sterne
Robert Henri	Walter Ufer
Victor Higgins	Carlos Vierra
Dana Johnson	Harriet Welles
C. Grant LaFarge	Stewart Edward White
D. H. Lawrence	William Allen White
	Charles Erskine Scott Wood ¹

¹See "In Justice to the Indian," The New Republic, Vol. 33 (December 13, 1922), p. 70.

This effort on the part of the art colonies of Taos and Santa Fe helped to defeat the Bursum Bill.¹

The Revival of Spanish Colonial Arts

The movement to preserve the Spanish colonial arts had its inception in the minds of a few artists and writers who appreciated the value of these objects as artistic expression and who wished to save the few remaining pieces before they were destroyed by the power of the machine and manufacturing. The interest created in the twenties led to a rather energetic revival during the thirties.²

When the Spanish colonists made the tedious journey to the far outposts of the Southwest, their baggage was limited to necessities. In the new land, the colonists found they had to utilize their own limited

¹See U. S., Congressional Record, 67th Cong., 2d Sess., 1922, Vol 62, Part 10, 10451 and Part 12, 12321 - 12325; 4th Sess., 1923, Vol 62, Part 6, 4876ff. See also 68th Cong., 1st Sess., 1924, Vol 65, Part 8, 8441 - 8450.

The National Federation of Women's Clubs played a major role in informing the public and arousing indignation against the Bursum Bill. Mrs. Stella Atwood, Chairman of the Indian Welfare Committee of the Federation was apprized of the contents of the bill while she was visiting in Taos. Cf. Erna Fergusson's "Crusade from Santa Fe" cited above and Charles A. Selden, "Women Saved the Pueblos," Ladies Home Journal, Vol. 40 (July, 1923), pp. 18 - 19ff. The bill was recalled to the Senate upon the motion of Senator Borah before the House could take action upon it. After a hearing, a substitute bill was drafted. In 1924, an amended bill which satisfied most parties was passed. It set up the Pueblo Lands Board.

²See Roland Dickey, New Mexico Village Arts, (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1949).

resources, transportation of goods from Old Mexico being extremely difficult and uncertain.

With the materials they found in the region, the transplanted Andalusians, with crude tools carved and hammered furniture and decorative objects for home and church. Of these objects the santos¹ received the greatest attention from artists and writers. The santos were carved or painted images² of the saints used as symbols in the Catholic church. At Queretaro, shortly after the Spanish conquest, one writer reports, the Franciscan friars established a Santería, a place where santos were manufactured.³ However, as contact with Mexico became less frequent and the colonists became more adjusted, they probably made most of their own santos. They gained greater proficiency as years went by, yet the New Mexican santos are quite distinct in their crudeness from those of Mexico or Spain.

As contact with Mexico steadily decreased after 1807, New Mexican arts developed and reached a high peak during the Santa Fe trade. With the influx of Yankee

¹Cf. E. Boyd, Saints and Saint Makers (Santa Fe: The Laboratory of Anthropology, 1946).

²The carved statuettes are called bultos and the figures of saints painted on wooden panels or tablets are retablos. One of the best discussions of Santos appears in Ruth Laughlin's Caballeros.

³Gilberto Expinosa, "New Mexican Santos," New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. 6, pp. 181 - 189.

traders, an intense commercial spirit insinuated the life of the region and many fine products appeared in Santa Fe. Thus the first flourishing of the Spanish colonial arts was caused by those early Americans who hustled their caravans down the Santa Fe Trail.

Frank Applegate, who influenced painters to settle on the Camino del Monte Sol, was one of the first persons to earnestly collect and study the old santos, furniture, and tin work.¹ As the Santa Fe Style of architecture gained in popularity in both Santa Fe and Taos, furniture and objects of the Spanish colonial period were in demand for interior decoration.

Mary Austin's campaign for the preservation of the colonial arts, as Roland F. Dickey says, had in it "some of the fire of the old-fashioned Methodist revival."² She purchased the Sanctuario, an old private chapel situated just north of Santa Fe and persuaded a friend to aid in financing the Spanish Colonial Arts Society.³

Artists and writers expatiated upon the value of the primitive art to the modern art movement and to

¹Mary Austin, "Frank Applegate," New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. 2 (August, 1932), p. 213.

²Roland F. Dickey, "The Revival of Native Arts," The New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. 18 (Autumn, 1948), p. 305.

³Austin, loc. cit.

the New Mexican cultural environment. If Santa Fe and Taos were to be preserved, then the decorative arts of the past were to receive equal attention. "Furniture-making practically ceased with the influx of Americans who brought in cheap and ugly machine-made articles. The early comers among them showed a vast intolerance and contempt for everything Spanish colonial and to a great extent imparted this attitude to the natives."¹ Frank Applegate defended the Spanish colonial furniture on other than antiquarian grounds. He stated that "Americans have come belatedly to see how fitting and comfortable the Spanish colonial type of house is in its environment and climate and how well Spanish colonial arts and crafts go with the architecture."²

Mabel Luhan affirmed her preference for the Spanish colonial arts once by relating a story of Father Joseph Giraud who arrived in Taos from Lyons:

Father Joe wouldn't have an old painted Santo in his church! No indeed! Everything was brand new to go with the new tin roof. There were shining new brass candlesticks on the altar and a number of statuettes in pale blue robes, with meek, Nordic faces. Virgins and Sons of Virgins closely resembling each other--and all produced by factories.³

Ruth Laughlin also valued the primitive santos for their expression of individual creative urge as

¹Frank Applegate, "Spanish Colonial Arts," Survey, Vol. 66 (May 1, 1931), p. 156.

²Ibid.

³Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert, p. 90.

opposed to standardized or academic methods. She wrote:

So an art was born out of the necessity for expression--an art not unlike that of the Italian shepherd, Giotto, in its direct, emotional quality. These native santos belong to the stage of development of the Spanish and Italian Primitives in their forthright intensity and realism. They were created, not by following schools of art, but by an inevitable, naive impulse to satisfy the human soul.¹

In opposition to industrial efficiency, the collectors of santos praised these works of art especially because they were produced by craftsmen whose individuality was expressed and not suppressed by the mass production of the machine.

Although the interest in santos, furniture, and other decorative arts dominated the Spanish colonial arts movement, many individuals along with Mary Austin did a great deal of research in the matter of Spanish colonial literature in New Mexico. Interest in early colonial literature--plays, stories, and songs--had been given impetus by Lummis and others at the turn of the century.

The Spanish Colonial Arts Society in Santa Fe helped to create an awareness of the value of regional folklore. The New Mexico Folklore Society was organized in the Spring of 1931 with the purpose of collecting and preserving the folklore in the state before the wealth

¹Laughlin, Caballeros, p. 331.

of tradition disappeared.¹ During its first year of existence, the Society held an exhibit of Spanish Colonial Arts at which time Mary Austin spoke during a formal meeting.² The Society "joined the Texas Folklore Society in its program at El Paso in 1938 and encouraged the publication of folklore studies by members in the New Mexico Quarterly, the Southwest Review, New Mexico Magazine, and the publications of the Texas Folklore Society."³ Inactive during World War II, the Society was reorganized in 1946.⁴

Along with the search for and study of Spanish colonial literature, Indian folklore was given equal if not more attention.⁵ Original materials collected by Mary Austin and others are being used by scholars who are continuing work in this field at Southwestern universities.⁶

Sojourners, Experimenters, Critics and Interpreters

Andrew Dasburg: Experimenter and Teacher

After the Armory Show, many American artists

¹"New Mexico Folklore Society", New Mexico Folklore Record, Vol. 1 (1946 - 1947), p. 40.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Mabel Major, Rebecca W. Smith and T. M. Pearce, Southwest Heritage rev. ed. (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948), pp. 136 - 139).

⁶Ibid., passim.

entered a phase of serious experimentation with European Modernism. Between 1913 and 1929, this experimentation led artists in many directions; of course, Cubism and Expressionism were the main travelled roads. Taos and Santa Fe served somewhat as open laboratories where everyone could work as he pleased. One of the artists who arrived in New Mexico to experiment was Andrew Dasburg; he followed Maurice Sterne to Taos in 1917. Dasburg had been a member of the Mabel Dodge circle in New York.

"At the time when modern art in America was still heavily diapered," Alexander Brook wrote, "Dasburg went abroad, looked and listened, became much excited over what he saw in the studios of Matisse, Picasso and Braque, became convinced of their integrity and significance and immediately proceeded to forget all that had been taught him by Kenyon Cox. . . ." ¹ Upon his return to America, as artists went all out for "pure art unencumbered by recognizable objects," ² Dasburg evolved his own studies under the fashion of Synchronism. His "Improvisation to Form," ³ where design and color pattern predominate, is illustrative of Dasburg's work around 1916. Referring to his interest in Cezanne

¹Alexander Brook, "Andrew Dasburg," The Arts, Vol. 6 (July, 1924), pp. 19 - 26.

²Milton W. Brown, American Painting From the Armory Show to the Depression. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 9 - 38.

³See reproduction in Brown, p. 66.

principles, he wrote:

No human eye has ever seen the whole of a grain of sand in a glance. Everything we look at gives us but a partial and distorted view of itself. There is a vast distinction between what we know of an object and what we can see of it at any moment. A large section always remains hidden from our sight. In painting, however, its total form can be effectively implied.¹

Except for a trip to Paris for study, Dasburg lived in New Mexico. Here he responded to the varied forms and colors of the New Mexican landscape. Moving away from the purely abstract side of Cubism, Dasburg began to develop Cubist-Realist studies in Taos. One of his methods was to juxtapose man made cubes which show human restraint and limitation with God made natural forms that are free-flowing and unrestricted. This sharp division of his canvases is very obvious. The contrast is heightened by the Futurist technique which appears in some of the early New Mexico work.²

His movement toward realism and the depiction of quiet natural forms with harmonious color patterns suggest the escape of Dasburg from the city to the village.³ Mabel Luhan said of him:

Dasburg found the environment congenial and stimulating. He responded to the natural growth

¹Andrew Dasburg, "Notes for an Art Criticism," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. 21 (Summer, 1951), p. 154.

²See reproductions in Brook, loc. cit., pp. 19 - 20.

³See Milton W. Brown, "Forces Behind Modern U. S. Painting," Art News, Vol. 46 (August 17, 1947), pp. 16 - 17.

of the forms that met his eye on all sides, and he has remained and lived here, carrying on his own sensitive work in a happiness he had not known in cities.¹

After a period in Taos, Dasburg moved to Santa Fe where he opened his own school and continued teaching his principles. He has influenced Kenneth Adams and Ward Lockwood who are prominent New Mexico painters and teachers. Dasburg felt that his paintings helped to bring about harmony in human society--a harmony that was not evident when he went to New Mexico. Explaining his work in 1924, Dasburg wrote to Alexander Brook:

Having a nature divided against itself, and living in a world constituted not unlike myself, the need to bring into harmonious relation the contradictory elements of experience is evident. Incidentally my medium is painting. My preoccupation is with the physical reality of my medium, which, through the character of the motif, I try to proportion into such pleasurable relations of color to shape that the canvas will have form interest of its own in harmony with the associations we, through common experience, bring into it.²

Along with Mary Austin, John Sloan and others, Dasburg worked with the Indian Arts Fund, being one of its incorporators in 1925.

Marsden Hartley: Mirror of an Age

A poem of Marsden Hartley begins:

Shall we ever find the face again,
the face of things that once we thought
was beautiful?

¹Luhan, Taos and Its Artists, p. 16.

²Brook, loc. cit., p. 26.

Shall we ever learn to piece together
the cracked bits put up on the frozen
wall of our innocent beliefs,
looking for the missed curve that made
the features whole?
Shall we ever find that face again?¹

This poem was written during World War I or just afterwards and echoes the thoughts of many people at that time. However, Hartley's whole life was one of discontent, wandering and searching. There seemed to be a "restless search for an unknown goal."²

A photograph by Alfred Stieglitz shows Hartley in black coat and black hat and with a dark expression-- a rather macabre evocation like the one he attributed to Georgia O'Keefe's paintings.³ The sombre aspect of Hartley's personality is certainly expressed in much of his work. Sensitive to the distortions of life around him, he chose appropriate means to display them on canvas. His inner conflicts appear in his dark landscapes of Maine and New Mexico.⁴ It is not surprising

¹Marsden Hartley, Selected Poems, (ed.) Henry W. Wells (New York: The Viking Press, 1945), p. 74.

²See E. W. Watson, "Two Painters: A Study in Contrasts," American Artist, Vol. 9 (May, 1945), p. 12.

³See photograph of Hartley in America and Alfred Stieglitz (ed.) Frank et. al. See his "Perhaps Macabre (To Georgia O'Keefe)" in Hartley, Selected Poems, p. 94.

⁴See Elizabeth McCausland, Marsden Hartley (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1952), passim.

that Hartley chose as his hero, the artist, Albert Pinkham Ryder.

Hartley was born at Lewiston, Maine. His first success came in 1909 when Stieglitz gave him a one man showing at "291."¹ Stieglitz and Arthur B. Davies helped Hartley to go to Europe for the first time in 1912.² Hartley met Gertrude Stein at one of her Saturday evenings in the studio 27 rue de Fleures, and they kept up a correspondence from 1912 to 1934.³ He returned to the United States in 1913, but he was back in Europe again in 1914.

By going to Europe, Marsden Hartley was uprooted from contemporary American life which appeared more and more ugly. Like another itinerant soul, Henry James, Hartley sought the ideal of beauty. His sojourn in Europe at the beginning of the century enabled him to get in contact with all of the new movements in art. Fauvism had a pronounced influence, and he joined the ranks of the Synchronists.⁴

"Hartley's career . . .," says Ernest Watson,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

³Donald Gallup, "The Weaving of a Pattern: Marsden Hartley and Gertrude Stein," The Magazine of Art, Vol. 40 (November, 1948), p. 206. See also Robert Burlingame, "Marsden Hartley: A Study of his Life and Creative Achievement," (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Brown University, 1954).

⁴See a discussion of the Synchronists in Brown, op. cit., pp. 65 - 66.

"was one of continuous experimentation. He never seemed to know exactly what he wanted to do. Throughout his entire professional career he appears to have been groping for the unattainable, sampling first one philosophy then another, producing a great diversity of work under the conflicting influences of traditionalists, rebels and primitives."¹

In 1917 when he went back to Maine, he became interested in the American folk art of painting on glass.² With a grant from the art dealer, Charles L. Daniel, Hartley went out to Taos in 1918.

As hundreds of others, Hartley immersed himself in the world of New Mexico of which the Indian was the largest continent. At the request of Dr. Hewett, he studied the Indian dances and wrote a series of articles in which he interpreted the dances in terms of their value for American culture.

The failure of the modern American artists was due, Hartley felt, to the artist's lack of a deep religious experience and a national esthetic consciousness. He wrote:

The redman dances for his own development, for his own mental and spiritual as well as bodily efficiencies. What else then shall the primal preoccupation of the artist be? The modern artist is irreligious. That is his first barrier. He is superficial; that is his second. His more

¹Watson, loc. cit., p. 12.

²McCausland, op. cit., p. 8.

or less indifferent copying will yield him nothing beyond immediate practical prosperity. Until he has imbibed something of the character and quality underlying and inherent in the superior spectacle of spiritual veracity, he can not hope to do more than feebly copy the tritest of externals which any half naked eye can observe.¹

The Santo Domingo Corn Dance symbolized an inner spiritual harmony which was lacking in American life:

In the life of the American Indian all expression symbolized itself in the form of the dance. It is the solemn high mass of the Indian soul, to which he brings his highest gifts for adoration . . . it is the draftsmanship of the Indian soul insisting upon perpetuation. And what seems to the casual and unperceptive eye to be a wholly barbaric outpouring of excessive energy is entirely another thing. It is an organized rhythmic conception and esthetic composition, spirit and body harmonized to symbolize certain laws, faiths, even creeds, since all this tends toward the quality of worship in their so ardent desires.²

The Indian had assimilated all of the experience of his race and had created a simple medium of expression. There had developed a tribal esthetic which permeated all aspects of Indian life.

You feel that at last [Hartley wrote] here is a people in accord with the universe, wanting little or nothing from a world of invented subterfuge, being the equal of the very dawn and of the going down of the sun, vastly superior to all the hosts of vulgarities with which we who belong to the newer civilization, befool ourselves. In their dance is the tribal esthetic of all these dignified significances. . .

¹Marsden Hartley, "The Scientific Esthetic of the Red Man," Art and Archaeology, Vol. 13 (March, 1922), p. 119.

²Marsden Hartley, "Tribal Esthetics," The Dial, Vol. 65 (November 16, 1918), pp. 399 - 400.

and out of this esthetic they have built a conduct that fits the day and the hour and the moment. . . .¹

The disorganization of American life manifested a poverty of spiritual values. America lacked a national esthetic consciousness. Imported ideas were never assimilated because of the attitude of the people toward art. Hartley explained in this connection:

A national esthetic consciousness is a sadly needed element in American life. We are not nearly as original as we fool ourselves into thinking. We imbibe superficially, and discard without proper digestion the food that we are ignorant of. We have the excellent encouragement of redman esthetics to establish ourselves firmly with an esthetic consciousness of our own. . . . It is time to begin now, for the exceptional American that is to represent us a hundred years hence will want for finer examples to build upon than we now have. . . . We shall need something to offer him in the way of an arrived culture. The red man proves to us what native soil will do. Our soul is as beautiful and as distinguished as any in the world.²

Hartley was an American discovering America and he was "impressed with the fact that America as landscape is, one may rightly say, untouched."³ Merely painting the Indian in various poses and giving him certain titles was insufficient for American art. An American art would emerge when there were "artists big

¹Ibid., p. 401.

²Marsden Hartley, "Red Man Ceremonials—An American Plea for An American Esthetics," Art and Archaeology, Vol. 9 (January, 1920), p. 14.

³Marsden Hartley, "America as Landscape," El Palacio, Vol. 5 (December 21, 1918), p. 340.

enough and really interested enough to comprehend the American scene."¹ Hartley observed that in American poetry there was an indication that America as a name had come to mean as much as Greece. "We have come to feel the beauty of the names Kennebec, Androscoggin, Rio Grande, Atlantic, Pacific and all other names as meaning just as much in general and more than names Thermopylae, Athens, etc., to our own esthetic sense," Hartley concluded, ". . . because these names represent our own American outlines and boundaries."² He was pleased that the War had obliged the painters to come home to observe the native excellencies of their own country and that perhaps the fetish of Paris would be destroyed.³ They, the painters, might, as Tom Outland in Willa Cather's, The Professor's House, discover a native tradition.

Not only did Hartley envision a necessary cleavage between America and Europe but he asserted that no one section of the country should be dominated by another in terms of esthetic values. He gave these imperatives:

They [American painters] have to learn the redman's calm and the redman's contact. They have to learn what was significant for the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Persians, and the other races is significant for us, that it was their traditional "at-homeness" that created their arts for them. They will have to learn that art is

¹Ibid., p. 341.

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

not Fifth Avenue or Michigan Boulevard or the Boston Library, that poetry is not Plato and Shakespeare by way of New England, also. . . the painters will somehow have to acquaint themselves with the idea of America as landscape, as a native productive space before they can come to conclusions which have any worth whatsoever among artists of America and the world. . . . America is calling for radical interpretation, her earth voices are being spoken for.¹

Hartley, in his plea for an American esthetics, suggested that sincerity and a devoted interest in America itself were two necessary ingredients for the development of a genuine American culture. Interesting enough, Hartley makes his plea before many of the lost generation turn their backs on their native land.

Hartley stressed the fact that the attitude toward the Indian ceremonials might show the world that America had a cultural past. He saw in the movement to destroy the Pueblo Indian and his dances the same vulgar spirit of the times. In the rush of industrial society, man had lost his sense of balance and his capacity to perceive beauty in the simple things of life. The beauty of the Indian dances ought to be preserved as an inheritance which might be a source for spiritual and esthetic power. He wrote:

It is not enough to admit of archaeological curiosity. We need to admit, and speedily, the rare and excellent esthetics in our midst a part of our own intimate scene. . . . It would help at least a little toward proving to the world around us that we are not so young a country as we might seem, nor yet as diffident as our national attitude would seem to indicate. . . . Every

¹Ibid., p. 342.

other nation has preserved its inheritances. We need likewise to do the same. . . . We have lost the buffalo and the beaver and we are losing the redman, also, and all these are fine symbols of our own native richness and austerity.¹

Upon his arrival in New Mexico, Hartley wrote to Harriet Monroe² that the beautiful arroyos and canyons were living examples of the splendor of the ages--classical as the art of Claude Lorrain. Hartley had always been concerned with color, and here in New Mexico true color existed.

He was attracted by the primitive Santos which were being collected and used them for subjects of several paintings. Undoubtedly, he was impressed by their religious significance to a pioneer people.

Hartley's early paintings show his interest in the inner substance of objects, and he leaned heavily upon the romanticism of Ryder. In technique, he later followed the lines of Kandinsky and the Munich Expressionists.³ The majority of the paintings of his New Mexico sojourn show a variety of technical ideas, Cezanne, Matisse, Kandinsky, etc.⁴ However, he experiments

¹Hartley, "Red Man Ceremonials--An American Plea for An American Esthetics," loc. cit., p. 13.

²Letter to Harriet Monroe referred to by Elizabeth McCausland in "The Return of the Native: Marsden Hartley," Art in America, Vol. 40 (Spring, 1952), pp. 55 - 79.

³Brown, op. cit., p. 146.

⁴Cf. the Walker Collection of Hartley's New Mexico paintings in the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

with new techniques. In evaluating his New Mexico work, Elizabeth McCausland observed that:

In New Mexico, . . . Hartley began his exploration of the new subject matter by working in pastels. . . . The colors are at once brilliant and soft, deep and delicate. The intense, scorching light of the semi-desert country and the brilliant seething colors of the eroded earth moved Hartley to respond in similarly intense, staccato action.¹

After two years in New Mexico, Hartley became emotionally disturbed. Either the surroundings or his own state of mind caused him to leave. Of that time, Mabel Luhan wrote:

Hartley had stayed for a while in the drear north guest room. To soften the repellent light he hung scraps of chiffon here and there upon the walls. But I don't know--there was something solitary and unassimilable about Marsden, and it hurt me more to have him there than to write him he must go.²

But the letter was dispatched and Hartley sent this answer to his hostess:

Dear Mabel:

Nina gave me your note on the train. I am glad to have it even though I feel always a chill in words on paper, for they make pictures too often. I needed, however, just that kind of clarity for I understand much more than I supposed would ever be necessary, which proved that one should never become that familiar with places or situations. I have had extreme moments of perplexity of late and now my horizon is clear of much that is alien to it. . . . It is silly and idle to embarrass simple situa-

¹McCausland, Marsden Hartley, p. 30.

²Luhan, Movers and Shakers, p. 460.

tions with all sorts of complexity. This much has been taught me in the terrible hours of shadow in which I have lived of late. I want you to know that now I am not misunderstanding anything half so much as understanding too well. I had been doubting myself a little, but that is over because I have returned to these things in which I can be less obtrusive, to which I am much less the spectacle, and only one like myself should figure in nothing actually. There is a supremacy, a true dignity in that. I am 'too far alike, too far dissimilar' ever to be quite that which is imagined or expected. I belong really to less specialized spaces, to commoner elements. I must never do more, at most, than walk in as graciously as possible, sit a little, and pass out again for there is always the quality of wonder in being really not quite anywhere at all times. That is my kind of activity I am thinking.

.....
 As always,

Marsden H.¹

Marsden left Taos and went to Europe after an auction of his paintings in New York in 1921.² In Germany he painted a number of canvases which have been called, "Recollections of New Mexico." For the most part, they are all dark in color in the style of his dark landscapes of Maine which he painted in 1909 before his departure for New York.³ In memory, New Mexico was a dark, dismal land. At least they suggest

¹Ibid., pp. 460 - 461.

²This was the first time that the work of an American Modern had been offered at auction. One hundred and seventeen canvases were sold at the Anderson Galleries in New York for nearly \$5,000. This event showed the developing interest in American painting in the Twenties.

³Cf. McCausland, op. cit., pp. 34 - 35.

that his experiences were not happy ones. Hartley had loved the beautiful landscape of New Mexico. It would seem that into his 1922 paintings of New Mexico crept a symbolization of his social maladjustment in Taos which he said later ought to be spelled 'Chaos.'¹

As D. H. Lawrence, Marsden Hartley continued his peregrinations. Although he left New Mexico and painted it with such bleak colors, it would seem that this action did not negate his thesis that the artist must adjust himself to and love the American landscape. Later he returned to his native Maine where he lived until his death. As Elizabeth McCausland wrote, "After years of searching of mind and of heart, of style and of place, Hartley solved his impasse by sinking roots in that life he had abandoned, in that tradition he (with his generation) had rejected."²

His pioneer experimentations, his disillusionment, his plea for an American esthetics, and his search for a more satisfactory environment warrant our calling Marsden Hartley a mirror of an age.

John Sloan: Independent and Humanitarian

Van Wyck Brooks, in his biography of the painter, declared that John Sloan complained of art colonies,

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²McCausland, "Return of the Native: Marsden Hartley," p. 55.

yet "he never went more than five or six miles away, and when he turned his back on the Cape Anne Colony he went to the Southwest."¹ From 1919 until his death, Sloan painted each summer and longer periods in New Mexico. One of the leading figures of the Ash Can School, Sloan displayed in his work a sympathy for the common man in New York; and in New Mexico, he took up the cause of the American Indian.

Robert Henri had been chiefly responsible for Sloan's leaving Philadelphia for New York; to Henri again Sloan found himself indebted for the discovery of the Southwest. When Henri returned to New York in 1918 with his paintings of New Mexico, he assured both his former students, Sloan and Randall Davey, that they should explore that part of the country.

"By 1919 Davey was getting restless," Sloan relates, "and suggested that we take a long automobile trip that summer. The next thing I knew we were involved in the purchase of an old 1912 chain-drive Abercrombie and Fitch, and setting out for New Mexico, which Henri had recommended as the best climate in the world."²

Randall Davey bought a house in Santa Fe in the summer of 1919 and remained. Davey decided that he

¹Van Wyck Brooks, John Sloan--A Painter's Life (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1955), p. 153.

²John Sloan, "Randall Davey," The New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. 21 (Spring, 1951), pp. 22 - 23.

wished to withdraw completely. He later told Sloan:

I was born with ego but I am losing it gradually. From a guy who was an optimist I am becoming cynical. Living out here in New Mexico I can see the political manipulations in the art world back East, and I know that if I chose to I could have more success with my work if I wanted to play their game. If I lived in a big city I could cleanup on portraits. But I prefer to live here and paint for myself, and get along with teaching, now and then a portrait commission, and what little comes in from raising chickens.¹

Sloan met Dr. Hewett and took a studio at the Museum. He returned again in the summer of 1920. At this time some of his etchings were exhibited.² Responding to the Indian dances at Santo Domingo, Sloan painted "The Koshares" which was given to Hewett for the Museum.³ Although Sloan worked at the Museum when he first arrived in Santa Fe, it seems that most of his later work was done in the open or in his own studios. Ironically, Sloan objected to many of the policies of the Museum whose director was following as a guide ideas from the New York Realists and the Society of Independent Artists--an open door; no jury, no prizes. The Museum, Sloan felt, "was little better than a bazaar for tourists. Any artist could exhibit there and the result was that pot-boiler artists used

¹Ibid., p. 25.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 18 July 1920, p. 2.

³Santa Fe New Mexican, 10 September 1920, p. 4.

the museum and sat around selling their work."¹ Hewett stressed only the work of the Southwest and this obsession led to a decided weakness of the galleries.

In 1920, Sloan and his wife purchased a place on Garcia Street and began their residence in Santa Fe. According to a description of Van Wyck Brooks, Sloan's house was "an old adobe dwelling with an orchard and a garden that was bright during the warm months with twelve rose bushes and hollyhocks against the adobe wall. There were lilacs, peonies and poppies with blossoms that were ten inches across and copper dahlias later in the season, raspberry, gooseberry and currant bushes, rhubarb and asparagus plants, a grape arbor and even an herb garden. . . . Through the soft feathery cedarlike foliage of a beautiful tamarack tree, one caught fine glimpses of the mountains from this garden. . . ." ²

Again the landscape cast its spell and Sloan was captured. Santa Fe scenes and other phases of New Mexico life with their appealing background supplied Sloan with new subject matter, the New York scenes being just about exhausted.

I like to paint the landscape in the Southwest, [Sloan wrote] because of the fine geometrical formations and the handsome color. Study

¹Brooks, John Sloan, p. 219.

²Ibid., p. 155.

of the desert forms, so severe and clear in that atmosphere, helped me to work out principles of plastic design, the low relief concept. I like the colors out there. The ground is not covered with green mold as it is elsewhere. The piñon trees dot the surface of hills and mesas with exciting textures. . . . Because the air is so clear you feel the reality of the things in the distance.¹

Sloan helped to launch the American scene movement at the beginning of the century, and although European Modernism had inundated some art quarters in New York, he swam on as a realist. After he settled in New Mexico, he earnestly portrayed the Southwest scene as he found it around Santa Fe: hotel dances in Santa Fe, burros carrying wood, Indian dances, sunlit peaks, picnics on the ridge, missions, señoras, winding roads and streets.²

Although some of his later landscapes show considerable progress or change in technique, much of the early work was typical of Ash Can illustration. His "Hotel Dance in Santa Fe" (1919) and "The Plaza, Evening, Santa Fe" (1920) only recapture the spirit of his early New York scenes.³ One critic for the New York Herald wrote in 1920:

John Sloan has been to Santa Fe upon a painting trip, but without any thrilling results upon

¹ John Sloan, Gist of Art (New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939), p. 147.

² All of these subjects appear in paintings done between 1919 - 1938. See Gist of Art.

³ See reproductions in Gist of Art.

his technique. Mr. Sloan did not pierce in an instant into the soul of New Mexico and bring it home quivering upon a lance to us jaded New Yorkers. He did not even take sides with a political party down there, but remained aloof, a tourist. Indeed, there is reason to suspect that he did not tour alone, but was specially conducted by Cook. In the 'Chapel at San Domingo,' for instance where some sort of religious service is proceeding in back, in front, apparently, is the entire Ecole Henri. And in the 'Dance at Santa Fe' one can imagine a transported Greenwich Village.¹

Unfortunately too much of Sloan's New Mexico work represents the itinerary of the tourist. Yet much of it is certainly documentary of the whole group which flocked to Santa Fe in the twenties. As a subtitle for "Dolly With Mantilla" (1925), Sloan put in "We Anglos go in for Spanish mantillas in Santa Fe. The natives too often choose their styles from the mail order catalogs."²

Perhaps John Sloan's connection in the art colony at Santa Fe is important primarily in respect to the development of Indian Art.³ Brooks tells us that Sloan "was enthralled by the Indians and their dances and art, partly because he had recently awakened to a sense of the value of tradition and a deeper sense

¹Reprinted in the Santa Fe New Mexican, 7 March 1920, p. 8.

²See reproduction in Gist of Art.

³Brooks, John Sloan: A Painter's Life, p. 160. See Also Walter Pach, "John Sloan" in New Mexico Artists, New Mexico Artists Series No. 3, (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952).

of the problems of aesthetic form."¹ Here he encountered a living esthetic tradition. "To find it in his own country," Brooks says, "was a great surprise to him and his teaching presently reflected the idea, though, never thinking that American artists should try to take over the Indian tradition, he said they must 'push on in their own individualistic way.'"²

As Marsden Hartley had been, Sloan was struck by the integration of art and religion in Indian culture. While living near Tesuque, a pueblo that was only nine miles from Santa Fe, Sloan was impressed by its primitive atmosphere, "and it augured well for the possibility of the Indians maintaining their own culture in the machine age."³ He felt that the Eagle Dance of Tesuque, which is the subject of one of his paintings, demonstrated "the deep sense of harmony with all nature."⁴

Sloan encouraged the Indian Art Movement started at the Museum of New Mexico and at the Indian School by the DeHuffs. As president of the Society of Independent Artists,⁵ he was responsible for the first

¹Brooks, op. cit., p. 160.

²Ibid.

³ibid., p. 163

⁴Ibid.

⁵The Society of Independent Artists was organized in New York for an annual exhibition in 1917. Its leaders were Conrad Arensberg, Marcel Duchamp, and Walter Pach. The Society had as its purpose to keep an open door in American art. John Sloan became president in 1918 and remained in office for thirty-three years.

exhibition of American Indian paintings as modern art. He took the work of Awa Tsireh and Crescenzo Martinez to New York for the Independents' Exhibition in 1920.

Becoming deeply involved in the matter of fostering the Indian Arts, Sloan joined the artists and writers in their attack upon the Bursum Bill. In 1931 he became president of the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts Inc. This group was formed in 1930 "for the purpose of stimulating and supporting American Indian artists by creating a wider interest and more intelligent appreciation of their work in the American public at large, and to demonstrate to the country what important contribution to our culture the Indian is making."¹ With Oliver LaFarge, he wrote an introductory catalogue for the exhibit.

The quiet village life in Santa Fe recaptured for Sloan the spirit of pre-industrial America, or at least a past era which he romanticized. He delighted in the refreshing aroma of apples and plums, the kaleidoscopic blossoms of geraniums and hollyhocks, and the lonely Spanish American music that he heard on the Canyon Road at night.

Participating yearly in the affairs of the Santa Fe Art Colony, Sloan lent his prestige. As he had done a quarter of a century earlier, Sloan aided in the

¹John Sloan and Oliver LaFarge, Introduction to American Indian Art (New York: The Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, Inc., 1931), p. 56.

revival and perpetuation of the American Scene Movement in the twenties and thirties. Remaining as he did for such a long period in New Mexico, he naturally became more perceptive, and despite his romantic attachment to the land, his images help to express a region.

John Marin: An Expressionist and the Sangre de Cristo

When John Marin went out to New Mexico in the summer of 1929, he was 59 years old. By this time his work had matured. Working in the Fauve tradition as Max Weber, Marsden Hartley and Walt Kuhn, Marin had developed his own peculiar style. "The road he travels," E. M. Benson said of him in 1935, "bears none but his own footprints. Unsteady or faltering as they may be at times, they are always recognizably Marin's own and no one else's."¹

The wildness and distortion that characterized much of the Fauve paintings were utilized by Marin to express his reaction to the industrial landscape of New York. Dynamic forces which underlay the massive structures, Marin discerned, and in his paintings he tried to evoke this abstract element. "Like a true Expressionist he attempted to impart the emotional turbulence of his own reactions to those material things which had engendered them."²

¹E.M. Benson, "John Marin: The Man and His Work," The American Magazine of Art, Vol. 28 (October, 1935), p. 597.

²Brown, op. cit., p. 134.

Marin was especially interested in the phenomena of weather. He was fascinated by "the poetic aspects of an ever-changing nature."¹ In northern New Mexico, Marin found himself in an arena where dramatic battles were fought each day by the powerful natural elements. Josiah Gregg noted these regional peculiarities in the nineteenth century. He recorded in Commerce of the Prairies:

I was deeply impressed with a scene I witnessed in the summer of 1832, about two days beyond Colorado which I may be excused for alluding to in this connection. We were encamped at noon, when a murky cloud issued from . . . behind the mountains, and, after hovering over us for a few minutes, gave vent to one of those tremendous peals of thunder which seem peculiar to those regions, making the elements tremble, and leaving us so stunned and confounded that some seconds elapsed before each man was able to convince himself that he had not been struck by lightning.²

Willa Cather's description in The Professor's House is somewhat akin to Marin's paintings:

Black thunder-storms used to roll up from behind it [the Blue Mesa] and pounce on us like a panther without warning. The lightning would play round it and jab into it so that we were always expecting it would fire the brush. I've never heard thunder so loud as it was there. The cliffs threw it back at us, and we thought the mesa itself, though it seem solid, must be full of deep canyons and caverns, to account for the prolonged growl and rumble that followed

¹Ibid., p. 136.

²Josiah Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, 1831 - 1837, in Reuben Gold Thwaites, Early Western Travels, 1748 - 1846, Vol. XIX (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), p. 128.

every crash of thunder.¹

To depict the drama of storms over the landscape along the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Marin employed his usual Expressionist technique. In manner one sees little difference between "Schooner, Main" (1928) and "Storm over Taos, New Mexico" (1930).²

In the spring of 1929, after suggestions from Georgia O'Keefe, Beck (Mrs. Paul) Strand and Mabel Dodge Luhan, Marin decided to go to Taos, because he felt "the world was closing in on him."³ He was tired of "'swimming in a common pool.'"⁴

The following letters show some of Marin's thoughts and actions during his stay in New Mexico in the summers of 1929 and 1930. In a letter to Paul Strand, dated June. . . (1929) at Taos, Marin wrote:

My dear Strand,

I bought the Ford loaned to me by Mabel Luhan so that I am set--to set out in various directions in this huge layout, to be expressed by me on pieces of paper, with no effort whatsoever. For am I not--well, what--a damn fool? Oh, anything that you like. Yes sir, wait until I get back, you and others being partly responsible for the unloading this poor innocent Critter, myself away out here on the prairie. On

¹Willia Cather, The Professor's House (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 193.

²See reproductions in Benson, loc. cit.

³MacKinley Helm, John Marin, (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1948), p. 64.

⁴Ibid.

the desert surrounded by these huge things. Amidst Indians and Mexicans who have black-eyed daughters.¹

On July 21, 1929, Marin was more informative in his letter to Alfred Stieglitz:

My dear Stieglitz,

We are in our adobe house, on Mabel Luhan's estate, and like it. The big house, a sprawling along most the length of two city blocks, is across the field. Curious the guests. The hostess absent. And the host--oh, you see him occasionally. They are constantly building. They have to here, everywhere. Everywhere repairing the damage wrought by the elements. So that here you are forced to respect the elements. A great thing to be forced to respect something.

The Harvey company is big here. They run the hotels along Santa Fe route and send bus lines all over. They take loads of visitors to see the Indians at the Pueblos. How do the Indians like it? They have no say in the matter. Some say beautiful. Others say, we must change and remedy all this.

The only stray hope being that those who say² beautiful, may in some way increase their fold.

Marin was attracted by the splendor of the Santo Domingo Corn Dance, and on August 25, 1929, he wrote to Emil C. Zoler:

My dear Zoler:

Yes, there are Indians here--more Mexicans--I like the Indians--don't much like the Mexicans--would lie down beside an Indian and feel all right--don't think I would lying down beside a Mexican.

A big Indian dance I attended--I feel my greatest human experience--the barbaric splendor

¹ John Marin, The Selected Writings of John Marin, (ed.) Dorothy Norman (New York: Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1949), p. 128.

² Ibid., p. 129.

of it was magnificent. I drove a hundred miles to this dance--but that's nothing here--the country is so damn big--so that if you succeed in expressing a little--one ought to be satisfied and proceed to pat oneself.¹

Other reactions to the Indian dances are expressed in a letter to Alfred Stieglitz dated August 4, 1930:

My dear Stieglitz,

I have been to the dance and since I do not feel like painting from having seen just now--I'll wait a while before tearing up the old--in fact fortunately or otherwise--cannot as it is in the Lincoln storage.

Certain passages in the dance itself are so beautiful that to produce a something having seen it--becomes well nigh worthless--it's like grafting on to perfection--it's like rewriting Bach.²

When Marin returned home, he wrote to Paul Strand that "The East looks screened in. The West is a memory that we are constantly talking about."³

During the summers of 1929 and 1930 when Marin was in New Mexico, he did nearly one hundred water colors--some on the grand scale of Taos Mountain and others studies of "little things."⁴ In order to indicate the immense space, Marin seldom used his regular interior frame.⁵

Marin's sojourn in Taos was short and obviously his influence was about negligible; however, Mabel Luhn remembers that "one saw traces of Marin's method

¹Ibid., p. 132. ²Ibid., p. 135. ³Ibid., p. 137.

⁴Helm, op. cit., p. 65. ⁵Ibid.

and technique in many canvases of the younger men who tried to learn from him and to see with his eyes, and, in part succeeded."¹

Although some of the New Mexico paintings were shown just after his return, it was not until 1936 that the complete group was exhibited.² One critic of the 1930 exhibit felt that the lack of variety of mood was due to the fact that Marin "had only just come to grips with a country which is essentially new to him."³ Yet the "Indian Dance-Santo Domingo" would justify the whole adventure. MacKinley Helm says that Marin himself found that for the most part the paintings were "straightforward transcripts of unfamiliar terrain."⁴ Yet they were transcripts in Marin's own style. Slightly representational, the Taos scenes illustrate an experiment in Expressionism. As usual there were no people in Marin's landscapes. Taos was a retreat from the world--a pleasant emotional experience. Marin's experience, however, as his letters show, along with his work, helps to constitute another chapter in the American artist's attempt to discover values and to create a tradition.

¹Luhan, Taos and Its Artists, p. 38.

²Helm, op. cit., p. 65.

³Ralph Flint "Marin Exhibits New Landscapes Done in Taos," The Art News Vol. 29 (November 8, 1930) p. 3.

⁴Helm, op. cit., p. 66.

Georgia O'Keefe: Immaculate and Symbolist

Perennially, Georgia O'Keefe returned to New Mexico after her visit there in 1929. That she has in recent years made her home at Abiquiu and continues to interpret the New Mexican landscape certainly warrants our consideration of her in the present study. As one of America's most skillful and imaginative artists, O'Keefe has done some of her best work in her interpretations of the Southwest. Along with John Sloan, O'Keefe found New Mexico a personally satisfying environment and utilized appropriate means to symbolize it.

Undoubtedly the personality and background of Georgia O'Keefe, as sketched by her friends and other writers, account somewhat for her retreat to New Mexico. She was born at Sun Prairie, Wisconsin and received her first education at a convent school where she learned "the importance of 'size' upon the cloistered mind, in or out of convent walls."¹ Being reprimanded once for not drawing large enough, she decided to make over-sized sketches in order to please. The plan worked!

O'Keefe studied at the Art Institute in Chicago and worked as a commercial artist for awhile.

¹Ernest W. Watson, "Georgia O'Keefe: An Interview," American Artist, Vol. 7 (June, 1943), p. 8.

Finding commercial art distasteful, she went to New York where she studied at the Art Students League under William Chase. Here she revolted against the academic practice of imitating the classical artists:

I realized that I couldn't paint a better Hals than Hals had painted or a better Sargent than Sargent, or even a better Meissonier. I saw no point in going on turning out picture after picture. Rather than spend my life on imitations I would not paint at all.¹

She joined Arthur Dow's classes at Columbia; his new approach² appealed to her sense of individualism. Incentives were provided for creative work of her own; however, she gave up shortly and went to Virginia in 1914. That year she was persuaded to go out to Amarillo, Texas as supervisor of art in the public schools. She became attached to the region. She later declared: "But I belonged. That was my country--terrible winds and a wonderful emptiness."³

From 1915 to 1917 O'Keefe taught at West

¹Ibid.

²Arthur Wesley Dow evolved a set of modern design principles based on Chinese and Japanese art. Dow had been influenced by Ernest Fenellosa, the leading American scholar of Far Eastern art. Also Dow had studied at Brittany where he knew Gauguin whose flat, ornamented art was a return to the simplified drawings of the primitives. Dow asserted "that the history of art was the history of revolutions, that revolutions were evidence of new energy and that experimentation was to be valued." (See American Painting From the Armory Show to the Depression, p. 53.)

³Anita Pollitzer, "That's Georgia," Saturday Review of Literature Vol XXXIII (November 4, 1950), p. 41.

Texas Normal College. While there she began her creative work, influenced to some extent by her training under Arthur Dow. Some of these esoteric efforts, called "Lines and Spaces in Charcoal," were sent to a friend, Anita Pollitzer in New York. Miss Pollitzer brought them to Alfred Stieglitz, who exhibited them at "291."¹ O'Keefe came to New York in 1917 and married Stieglitz in 1924. During the early twenties, O'Keefe developed her own style which was seen chiefly in her flower designs.²

The American Renaissance of the twenties included O'Keefe as one of the chief inspirations. In 1927, she was chauvinistically hailed in The Nation:

Georgia O'Keefe is an iconoclast to the old European traditions of arts and artists. . . . O'Keefe is America's own exclusive product. It is refreshing to realize that she has never been to Europe. . . . Born in Sun Prairie, Wisconsin. . . she has absorbed an atmosphere untainted by theories, by cultural traditions.

.
her roots are in the earth and her kinship is with the things that grow from the soil.³

Returning to the Southwest again in 1929, this time to Taos, O'Keefe was intensely excited and inspired. "This land," wrote Daniel C. Rich, "so often painted

¹Ibid., p. 42.

²See an excellent discussion of O'Keefe's flower studies in Brown, op. cit., pp. 126 - 127.

³Frances O'Brien, "American we Like--Georgia O'Keefe," The Nation, Vol. CXXV (October 12, 1927) pp. 361 - 362.

and so badly, became for her a land of promise."¹

The quiet convent life seems to have had a lasting influence. We are told that O'Keefe "is not social" and that "People figure very slightly in her world."²

We see that her paintings are great white desert regions where humanity is banished. O'Keefe delighted in the spaciousness and isolation of New Mexico. The following delineation was given after her first trip to Taos:

Take an exquisite sensitive mortal like Georgia O'Keefe who is so specialized that she is like no one else--is unique, is as unlike other human beings as a dryad at the bottom of a tarn, seems outside people's codes, customs, and all folk ways--and suddenly lift her from sea level to the higher vibrations of a place such as Taos and you will have the extraordinary picture of her making whoopee! She doesn't make whoopee like other people do, but she makes it just the same. Her whoopee is of the finer nerves, the more poignant visions, awarenesses few others even dream of and perceptions that have to remain esoteric to the majority.³

In Sky Determines, Ross Calvin gave this description of the results of the 1925 drought:

And everywhere in the corners of the wire fence and at the bottom of the draws lay bleaching a sinister and arresting number of dry bones, ribs, vertebrae, and heads of disintegrating steers.⁴

¹Daniel Cotton Rich, Georgia O'Keefe (Chicago: The Art Institute, R. R. Donnelly and Sons, The Lakeside Press, 1943), p. 30.

²Pollitzer, loc. cit., pp. 41 - 42.

³Mabel Dodge Luhan, "Georgia O'Keefe in Taos," Creative Art, Vol. VIII (June, 1931), pp. 407 - 408.

⁴Ross Calvin, Sky Determines, (2d ed. revised) (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948), p. 277.

Although O'Keefe chose many subjects such as churches, crosses, hillsides, Mexican serapes, and flowers, the bleached bones of the desert have become one of her most meaningful symbols. O'Keefe's method was to select a few objects to symbolize the land or some personal conception of it. She told an interviewer:

I have always wanted to paint the desert and I haven't known how. I always think that I cannot stay with it long enough. So I brought home the bleached bones as my symbols of the desert. The bones seem to cut sharply to the center of something that is keenly alive on the desert even though it is vast and empty and untouchable--and knows no kindness with its beauty.¹

Did Georgia O'Keefe's deep soul encounter the problem of evil as did D. H. Lawrence? If her spirit was deepened, as some suggested, by her coming to New Mexico, could it have felt more keenly the presence of evil in the world or did it only become more aware of the dessicating effects of isolation? It would seem that some spiritual conflict is evinced by the "Black Cross-New Mexico" (1929). Or it may be likely that O'Keefe, more sensitive and perceptive than others, was able to identify herself more completely with the experience of the Spanish American pioneers and discerned a great beauty in the stark tragedy of the Penitentes.

¹Watson, "Georgia O'Keefe: An Interview," loc. cit., p. 11.

Her preference for whiteness suggests the symbolism of Herman Melville. It is interesting enough to entertain the idea that two Americans, separated by both time and space, should in the whiteness of Moby Dick and the bleached bones of the desert raise the age old problem of good and evil!

Royal Cortissoz felt that O'Keefe seemed "to be deviating into the cul-de-sac of surrealism,"¹ when her "Ram's Head-White Hollyhock Hills, New Mexico"² was exhibited in 1931. This painting and Salvador Dali's "Cristo" are interesting in comparison.

O'Keefe has been called an Immaculate and a Cubist-Realist.³ A recent critic has noted that O'Keefe's latest work tends to be more realistic, yet it contains an abstract quality which is characteristic of all her work.⁴ Since 1935, she has dedicated herself to the landscape of the Southwest, and abstraction has been minimized.⁵

Calla Hay, writing in the Santa Fe New Mexican,

¹Ibid., p. 7.

²See reproduction in American Artist, Vol. 7 (June, 1943), pp. 6 - 7.

³Bauer treats O'Keefe's work as Immaculate art in Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Painting. Brown calls her a Cubist-Realist.

⁴"O'Keefe," Art News, Vol. LIV (May, 1955), p. 42.

⁵Rich, op. cit., p. 40.

gave this description of O'Keefe's desert home at Abiquiu, New Mexico:

The O'Keefe place is set dramatically against a background of eroded rock cliffs that rise like some fantastic giant's castle out of the beautiful Chama River valley. The house is squared away on three sides around a patio in typical native style. At one time it had the small windows customarily found in New Mexico adobe dwellings; but the new owner changed that, and now there are great sheets of glass in every direction. The first roll of the hill over the badlands to the east is that deep, angry red of some New Mexico earth. The rock cliffs beyond are of ever-changing color, sometimes purple shading into smooth gray, or mottling into a gold that apes the aspens along the river. . . .¹

Georgia O'Keefe chose to withdraw from the rest of the world and live in the primitive atmosphere of New Mexico. Yet out on the edge of the desert she has collected symbols of physical and spiritual America.

¹Reprinted in Watson, "Georgia O'Keefe: An Interview," loc. cit., p. 29.

CHAPTER IV

WRITERS AND WRITINGS OF SANTA FE AND TACS

Santa Fe

Prior to 1920, there was certainly very little writing being done in Santa Fe. Even since that time, the output has been at a minimum. Because of the interest in archaeology, ethnology, and history, most of the literature produced in this area has taken its orientation from these disciplines. Some of the first popular works written in this part of the Southwest, works such as Bandelier's The Delight Makers (1890) and Lummis's The Land of Poco Tiempo (1893) show the influence of science and history. Even such later books as Mary Austin's The Land of Journey's Ending (1924), Ruth Laughlin's Caballeros (1931), and Ross Calvin's Sky Determines (1934)¹ are expositions of the people or the land.

Because the climate, landscape, and cultural background which writers found in New Mexico were unusual, it was natural that these subjects would be incorporated in the literature. The cult-like avidity with

¹Ross Calvin resided in Santa Fe during his first years in New Mexico, but he now lives at Las Cruces.

which writers indulged in describing their discoveries is due largely to their getting acquainted with new resources and their desire to publicize them. Influential, too, were the attitudes toward life that the writers held, plus the isolation in which they found themselves.

Let us turn now to some of the individuals and their activities. What assessments can be made? To what extent did the more important writers in Santa Fe shape the climate of ideas and influence the quality of literary output during the period? Also, to what degree does the general climate of ideas in the United States affect the New Mexico writers?

Alice Corbin Henderson:

The Poet's Round-up

Perhaps one of the most interesting and influential of the literary group at Santa Fe (with the exception of Mary Austin) was Alice Corbin Henderson, who was responsible for the first major gathering of poets and writers. She came out to Santa Fe for her health in 1916 with her artist husband, William Penhallow Henderson. As Alice Corbin, she had been, in Chicago, the first associate editor of Poetry: A Magazine of Verse.¹ "A fine poet and intelligent critic," wrote Harriet Monroe, "she

¹Harriet Monroe, A Poet's Life--Seventy Years in a Changing World, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938). See the account of Alice Corbin's work in the chapter, "Poetry: A Magazine of Verse," pp. 251 - 282. See also The New Poetry, Rev. ed. (1936), p. 700.

was keen as a whip in those days, and seemed the one fit person available to assist in my project."¹ Alice Corbin was the first to read the many poems that deluged the offices of Poetry between 1912 and 1916. Harriet Monroe cited her qualifications as a critic:

I could trust her to detect the keen note, the original style, and to pass on to me for discussion anything which offered a hint of promise-- and indeed she made only one serious mistake during her three and a half years of service.

Alice Corbin was "not only a well-nigh indispensable member of Poetry's staff, but also one of the gayest and most brilliant slingers of repartee in the groups which soon began to gather in the Poetry office."³

Because of her affiliation with Poetry, Alice Corbin became acquainted personally or through correspondence with many young writers who were to become the leaders of the "renaissance" in American poetry. She knew or corresponded with such poets as H.D., Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, Carl Sandburg, Edgar Lee Masters, and Vachel Lindsay. Carl Sandburg says that she deserves a "highlighted place in the story of American literature of that period."⁴ Sandburg qualified this assessment thus:

. . . Alice Corbin will stand forth in elements of both the Angelic and the demoniac. Only one having both these elements could have the range of

¹Ibid., p. 284. ²Ibid., p. 286. ³Ibid.

⁴Carl Sandburg, "Alice," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. XIX (Spring, 1949), p. 56.

affectionate understanding, compassion through identity, necessary to ride herd on Vachel and Carl, Edgar Lee and Ezra, Robinson and Hal Bynner, H.D. and Amy, John Gould Fletcher and Arlington Robinson, those two lawyers Archie MacLeish and Wally Stevens--and God knows who all, by the way of clowns, acrobats, trapeze artists, and sword swallows and fire eaters.¹

It seems natural then, that Alice Corbin's presence in Santa Fe might cause many young writers to turn their attention to that city and to gather around her if they sojourned there. In his recollections of those earlier days, Witter Bynner gives us an atmospheric sketch of the informal meetings of both artists and writers at the home of Alice Corbin and her husband:

It was a small, pleasant, primitive adobe house, with an outdoor privy and with horses corralled alongside. . . .Visitors would come across distances which now demand motoring; but we came on horseback then by day or at night on foot with lanterns and would kick snow off our overshoes in the welcoming glow of the room with its corner adobe fireplace. Painters from nearby houses on the Camino would be there. Applegate, Bakos, Shuster, Nash, sometimes Sloan and Davey from streets farther away, often Indian painters like Awa-tsireh from the Pueblos and occasionally a visiting writer, Lindsay with his chants, Sandburg with his guitar, Frost with his wit, Lummis with a red bandanna round his gray temples, or neighboring Jack Thorpe with his brother.

Bynner recalls that in 1923 resident writers were few; however, he thinks that Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant's telling in Harper's about her "mud house" caused

¹Ibid.

²Witter Bynner, "Alice and I," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. XIX (Spring, 1949), p. 38.

the dubbing of "us painters and writers as 'mud-hut-nuts'."¹ Their insatiable interest in Indian dances certainly did little to dispel that idea. Bynner writes of their attendance at private ceremonials:

The Hendersons and I attended many Pueblo ceremonials together in those days; but we liked to watch singly and to absorb the dances, or to be absorbed by them, rather than make them social occasions they are now; and when the Easter dances or the August dances came at Santo Domingo, each lasting three days, we would last the three days with them, sleeping on the schoolhouse floor, and be up at dawn to see the first Koshare with Alice Corbin as alert and hardy as any of us. . . . Sometimes we took with us a visiting writer like Bliss Carman or Edna Millay, or a composer like Ernest Block.²

Little did they realize that they themselves would be largely responsible for changing those dances-- which they then held exclusively as their very own into commercial displays.

Like many others who came to Santa Fe, Alice Corbin Henderson became interested in the welfare of the Indian. From her work in connection with the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs, came an idea for a somewhat informal gathering of writers. For the purpose of raising money for the Association, she proposed the idea of public readings by the local poets.³ This activity, which was known as the Poet's Round-up, was first

¹Ibid., p. 39. See Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Journal of a Mud House," Harpers Magazine, Vol. CXLV (March - June, 1922).

²Ibid.

³Haniel Long, "The Poet's Round-up," New Mexico Quarterly Review, Vol. XIX (Spring, 1949), p. 69.

held in the summer of 1926.

Although the Annual Poet's Round-up included oral performances by local writers, visitors from everywhere attended. This summer festival brought the literary group together and gave many of them an opportunity to read unpublished work for the first time and to have first hand criticism--criticism which in many cases was prompted by professional courtesy and might be termed "uncritical appreciation." However, much of the work was published in major literary periodicals throughout the country, and what could prevent this group from believing that great things were in store for such an active and productive set? In 1934 the gathering included Mary Austin, Witter Bynner, Stanley Vestal, John Gould Fletcher, Haniel Long, Ina Sizer Cassidy and Alice Corbin.

It is in her small volume of poems, Red Earth (1920), that Alice Corbin Henderson, as a Santa Fe writer, reveals not only her attitude toward American life, but the effect that the place where she chose to reside had upon her. She included the two traditional elements of the Santa Fe background--the Indian and the Spanish American. Many of the poems were re-translations of Indian and Spanish songs. In addition to these two elements, Mrs. Henderson's own attitudes toward other sections of the country were revealed in poems like "In the Desert" where these lines occur:

IV

Four o'clock in the afternoon. . . .
A stream of money is flowing down Fifth Avenue.

They speak of the fascination of New York
Climbing aboard motor-busses to look down on
the endless play
From the Bay to the Bronx.
But it is forever the same;
There is no Life there.

Watching a cloud on the desert.
Endlessly watching small insects crawling in
and out of the shadow of a cactus,
A herd-boy on the horizon driving goats,
Uninterrupted sky and brown sand:
Space--volume--silence--
Nothing but life on the desert,
Intense life.

From "Three Men Entered the Desert Alone" these lines:

He had entered the desert to hide and fly,
But the spell of the desert had entered him.

Throughout the poems there is the suggestion of a mysterious spirit pervading the surroundings. Her poems, "Pedro Montoya of Arroyo Hondo," "Cundyo," "Juan Quintana," and "Petrolino's Complaint" are distinctive in that they re-capture the picturesque atmosphere of Spanish colonial days as a background for modern changes. Note "Petrolino's Complaint":

I have gone looking through hillsides and
canyons,
Through all the placitas where we used to run;
But the old ways have changed since you walked
here,
And a goat is more sociable than a man that is
dumb!

¹Alice Corbin Henderson, Red Earth (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1920), pp. 20 - 21.

Although the poems described certain twentieth century changes, the all-over effect evoked images of tranquillity and contentment. Coming shortly after the turmoil of World War I, the poems with their mood of serenity and remoteness were undoubtedly an antidote for tumultuous realities. Of the book, Haniel Long has written:

It really doesn't matter in what language the Red Earth poems are written, for they come from the beginnings of things, like the stars over the mountains, like the fragrant arborvitae on the hearth, only they are infinitely melancholy, with the loneliness of the heart at day's end. And they are infinitely remote, as though written by one who saw the world and its doings from a long way off, where only the eternal elements of man's life matter--birth and death, love, suffering. It was the mood in which she had first seen this southwestern country, Reading the Red Earth poems in the atmosphere of postwar Europe, I could respond to their undertones. . . .¹

Mrs. Henderson, in 1928, edited one of the first anthologies of Southwestern poetry, The Turquoise Trail.² Here she brought together the works of thirty-seven poets, many of whom had lived only for a short time in the state. Their preoccupation with local, New Mexico themes, however, gives the volume a distinct regional flavor. Though most of the poems seem to be lyrical expressions of the moment, it is just this quality of enjoyment of the moment and place which attracts. In many of the poems appears

¹Long, loc. cit., p. 66.

²Alice Corbin Henderson (ed.), The Turquoise Trail: An Anthology of New Mexico Poetry (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928).

a mood of release from tension. The landscape, the Indians, and the Spanish descendants evoke these responses. We are made aware of the infinity of time, a dreamy or melancholy atmosphere, the unity of man and nature, the clash of the old with the new, the natural versus the artificial, and a nostalgic longing for the past. Although each poet has a different approach, the environment is the immediate cause of the response. Well known poets and writers such as John Galsworthy, Marsden Hartley, Alfred Kreymborg, Arthur Davison Ficks, Willa Cather, D. H. Lawrence, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, Harriet Monroe, Carl Sandburg, and Stanley Vestal are included in this volume. Perhaps we might call The Turquoise Trail an endorsement of a region.

Being at the center of the new poetry movement, Mrs. Henderson was quick to sense values in the untapped aboriginal sources she found in New Mexico. She saw in the chants of the Indians a resemblance to imagism and vers libre. Advocating serious study of Indian music and poetry, she explained:

For not only is the study of primitive verse supremely interesting from the psychological standpoint, but, aesthetically, the study of this archaic meter, the intervals of which are so extraordinarily subtle, would well repay any modern student of free verse, as well as the most traditional classicist--since, at the root, the form is one!¹

¹Alice Corbin Henderson, "On the Need of Scholarship For the Study of Indian Culture," Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Vol. XXII (September, 1923), p. 328.

Indian poetry, like Indian art, according to Mrs. Henderson, exhibited an underlying purposefulness, a personal and group esthetic experience that was essentially religious.

Nor has the Indian poetry ever the emptiness of the merely decorative motive [she claimed]-it is sufficiently decorative indeed but always the image has been born of the emotion and so has not the still-born aspect of the purely 'decorative' word-painting which exists only for and of itself and has no future.

As my eyes
Search the prairie
I feel the summer in the spring -

could never have been born save of longing and sheer sensitiveness to nature, the responsive quiver of a man's being to the quiver of nature itself. (Is not this intimacy lacking in much modern poetry, which feels itself to be largely beyond nature, even as much modern art also has divorced itself from nature, and is proud of the fact?). . . .¹

Mrs. Henderson indicts the modernists in both literature and art for their attempt to completely alienate themselves from nature. Abstraction was little more than escape; the personal element was removed. Since Indian poetry demonstrated an acceptance of life as a whole with the commonplace realities and delicate spiritual values placed on the same level, it could not be regarded as "an escape from life or a sedative. . . . The notion is so far removed from the Indian's conception of art. . . ." ² She was impressed by the absence

¹Alice Corbin Henderson, "A Note on Primitive Poetry," Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Vol. XIV (September, 1919), p. 332.

²Ibid., p. 333.

of commercial motivations and incentives which would detract from the essentially personal esthetic expression:

Primitive poetry, however crude, is almost always art, because it has not been made to please the public, but the poet. . . . The fine thing about Indian poetry and about Indian art, including the beautifully symbolic dance-dramas, is that it is not addressed to any audience save that in the sky--it is a magic projection of the self that is beyond self, created out of distress, longing, or truly aesthetic aspiration; and it is out of this primitive groping toward art, through primitive graphic symbols of art and of song, that language and thought evolved.¹

Mrs. Henderson suggested an intensive study of aboriginal poetry because it would provide knowledge of the genesis of poetry and art. These beginnings could be studied right here in America and one did not have to start with Homer.

Voicing the same opinions as Mary Austin, Edgar L. Hewett and Marsden Hartley, Mrs. Henderson lamented the fact that America was tardy in her appreciation of the value of these native materials. Although a great deal of sentiment had been aroused over the plight of the Pueblo Indians in 1922,² she insisted that a more definite approach to preservation had to be taken:

But what is ~~needed~~ needed to ensure the preservation of this culture is not a merely temporary flare of interest, but the solid weight of an enlightened public opinion, and in molding such an opinion one would naturally look to our colleges and

¹Ibid., pp. 334 - 335.

²See above.

universities for intellectual leadership in stimulating an aesthetic appreciation of this archaic art and ritual which, as if by miracle, still exists in primitive purity in the heart of an industrial era. But where, in any American college or university, is there any scholarship or fellowship endowed for a study of these primitive survivals of dance rituals similar to those from which Greek drama was derived? Is there any course in classic Greek drama in which this analogy is pointed out, through which the study of classic myth and form could be revived from a living source, or through which the student could be directed to a living dramatic form as highly conventionalized and as perfect as the Japanese Noh?¹

Neglect by the universities and the country at large, Mrs. Henderson felt, could only reflect upon the country's cultural limitations. Because of the need for an interdisciplinary approach, such as Hewett advocated, she urged the universities to stimulate interest in Indian culture by providing scholarships.

Not only did Mrs. Henderson champion Indian culture, but she also stressed the value of the Negro and Spanish folk contribution as a foundation for American cultural development. She attributed America's neglect of its folk materials to its Old World orientation and continued domination. She observed:

Of course it is often assumed that we have no tradition, folk or otherwise. But this assumption is usually made by those who are uninformed-visiting Irish or Englishmen, or Europeans who have never set foot in our country, or Americans who have failed to consider the evidence or have been blind to its significance because of its very familiarity.²

¹Henderson, "On the Need of Scholarship For the Study of Indian Culture," loc. cit., pp. 326 - 327.

²Alice Corbin Henderson, "The Folk Poetry of These States," Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Vol. XVI (August, 1920), p. 272.

As Willa Cather suggested in The Professor's House and in many of her other works, Alice Corbin Henderson also indicated that a proper cultural fusion was necessary--the suavity, sensitivity, and intellectuality of the Old World needed to be integrated with the vitality, materialism, and Puritanism of the New World. As a basis for esthetic growth, the poet had to recognize his own American heritage.

Culture, [Mrs. Henderson concluded,] has become intensive rather than expansive; and the traditions, far from being non-existent or lost, are only just now beginning to receive their due recognition and appreciation. The poet who fails to perceive this is losing half his heritage. Our roots are double. On the one side we have the classic English tradition (Why it is assumed that we do not share in this equally with our English contemporaries it is hard to see!); and on the other hand we have a store of native tradition and experience which belongs to us alone.¹

Mrs. Henderson was encouraged, however, by the fact that poets like Sandburg, Masters, and Lindsay had begun to recognize and to employ native folk idioms.

Brothers of Light which Alice Corbin Henderson wrote in collaboration with her husband is an example of the use to which a sensitive writer and artist can put native or regional materials. This book about the Penitentes is another poetic response to the environment. Although it was published in 1937, the experiences utilized were an accumulation of many years residence in New Mexico.

¹Ibid., p. 273.

The major portion of the volume is a personal account of a visit to Abiquiu, one of the most isolated of the old Spanish villages, during Holy Week when the Penitentes were conducting their traditional ceremonies--antiquated forms of the Third Order of St. Francis. Near the end of the book, Mrs. Henderson presents a very precise history of the group. Although the description of the ceremony in all of its primitive severity and passion consumes most of the pages, the very delicate descriptions of the people and the landscape which come only from first hand observation, constitute the author's major achievement.

Mrs. Henderson suggests her primary intent in writing Brothers of Light:

In this account, emphasis has been placed perhaps unduly on the forms of penance practiced by the Penitentes as a curious survival of the Middle Ages; but not, I hope, to the exclusion of the sense of their underlying intensely religious spirit. This spirit is deeply rooted and closely interwoven in the texture of the lives of the Spanish people of New Mexico, and the Lenten ceremonies furnish the most native expression of that spirit. No springtime comes without one's being conscious that everywhere in the small villages, in the high mountain foothills, or along the Rio Grande Valley, groups of simple sincere people are making their pilgrimages of expiation, through snow and sleet, or under budding fruit trees, to distant shrines, or to neighboring cross-topped hills.¹

That she came to Santa Fe because of ill health partially accounts for her positive attitude toward religious

¹Alice Corbin Henderson, Brothers of Light (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937). p. 73.

values; yet it would seem that the concern with religion, as shown by Mrs. Henderson and many others of the group at Santa Fe and Taos, is motivated by a sense of despair or of personal and social inadequacy. The simple, child-like people of the Indian and Spanish villages allow the exiles to identify themselves temporarily with what they consider a redemptive atmosphere.

As the leader of the literary group at Santa Fe during the period under observation, Alice Corbin Henderson, as did Dr. Hewett, focused attention upon the values of the Indian and fought valiantly for his preservation. Because of her connection with Poetry, she attracted many writers to Santa Fe and introduced them to Southwest regionalism which cause she espoused. While much of the work in New Mexico may appear as cultist effusion, it demonstrates her positive attitude toward American culture despite its deficiencies.

Witter Bynner: Host of the Romantic House

Among the members of the Alice Corbin Henderson circle was the poet, Witter Bynner who still lives in his Chinese-like house in a Chinese-like garden--a whole setting which suggests withdrawal and escape. Yet Witter Bynner has been called one of the most popular hosts in Santa Fe. One writer had this to say of him:

His sardonic wit, his kind, warm heart, his highballs, his slow and steady productivity as a poet have made him as much of an institution as

the Museum of New Mexico.¹

Bynner has been host to everyone from D. H. Lawrence to Olivia de Haviland and Errol Flynn. A Harvard graduate, Bynner came to live in Santa Fe in 1922 after having travelled extensively in the Orient, mostly in China. He had been assistant editor of McClure's Magazine, a former president of the Poetry Society of America, and had conducted a class in verse writing at the University of California at Berkeley in 1918.

In one of her reviews, Harriet Monroe wrote:

Mr. Bynner is a transplanted product of down-east culture. He has broken away from the Harvard tradition which threatened at one time to enslave him, and avoiding the European refuge of so many of our intelligentsia, has travelled, mind and body, in the Orient, and has made Santa Fe and our South-western wonderland, . . . his permanent home, not only in terms of real estate and residence, but in the loyalties and wistful ardors of his spirit.²

This ardor of spirit was certainly exhibited in 1926 when the artists and writers of Santa Fe united in opposition to the Chamber of Commerce's proposal to accept an invitation from a group of Texas club women who planned to make Santa Fe their summer headquarters. They would make of the town a cultural center--on their own terms of course--in the spirit of the great Chautauqua. What could be more inane? What could overwhelm and flood the

¹Sergeant, loc. cit., p. 354.

²Harriet Monroe, "Mr. Bynner in the Southwest," Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Vol. XXXVI (August, 1930), pp. 276 - 278.

happy valley with torrents of mediocrity, standardizations, and bourgeois values more than these women and their Chautauqua?

Mary Austin sounded the trumpet and other like spirits rallied to her side. She openly attacked the Chamber of Commerce for its position in the matter and let the public know just how she felt. "That institution known as the Chautauqua Circle," wrote Mrs. Austin, "is a pure American product, the outstanding characterization of our naive belief and our superb faith that culture can, like other appurtenances of democracy, proceed by majorities."¹

Witter Bynner wrote on the subject a long article which appeared in one of the leading New York newspapers and subsequently in newspapers and periodicals throughout the country. For the Southwest Review, he wrote a precise statement of the motives of the Santa Fe artists and writers:

. . . we few at least, in all these American States, are resisting as a town what we deem to be an omen of standardization, are trying to fight away from Santa Fe a spirit that has laid its bane far and wide throughout America, a spirit inclined to live, move, and have its being collectively, to differentiate, people only by number and not by individuality.²

¹Mary Austin, "The Town That Doesn't Want a Chautauqua," The New Republic, Vol. XLVII (July 7, 1926), p. 196.

²Witter Bynner, "Santa Fe and the Club Women," Southwest Review, Vol. XII (January, 1927), p. 153.

It is clear that the group at Santa Fe felt that they were defending individualism from collectivism in thought and action. They had withdrawn; yet the enemy was about to catch up with them. The machine and industrialism had provided means--money and transportation--for their annihilation here in the desert where they wanted to be left alone. At least they wanted to be left alone long enough to lay a foundation which some of them felt would be a new movement to counteract the evils of a money-making America. Bynner summed up their opposition in this way:

Yet, after all and by and large, our stubborn group, with its measures of appeal, of protest, of publicity, even of sensation and possible injunction, is a group of pioneers in contemporary America. We are ploughing a new West. We are trying to find and preserve the natural resources not of the soil only but of the human spirit. We are pioneering away from standardized America. . . . Pioneers are always cranks. They have a right to be.¹

The writers and artists were successful in their attempt to repel the club women. The excessive publicity discouraged the group, and the matter was allowed to gradually expire.

At Santa Fe, Witter Bynner has written many poems dealing with the materials of the region. A study of some of them shows his rejection of certain aspects of American life, his enjoyment of his place of exile, and his sincere desire to publicize a region. Indian

¹Ibid., p. 154.

Earth (1929), Bynner's collection of regional poems, according to Harriet Monroe, lacked the lyrical beauty of his early poems. Although he used the Indian, along with the Mexican and New Mexican landscape as subject matter, the poems showed the influence of his translations of Old Chinese poetry.¹

Indian Earth is composed of poems written in and about Old Mexico and New Mexico. A result of nearly eight years residence in and travel to and from the two sections, the poems are divided into two groups, those dealing with his residence at Chapala in Mexico and a New Mexico section which includes poetic interpretations of seven Pueblo dances. In these interpretations of the dances, Bynner infuses his personal response, his construction of meanings, his assessment of their philosophical connotations. Perhaps the most famous of these poems, one which has been included in all of the major anthologies of American literature, is "A Dance for Rain," based on the ceremony of Cochiti Pueblo. Descriptive and expository, the poem vibrates with the rhythms of the dance and the epic dimensions of mythological

¹Witter Bynner had translated with the aid of Dr. Kiang Kang Hu old Chinese poetry of the T'ang dynasty, 618 - 906 A. D. This volume was the first of Chinese verse to be translated in full by an American poet. (See Twentieth Century Authors by Kunitz and Haycraft.) Bynner published the translation as The Jade Mountain in 1929. One can easily see the immediate reason for his Chinese motifs in his house and garden in Santa Fe.

symbolism. The personal sympathy and enjoyment of the poet lend a quickening anticipation to the poem. Note the opening lines:

You may never see rain, unless you see
A Dance for rain at Cochiti,
Never hear thunder in the air
Unless you hear the thunder there,
Nor know the lightning in the sky
If there's no pole to know it by.
They dipped the pole just as I came,
And I can never be the same
Since those feathers gave my brow
The touch of wind that's on it now,
Bringing over the arid lands
Butterfly gestures from Hopi hands
And holding me, till earth shall fail,
As close to ear as a fox's tail.¹

Throughout, the poem instills the atmosphere of an arid environment and the importance of rain in terms of mythical conceptions and the esthetic expression of these conceptions.

In "Snake Dance," an interpretation of a Hotevilla ritual, Bynner, identifying himself with the participants and speaking in the first person plural, expresses the Indian acceptance of the universal duality of good and evil and the universal harmony of all things by addressing the snakes as natural kin.

As kin of us, because our fathers said:
As we have always shown them, you must show them
That kinship in the world is never dead.
Come then, O bull-snake, wake from your slow search
Across the desert. Here are your very kin.
Dart not away from us, whip-snake, but perch
Your head among your people moulded in
A greater shape yet touching the earth like you.

¹Witter Bynner, Indian Earth (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929), p. 63.

Leave off your rattling, rattle-snake, leave off
Your coiling, your venom. There is only dew
Under the starlight. Let our people cough
In the blowing sand and hide their faces, oh still
Receive them, know them, live with them in peace.

• • • • •
Dance with us, kinsfolk, be with us as men
Descended from common ancestors, belong
To none but those who join yourselves and us.¹

Another poem, "Shalaho," based on the Zuni ceremony, expresses again the eternal unity of all things and all time. It suggests also the futility as well as triumph of earthly life--apparent contradictions which are resolved in the philosophical attitude of the Indian. Symbolic characters in the dance drama deliver this message:

We are the old
Who having time to deal with, dealt with it well
And are now to time and death inviolable.
Clothed in eternal buffaloes and birds,
We converse in mountain-peaks instead of words.
But we still have words for you. We bid you build
New houses that your ancestors have willed,
To hold new bodies adding to the dead.
These are our words. You have heard what we have said.

To Bynner, Indian philosophy, as expressed in the dances and other activities, contained a severe stoicism. The Indian refused to dissect and to criticize; all things were and embodied their own excuse for being. Bynner had admired the Chinese for this attitude: "Whereas western poets will take actualities as points of departure for exaggeration or fantasy, or else as shadows of contrast against dreams of unreality, the great Chinese poets accept the world exactly as they find it in all its

¹Ibid., p. 75.

²Ibid., p. 77.

terms, and with profound simplicity find therein sufficient solace."¹ Evidently, Bynner found comfort in Mexican and New Mexican Indian folkways because of this inherent similarity to the Chinese.² "I believe," wrote Paul Horgan, "that Bynner, in the Southwest, found some modification, some handsome compromise in awareness and admission possible between the ecstatic optimism of his youth and the tragic strength of his maturity."³ Suggestions of this compromise appear in a poem entitled, "Lorenzo," obviously referring to D. H. Lawrence:

I had not known that there could be
Men like Lorenzo and like me,
Both in the world and both so right
That the world is dark and the world is light.
I had not thought that anyone
Would choose the dark for dwelling on,
Would dig and delve for the bitterest roots
Of sweetest and suavist fruits.
I never had presumed to doubt
That now and then the light went out;
But I had not known there could be
Men like Lorenzo and like me
Both in the world and both so right
That the world is dark and the world is light.
I had not guessed that joy could be
Selected for any enemy.⁴

¹Witter Bynner, "Poetry and Culture," The Dial, Vol. LXXXV (October, 1928), p. 301.

²Cf. treatment of Lafacadio Hearn's expatriation in David Lewin, "The Literary Expatriate as Social Critic of America." (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1952.)

³Witter Bynner, Selected Poems, (ed.) Robert Hunt with a critical essay by Paul Horgan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943) 2d ed. rev., p. 292.

⁴Witter Bynner, Caravan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926), p. 39.

Witter Bynner was the most important poet to reside at Santa Fe between 1900 and 1934. One of the leaders of the Santa Fe-Taos movement, he symbolized the escapist temper and the spirit of the battle for individualism in the twenties, and as one of his major poems evince, Santa Fe was a refuge for a distressed soul. Eden Tree, published in 1931, epitomizes Bynner's moral and intellectual struggle. Written when Bynner was fifty years old, the poem presents a mature view toward life; it is characterized by resolution and resignation. Influenced undoubtedly by his sojourn in Santa Fe, Bynner incorporates in the poem poetic responses to an abundance of actual experiences. Many places are described and the Southwest claims only its necessary share; yet it is quite apparent to the reader acquainted with the New Mexico landscape that it furnishes augmentation for the heightened lyricism of certain passages.

In 1915, Bynner wrote a long poem called "The New World." His absorbing concern was the "single soul" in its attempt to assimilate itself with democracy, the common brotherhood of man. Following in the footsteps of Whitman, Bynner envisaged America "made ideal and tangible through the united destinies of friendship, beauty, labor and justice."¹ He expressed the ideal and desire of not being alone but happily joined with one's

¹Hildegarde Flanner, "Witter Bynner's Poetry," The University Review, Vol. VI (June, 1940), p. 269.

fellowmen in a happy communion of all men. Essentially, "The New World" abounds in optimism. Bynner wrote as late as 1925 in a short poem called "A Considered Farewell to Politics,"

Yes, I have always been quick to partake
With any group at all that seemed to have good in it,
One after another, they have kindled and drawn me;¹
And I have been tired; but always glad to be tired.

However, in Eden Tree, Bynner reverses his position; the whole mood is pessimistic. His earlier optimism is repudiated. As an allegory, Eden Tree represents the quest of the individual for the highest independence--both socially and intellectually; consequently, the allegiance to democracy is no longer pledged.

Eden Tree is a series of soliloquies centered around the theme of loneliness of the individual as he discovers his own identity, a single soul, in terms of insights as a result of experience and age. The poem, it would seem, is partly the result of a contemplative period at Santa Fe and inspired by the isolation of the place itself. The poet reconstructs, in what Paul Horgan calls a spiritual autobiography, certain aspects of his life by the use of a series of images and symbolic figures such as Adam, Eve, Lilith, Celia, Apollo, Orpheus, David, Saul, and Buddha. The poet identifies himself with Adam, symbol of all men, embodying both innocence and sin. The conflict is thus

¹Witter Bynner, "A Considered Farewell to Politics," poem, Southwest Review, Vol. XI (October, 1925), p. 32.

centered upon Adam's attempt to escape himself and his loneliness. The Melvilleian duality is restated in a slightly different form. R. P. Blackmur gave this interpretation of the major symbolic figures:

Adam is but the protagonist finding himself a sample of every man at the same time that he is ego, his own self. Eve and Lilith are together all women--and Eve rectitude, Lilith intoxication. Eve is the knowledge of the wilderness of this world, the love of the familiar, the attempt to perpetuate oneself; Lilith is the drunkenness of inspiration, the lust for the strange and new, attempt to escape oneself.¹

The state of mind at the opening of the poem is one of dejection, of extreme pessimism; at the end, acceptance of the apparent tragedy and comedy of life--the Indian's general attitude--predominates. The Indian did not strive against the principles of the universe. For him, life was to be lived, despite its contradictions.

Opening with an elegiac lyric addressed to the deceased Celia who represents idealism--mother of Faith, Hope and Charity in light of mythology--the poem moves to Adam's personal conflict. First of all, however, there is the symbolic return to childhood--not as in The Professor's House, to the poet's own childhood, but to Adam before the birth of Eve and the fall, before there was recognition of either good or evil.

Foregoing you, Celia, foregoing the high will
That forged us close together as a hill,
And yet regardful of beauty still,

¹R. P. Blackmur, "Versions of Solitude," Poetry: A Magazine of Verse, Vol. XXXIX (January, 1932), p. 219.

I gave allegiance now to one
Unlike you as the moon is to the sun
He was a flower
Of isolate boyhood, -
With a body such as might not have stepped upon
earth before.
Absent from evil, absent from good,
He was regardless of everything that had seemed
beauty to you, -
For he was lone. He took loneliness as the one due
In life and was ready to die.¹

With the recognition of the meaning and effects of iso-
lation along with the effects of regarding good and evil
as a unity, the poet identifies himself with Adam after
the entrance of Lilith and Eve.

Now Adam sought for places against pain,
Old places with their ease, their crumbling ease;
But these
Were not enough. It was inside
That he must travel, not away.
And yet old Adam tried,
To know better than he knew; night after night
Old Adam sought to find
Solace if he might.

China did not reveal means of escape. In New York,
traditional religion is rejected. Worship had become
only a celebration of death:

Is it because death came so often and never ends
That the world attends
Grim death in cathedrals and makes of it a glory?

In despair, Adam cries for a return to primitive innocence:

Lord, I believe!
Help thou my unbelief, -
Grant my shyness again and the concealing leaf
Between my loins, -
Defend me, Lord, from love that never joins
Beyond an hour, a month, a year, -

¹Witter Bynner, Eden Tree (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), p. 11. All future citations from the poem will come from the above text.

Tear
From my memory that too fruitful taste
Of knowledge, O unman me, Lord,
Unwoman me too, unmake me, let me be restored
Into that wonder,
Where I came, into that centre
Of thy misty self, let me reenter,
Chaste
As a cloud, though it may be heavy stroked of heaven
And riven
With thunder.

Immediately, however, he dismisses the idea of the return to paradise and takes a realistic view: "I am not anything I am not." He begins to think of his ancestry whose contribution to Eden's Tree had helped prepare for his present predicament. The reference to ancestry here is a criticism of the genteel tradition which fostered an artificial growth--an idealistic rather than realistic attitude toward life.

Giving up both Eve and Lilith, Adam attempts another escape:

He went away to mountains, far mountains that rose
above
Skyscrapers and above stairs,
Beyond factories and the smoke of labour,
Rose even higher than the summit of love.
He went away to mountains whose peaks were a
purple glow
At evening with quietude of snow
And of distances.

Here in this refuge, Adam realizes that old friendships have been dissolved by death or by distance. He came to accept his life and his solitude as part of the world's harsh ironies and yet one of the individual's paths to transcendence over the mass.

For one must after all be alone
Without anyone
And must feel the fitting
Of the universe into one's solitary core, to be
able to sing

In one's heart
Like those crystals in a spring,
Those bubbling notes of morning birds.

Finally Adam dies by drowning:

He stripped and plunged and let the water fold
Young silver to the summer-gold
Of his arms. He entered its mould -
Into a shape beyond discovery, beyond
Escape.

The allegory ends in tragedy. Adam's futile attempt to reach some haven of rest and his awareness of the complexities of his problem and his final resignation are shown in a moving series of lyrical images. Eden Tree might be considered another contribution to the cult of individualism; however, because of its universal theme and the scope of the design, this work is another enlightening study of man in all ages rather than just the period of the "lost generation." Of course the theme of individualism and escape make the poem a documentation of the character of the Santa Fe-Taos group.

Witter Bynner celebrated the New Mexican people and landscape because he found them a means of personal solace and inspiration. Perhaps no other Santa Fe writer, besides Mary Austin, has done more to advertise New Mexico and the rest of the Southwest. Along with Mrs. Austin, Bynner served for years on the advisory board of the Southwest Review, and his participation in the New Mexico Round Table at Las Vegas, New Mexico did much to aid in the creation of regional self-consciousness. For him, Santa Fe was a refuge, and from that center he has directed his criticism of American culture.

Oliver LaFarge: Groton Relinquished

Standardized America en masse became aware of Oliver LaFarge and the Pueblo Indian when Hollywood produced LaFarge's Laughing Boy with Ramon Navarro and Lupe Velez in 1934. LaFarge has lived in Santa Fe since the twenties. His reasons for settling here, like those of many others, include the motive of escape, the interest in Americanization versus Europeanization, and the desire to live the artist's life on his own terms. LaFarge's background as he gives it in his autobiography, Raw Material (1945), is enlightening, and it can be used as raw material for a chapter in the history of American cultural development. The early life of LaFarge demonstrates that same tendency in American society which provoked writers and artists to strike out in new paths--the one leading to "realism," "naturalism," "imagism," and "symbolism;" the other leading to "post-impressionism," "Dadaism," the Society of American Artists, the Ash Can School, the Independents, etc.

Because of the nature of the social environment into which he was born, LaFarge became "a constant searcher after escape" when he was a child in New England. It was at Groton, the fashionable New England academy, that LaFarge's great conflict began. He remembers that it was by the waters of Narragansett Bay

that he enjoyed a form of flight. "All I know is that certain things happened there I first can spot, tracing back, certain major lines of my life."¹ It was the personality and the behavior of "the Groton boy"--the perfect "all around boy" that he opposed and rejected. As far as LaFarge was concerned, Groton fostered a horrible standardized behavior:

The whole doctrine was grindingly conformist. The picture held up to us stressed not only what a boy did, but what he thought and felt, by which means real impassibility was achieved. Through six long years of school we tried, pretended, covered up just as hard as we possibly could, we put on masks and strove desperately to make the masks become our true faces.²

Here at Groton, individuality was discouraged. Everything was done together. No one was allowed to walk alone or go into the dormitories alone. "One could get fragments of a sense of being alone by sticking one's head inside his desk or locker, but only for a moment . . . feeling like pressing a bit of cold metal against a burn."³ For the Groton boy, solitude "was a priceless thing; the more unhappy and disliked one was, the more priceless. It was genuinely dangerous to daydream in public."⁴ LaFarge says that Groton caused him to grow inward and to daydream more and more. "By the time I had become Bop at Groton," he

¹ Oliver LaFarge, Raw Material (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1945), p. 9.

² Ibid., p. 10. ³ Ibid., pp. 43 - 44. ⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

wrote, "I was steeped in the sense of failure in being. . . . I was unutterably lonely, thoroughly unhappy, and escape I needed desperately. The School was not geared to provide much. There were books, and a truly rich library."¹ An early means of escape for Bop LaFarge was sleep: "The nights came, and I slipped into the haven of bed. Bed and sleep acquired a new significance, a new preciousness for here was surcease and escape."²

After the Groton experience, LaFarge went to Harvard, where he discovered new horizons, yet he was still haunted by the demand for conformity. Men of the Old Stone Age, a book which he had read in his early years, influenced him to study anthropology, in which subject he took a degree. This orientation in anthropology led to his interest in the American Indian.

Before going to the Navajo country, LaFarge went to New Orleans, which city opened for him a "completely new" chapter in life. Of this experience he says: "I felt deliriously light, I seemed to be someone I had never been. Nobody knew me. Nobody knew anything about me. They liked me, God had given me a chance to go ahead and prove myself."³ A few years later, he said, "As I detached myself more and more from uptown New York and my centre of social gravity moved toward Greenwich Village and Santa Fe, my contact with people

¹Ibid., p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Ibid., p. 113.

who were engaged in a constant struggle to pay the rent through the arts in order to be free to practice the arts steadily increased. The feeling that came with it was one of having been long dessicated and then put back into water. I was beginning to discover where I belonged."¹

The Navajo country provided one of the best means of escape for LaFarge:

You could lose yourself in the great spaces of the Navajo country. You could do this literally and die of thirst, or spiritually and forget that the white world existed, like water backed too high against a levee, all around the reservation. The life of the Indians seemed little changed except in surface matters of materials for clothing, wagons, some tools; the white man dwindled to a merchant from whom at rare intervals the people secured these goods; here in the canyons and mountains the Navajo way was immutable, secure, a complete refuge.²

Laughing Boy, written in 1929, is the results of LaFarge's own emotional conflicts and his attitudes toward the Indian and American civilization. "Laughing Boy," says LaFarge, "expressed the point which I had reached. I saw our own Indians as inexorably doomed, I saw that they must come increasingly into contact with our so-called civilization, and that . . . contact meant conflict and disaster. I put this idea into the book, along with anger at certain evil things that I had seen, and then I let myself out by sending my hero,

¹Ibid., p. 196.

²Ibid., p. 164.

after the final tragedy, back into my own dreamland, the untouched, undisturbed Navajo country where the white man was not a factor and would not become one within my time."¹

Into Laughing Boy LaFarge put the general attitude of the Santa Fe-Taos artists and writers toward the Indian. This attitude LaFarge later rejected as a romantic one. Part of this attitude were the interests in the Indian arts and crafts, the songs and dances, and a rejection of commercialization fostered, in the case of the Indian, chiefly by tourists.

The plot of Laughing Boy is so contrived that this attitude is easily seen. The hero, Laughing Boy, marries Slim Girl who has been educated in the ways of the white man and has been corrupted by him. Having been intimate with one of the white men in one of the frontier towns, Slim Girl cleverly deceives Laughing Boy, but at the same time hopes that she may be redeemed if they return to live in the old way of the Navajos. Of course her association with the white has made her desire economic independence. Therefore she caters to the tourist trade by weaving blankets to make money for the "return." Yet, she refuses to forsake Indian art for mere tourist satisfaction in Indian trinkets:

If she had been willing to weave the entirely un-Indian pictures of actual objects that so many

¹Ibid., p. 177.

tourists demand, she could have had all the work she could handle at fancy prices; but she refused to do anything, or use any colours not purely Navajo, and she strengthened her husband in his natural reluctance to stamp shapeless strings of swastikas, thunderbirds, and other curiosities on his silver. She was precious about it, as she was about all Navajo things. It was one piece with her eagerness to speak familiarly of everything familiar to them, to participate in every phase of their life, to acquire completely the Navajo gesture.¹

Slim Girl sees the beauty of her own culture as Mary Austin had viewed it:

These were her people, putting themselves in touch with eternal forces by means of voice, strength, rhythm, colour, design--everything they had to use. They were creating something strong and barbaric and suitable, and still beautiful.

In beauty it is finished
In beauty it is finished
In beauty it is finished²
In beauty it is finished.²

The influence of the white man is shown to be a destructive one. Wounded Face explains this tragedy to Laughing Boy:

You will see what is left of a man when he leaves our way, when he walks in moccasins on the Americans' road. You have seen other people who live down there. Some of them are rich, but their hearts are empty. You have seen them without happiness or beauty in their hearts, because they have lost the Trail of Beauty. Now they have³ nothing to put in their hearts except whiskey.

Laughing Boy was finally convinced that "There is no reason in what they [the whites] do, they are blind,

¹Oliver LaFarge, Laughing Boy (Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), p. 208

²Ibid., p. 167. ³Ibid., p. 171.

but in the end, they will destroy everything that is different from them, there would only be a quarter of a man left. . . ."¹

That Slim Girl had been spoiled by the whites is an excuse for the author's having her shot by another Indian just as she and Laughing Boy are ready to return to the old Navajo way. Thus, Laughing Boy returns to his people alone and unspoiled. As he arrives, they are performing a dance ritual, and Laughing Boy feels a "deep sense of peace, and rejoicing over ugliness defeated."²

Laughing Boy chants the values of the primitive Indian life. The greatest threat to this beautiful culture, as LaFarge paints it in the novel, are the disruptive and blighting forces of American civilization. Essentially romantic, the novel presents no practical suggestions for attacking the concrete problems of the Indian in the twentieth century. As LaFarge admitted himself, he let himself out by letting the hero return to the Navajo dreamland where no cultural clash existed. All things there were finished in beauty. A revealing allusion in the novel is the Trail of Beauty upon which the Indians travelled. From the perspective of the Navajo then, LaFarge can present the life of American whites as ugly and empty--lamentations of the in-

¹Ibid., p. 270.

²Ibid., p. 301.

tellectual rebellion.

When LaFarge published his autobiography in 1945, just at the end of World War II, he had completely escaped from the dreamland which he escaped to in the twenties. He was then able to view the Indian from a different perspective. LaFarge says that his change in attitude dates from his meeting and association with the Indian Commissioner, John Collier. Up to that time, LaFarge admits that he was not able to take a realistic approach:

Of course that was an inspiring experience for a young man and in itself a lifetime's education in the meaning of sincerity. I count that meeting, too, as marking the end of Indians as an escape for me. I had entered into my escape so well that it assumed the perfection of a circle and now I was on the way back.¹

He saw that the artistic approach was insufficient. What with the tremendous changes of the twentieth century, the Indian and his culture could not remain isolated. "You may bathe yourself in this Indian world," he wrote, "but you cannot go on pretending about it. Every factor which forms or malforms its character must be directly and fully faced."²

Having relinquished his romantic ideas of isolation and preservation as portrayed in Laughing Boy, LaFarge suggests what he feels is a more satisfactory literary approach:

¹LaFarge, Raw Material, p. 184. ²Ibid., p. 172.

I don't see why a young Navajo adjusting to a changing world which involves Hitler, soil erosion, and conquest of ignorance and poverty isn't just as valid a subject of American writing as, say, a Georgia sharecropper or a young Okie. . . and the white boy and the Indian are likely today to be found operating the same tank or flying in the same bomber, for the hopeless Indian picture I first saw has been turned upside down.¹

LaFarge was able to see that the movement in Santa Fe during the twenties was weak in that it was romantic and not practical. While he makes a strong indictment of the humanistic approach of the "friends of the Indian" at Santa Fe and Taos, he does not deny that the old Indian life had value not only for the Indian but for the whites as well. He merely wishes to adopt a more realistic attitude.

A study of Oliver LaFarge and his work in Santa Fe shows us not only the ideas of one of the creative forces in the Santa Fe movement, but it shows a development in critical attitude as well as the extension of the American mind from New England to the West. The product of Oliver LaFarge's intellectual growth in New Mexico is a fuller awareness of America:

I can never again be exclusively interested in Indians, because I can never again believe that the Indian's interests are exclusive. Nor can I entirely escape. I still don't know Indians; but unfortunately for me I know a good deal about them, they have become part of my discovery of America, and simple Americanism makes it impossible to refuse to help where one sees clearly that one can.²

¹Ibid., p. 189.

²Ibid.

Mary Austin: Sybil of Santa Fe

No considerations of the cultural movement at Santa Fe between 1900 and 1934 would be complete without an explanation of the part which Mary Austin played in it. As the people of the United States have become increasingly aware of the regional as well as the national character of our country, scholars have come to acknowledge the pioneer work done by individuals like Mrs. Austin. While many persons who knew her or her work are in accord as to the respect due this writer for her immense contribution to American letters and American cultural development, they are equally in agreement in their dislike for her as a personality. From the testimonies of those near to her in Santa Fe, it is not difficult to conclude that Mary Austin's personality had as much influence in the shaping of a certain ethos or the creating of a distinct atmosphere as the Museum of New Mexico and the cliff dwellings.

Born Mary Hunter at Carlinville, Illinois in 1868, she grew up in the atmosphere of Middlewestern America with its Middlewestern values. This background and her intellectual revolt against the drab pretense to culture in those days are described in Earth Horizon (1934). When she moved to California in 1888, after the death of her father, she had her first contact with the land and the people who were to be the subjects of

her important literary works.¹ After an unsuccessful marriage, she struck out alone.

In 1899, Mary Austin decided to go to Los Angeles so that she might get into the writers and artists circle which centered around Charles Lummis, then editor of a magazine called The Land of Sunshine.² She wanted to increase her chances of getting her work published; however, Mrs. Austin did not get along with the literary group at Los Angeles. "Mr. Lummis did not take to her, nor she to him. She had no genius, he said; talent and industry and a certain kind of knowledge, but little gift."³ It was from Lummis, perhaps, that she first got glowing accounts of New Mexico. In this circle she met Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge, the Indian specialist, "who told her the thing she wanted to know, the way of collecting and recording Indian affairs, the thing she wouldn't have thought of questioning."⁴ Her Land of Little Rain (1903) is partly the result of her association with the group at Los Angeles. Although she had been collecting materials for many years, she

¹For an outline and criticism of Mary Austin's California work, see Franklin Walker's A Literary History of Southern California (1950), pp. 189 - 199; 219 - 222.

²Mary Austin, Earth Horizon, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), p. 290.

³Ibid., p. 291.

⁴Ibid.

received encouragement from Lummis and Hodge. Lummis was a great publicist of the Southwest.¹ Though he was not trained in science, he associated with scientists, and contributed immensely to scientific development by publicizing resources in the region.

Around 1900, Mary joined the group at Carmel. Here she met George Sterling, Ambrose Bierce, Jack London, John Muir and James Hopper. Mary remembered:

We were not, at Carmel, inclined to the intellectual outlook, except that there was a general disposition to take Jack seriously in respect to the Social Revolution. But in time, chiefly by way of Jack's new wife, Charmian, we arrived at Platonic exchanges. They were to me, those two, Jack and George, the first professional men I had known, a source of endless intellectual curiosity. They were, for instance, the first men I had known who could get drunk joyously in the presence of women whom they respected.²

After the publication of The Land of Little Rain, Mary went to Europe. Upon her return, she lived alternately in New York and in California. She came to Santa Fe for the first time in 1918. Shortly afterwards she returned to New Mexico to gather materials for writing The Land of Journey's Ending (1924).

In Earth Horizon, Mrs. Austin gives her reasons for coming to Santa Fe:

The journey I took before writing 'The Land of Journey's Ending' did more for me than simply to gather up the detailed presentment of the Southwest. It gathered all the years of my life, all

¹Walker, op. cit., pp. 132-144.

²Austin, Earth Horizon, p. 300.

my experience; my intentions; it determined the years that were left. California had slipped away from me. Sterling's death and other changes at Carmel had failed to engage the exigent interests of my time. It was not simple nor direct enough; bemused by its own complexity, it missed the open order of the country west of the Alleghenies. It was too much intrigued with its own reactions, took, in the general scene, too narrow a sweep. It lacked freshness, air and light. More than anything else it lacked pattern, and I had a pattern-hungry mind. I like the feel of roots, of ordered growth and progression, continuity, all of which I found in the Southwest. . . . After I came back from that journey, I began explicitly to put New York behind me.¹

Mary Austin's many years spent near the Mojave Desert, her association with groups like those at Los Angeles and at Carmel, her experiences in Europe, and her sojourn in New York, where she had lectured in the salon of Mabel Dodge, had all prepared her for settling in Santa Fe.

Not that Mary Austin was "defeated by life" as one writer put it, but she was tired and alone. Not only would she have the benefits of association with kindred spirits, but she could be cared for by the whole town--Santa Fe being as small as it was:

It was with the realization, however, of the limitations of experience that I settled my mind that I would write the closing years of my life into the history of Santa Fe. I could be useful here; and I felt I could get back a consideration from the public that would in a measure make up for the loss of certified ladyhood. I do in a measure get taken care of here; I call on the community for help and cooperation--from the doctor, the lawyer, the banker, the artist, the business man--and the response is prompt and sure.

¹Ibid., p. 349.

It was an intuitive feeling for the reality of such response that led me, shortly after my return from the long journey to purchase a plot of ground at the foot of Cinco Pintores Hill and later to build upon it.¹

As Mary pointed out in several instances, many artists often need stimuli.² She found in Santa Fe the stimuli which she wanted:

Here I find three things which my experience has led me to select as most desirable; it is a mountain country, immensely, dramatically beautiful; it is contiguous to the desert with its appeal of mystery and naked space, and it supplies the element of aboriginal society which I have learned to recognize as my proper medium. I have a genius for beginnings, for the origins of art and culture and social organization.

There is no time in the year in which there are not to be found individuals of the rank of A. V. Kidder, Sylvanus Morley, John Galsworthy, Carl Sandburg, Willa Cather, Witter Bynner, John Sloan, Dr. Robert Millikan, Dr. William MacDougall, William Allen White, Paul Kellogg, Sinclair Lewis, and other scores of welcome names.³

It was the exotic landscape, the Indians, the colony of artists and writers along with the prominent persons who would come in from time to time that attracted Mrs. Austin. She immediately pushed herself into the activity there: "What I felt in New Mexico was the possibility of the reinstatement of the hand-craft culture and of the folk drama, following the revival of those things in Mexico. I began definitely to locate at Santa

¹ Ibid., p. 354.

² Mary Austin, "The Creative Process," Southwest Review, Vol. X (April, 1925), p. 70.

³ Mary Austin, "Why I live in Santa Fe," The Golden Book Magazine Vol. XVI (October, 1932), pp. 306 - 307.

Fe and to work explicitly in that field."¹

When Mary Austin came to live in Santa Fe in the twenties, little groups of artists and writers maintained a livelihood by meeting at various homes. Alice Corbin Henderson was the acknowledged leader of the literary group. She, unlike Mary, attracted people rather than repelled them. In their remembrances of Mary Austin, many persons at Santa Fe and elsewhere reveal the characteristics which made her "ridiculous."²

Erna Fergusson remembers that Mary was generous and sympathetic yet she "was a commanding personality. Her rugged face, stately presence, and a certain air that when Mary Austin had arrived the affair might proceed, were almost regal."³ She demonstrated "an arrogant assumption that the Southwestern field was primarily hers," and also insisted "upon her position as the oracle and interpreter of Indian and Spanish cultures."⁴ Mary exaggerated her own sense of importance. Mabel Luhan described her thus:

She was one of those women whose legs are too short for her top side but she never saw herself whole and did not feel over-balanced. She felt like the tall dominating queenly type. She had never cut her hair and it fell to her knees. She braided it and built it up around her head in a

¹Austin, Earth Horizon, p. 336.

²Mary Austin: A Memorial, (ed.) Willard Houghland (Santa Fe: The Laboratory of Anthropology, 1944).

³Ibid., p. 25.

⁴Ibid.

coronet. At parties she felt like a Spanish duchess with a high tortoise shell comb stuck behind her coils and a black lace mantilla thrown over the whole, so sitting down, she was as impressive as she felt herself to be, but as soon as she stood up, there she was, ridiculous.¹

Witter Bynner recalls that when Mary arrived at one of the meetings of the Genius Club, she commanded a mattress be placed in the middle of the floor and a piece of velvet be spread over it. Then Mary reclined on the mattress and nonchalantly declared: "It's too lonely being a genius."² Jane Baumann believes that much of Mary's outward behavior was an attempt to hide her "utter aloneness."³ Mrs. Baumann feels that Mary came to Santa Fe to join a community of this kind in order that she might banish her loneliness.

The poet, Peggy Pond Church, recalls the strange air that Mary often created:

There are certain people who become mythical even while they are very much alive. I remember Mary Austin as one of those about whom the aura of myth had gathered. She had a public presence which could be quite frightening to those who did not know her well. She had a mind of her own and no hesitation about expressing it in public meeting. Tales were told about her as about an infant terrible who insists on disturbing the peace of a well-ordered household.⁴

Elizabeth Willis DeHuff says that "Mary antagonized many people by what they called her 'colossal Egoism,'"⁵

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²Interview with Witter Bynner in Santa Fe, August, 1953.

³Houghland, op. cit., p. 10.

⁴Ibid., p. 27.

⁵Ibid., p. 32.

Carl Van Doren stated in one of his criticisms of her work and personality:

Some hearers she alienates by a forthright and unblinking candor which cannot be called any milder term than egotism; some by the occasional looseness of her technical knowledge and the cold general conclusions; some by the irony which is virtually her only form of humor. Yet these are but outward qualities. Those of her hearers who can disregard them find themselves listening to words which have the authority of something curiously first-hand.¹

Another of her contemporaries, Ina Sizer Cassidy, explained that one of the reasons why Mary often appeared rude to people at times was her habits of solitary concentration and study:

Mrs. Austin's intimate friends knew of these working habits of hers, respected them and seldom intruded unless necessary. But to strangers who did not bother to look beyond the surface she was merely a rude, disagreeable woman, and her actions unforgivable. This was particularly true of her life in Santa Fe where it was her habit in summer time to practice her meditations morning and evenings while watering or weeding her garden. Here . . . she could and did find solitude, but not always seclusion. For the Camino del Monte Sol, home of artists and writers, was a magnet which drew the curious whose ambition it was to see celebrities and learn how they lived. Tourists of whom Mary had never heard and never expected to hear wanted on their return to report to friends at home that they had really seen and spoken, perhaps had shaken the hand, of Mary Austin in her garden, in the same tone as though they had really seen and touched the sacred white elephant. These were a pest to her and were treated accordingly.²

¹Carl Van Doren, Many Minds (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), p. 10.

²Houghland, op. cit., p. 45.

Whatever the causes, Mary Austin's personality as much as her writing made her the center of attraction in the literary circle at Santa Fe and other sectors of the Southwest where she might have been present.

So far in the history of American letters, Mary Austin is known primarily for her contributions to regional development in literature. Carl Van Doren discusses her work in his exposition of "The Revolt From the Village."¹ V. F. Calverton cites her work in his The Liberation of American Literature.² Despite the fact that she considered herself a mystic and espoused a credo of mysticism in connection with the land, careful students of her works have concluded that there was very little that was mystical and very little, if anything, that was new in her ideas.³ Yet through her writings and her lectures, Mary Austin was able to direct the attention of the United States to the Far West--especially to Southern California and to New Mexico.

Mrs. Austin claims that by the time she had lived the first third of her life, the main lines of her work were clearly indicated. "Long before that time

¹Carl Van Doren, The American Novel, 1789 - 1939, Rev. ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940).

²V.F. Calverton, The Liberation of American Literature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

³Cf. the following: Dudley Wynn, "A Critical Study of the Writings of Mary Hunter Austin," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1940) and Muriel McClanahan, "Aspects of Southwestern Regionalism in the Prose Works of Mary Austin," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1940). See also Carl Van Doren, Many Minds (1924).

it was clear that I would write imaginatively, not only of people, but of the scene, the totality which is called nature, and that I would give myself intransigently to the quality of experience called Folk, and to the frame of behavior known as Mystical."¹ From her experiences with the Indians in the Mojave Desert in California and from her observations of the landscape with its flora and fauna, came her most famous book, The Land of Little Rain.

Although environmental determinism is not new in 1903, Mary Austin seemed to feel that it was, perhaps, as Dudley Wynn suggests, because of the limitation of her own scholarship. At least as one writer concluded, she worked out the theory practically for herself.

The Land of Little Rain is chiefly descriptive, reminiscent of Lummis' The Land of Poco Tiempo. The use of the pronoun "I" lends to the description the personal element which the writer, however, minimizes. Keen observation is clearly indicated; only a person familiar with the region and one who has felt some personal relation to it could have written the book. Few human characters are included, but they are indelible: Winnenapé, Amos Judson Diedrick, irrigating ditch proprietor and Seyavi, the basketmaker. Her description of Shoshone Land, Jimville: a Bret Harte Town, the Pocket Hunter, and the Little Town of the Grape Vines show

¹Austin, Earth Horizon, "Introduction," vii.

special literary merit and warrant inclusion in any anthology of good western literature.

It is in this book that Mary Austin's thesis is clearly stated and demonstrated. She wrote in connection with the basketmaker: "To understand the fashion of any life, one must know the land it is lived in and the procession of the year."¹ The Shoshones demonstrated her principle: "The manner of the country makes the usage of life there, and the land will not be lived in except in its own fashion. The Shoshones live like their trees, with great spaces between, and in pairs and in family groups they set up wattled huts by the infrequent springs."²

Mary wrote in her autobiography: "I recall that people used to fret at me because I would not do another 'Land of Little Rain.' I couldn't, of course, I had used up all I had in the first one. I should have had to find another country like that, and pay out ten thousand dollars to live in it ten or twelve years."³ She explains, then, her own weaknesses of her sequel, The Land of Journey's Ending (1924), which is the description of and reaction to New Mexico. In this work she had to depend primarily upon written sources which she does not acknowledge. She extracted what

¹Mary Austin, The Land of Little Rain (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), p. 164.

²Ibid., p. 88. ³Austin, Earth Horizon, p. 320.

she wanted and tried, as she had done in The Land of Little Rain, to infuse her own personality and ideas. Despite the fact that she journeyed throughout the State, she was not able to derive from her observations the penetrating insight which long acquaintance affords "a woman of genius." Yet this book reeks with her philosophy of regionalism and ideas concerning the regional concept as a basis for American cultural development. In this book also is her exposition of superior values inherent in the Indian way of life.

Whether it be a description of the New Mexican santos or the passionate celebrations of the Penitentes, infused is the idea of the influence of the land. "Man is not himself only, not solely a variation of his racial type in the pattern of his immemorial experience," she wrote, ". . . . He is all that he sees; all that flows to him from a thousand sources, half noted, or noted not at all except by some sense that lies too deep for naming. He is the land, the lift of its mountain lines, the reach of its valleys; his is the rhythm of its seasonal processions, the involution and variation of its vegetal patterns."¹

In The Land of Journey's Ending, Mary Austin writes an indictment of contemporary American civilization by comparing it with Pueblo Indian society. In

¹Mary Austin, The Land of Journey's Ending (New York: The Century Company, 1924), p. 437.

juxtaposition, Indian society presented a superior principle for cultural growth. She asserted that the Indians had accomplished that happy unity of culture and economics in a manner which Van Wyck Brooks had called for in America's Coming of Age:

But the uniqueness of the Pueblo contribution lies in its being sole among the peoples of the earth, a society in which there is no partition between cultural and economic interests. Here is the only organized group in which group mindedness runs higher than the individual reach. This is the only society in the world in which culture exists as an expression of the whole, unaffected by schisms of class and caste, incapable of being rated in terms of power or property. . . . Behind this cultural wholeness, making it possible is a psychic unity, so foreign to our sort of society.¹

While she is concerned with the standardizing effects of technological efficiency and the subjection of the individual to the mass, she is opposed to rugged individualism. Economic prosperity had produced a spiritual alienation of the individual from the group. Individuals had become so engrossed in the matters of making a living that they had lost contact with humanity as a group; thus proper cultural development was impossible. Of course, the greatest evil was standardization which creates the other-directed personality.² Mrs. Austin suggested a middle ground where group and individual aims meet. She explained:

¹Ibid., pp. 263 - 264.

²Cf. David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

If we could blot out of our sight all the materiality with which man, even in our inmost vision of him, is forever in contact, we should see him floating in the bubble of his selfishness, aloof, shut in by iridescent films of his own experience with the universe. What he thinks he sees, what he feels he knows: these give color and texture to the irised globe in which he moves, and, like a bubble, blows out and contracts with his own breath. I find this figure of the many-colored foam which the rain priest lifts through his cloud-blower in the Tewa rain-making, better suited to my use than the stiff phrase of the psychologists. . . . This is the figure of our sort of society, in which there are a million souls shut in the foam cloud, for whom the color and shape of the universe is the shell of their neighbor's thinking. Here and there great souls detach themselves and go sailing skyward in a lovely world of their own seeing, poets and prophets. But what happens in the pueblo is the gentle swelling of film into film, until the whole community lies at the center of one great bubble of the Indian's universe from which the personal factor seldom escapes into complete individualism.¹

Are these expressions shades of Karl Marx or an unconscious lament for the death of the community spirit which once inhabited the American village? Mary Austin's praise of this "allness" of Indian society seems another manifestation of the "lost generation" search for purpose and meaning in existence.²

T. M. Pearce says that "Mary Austin not only found a new medium of expression for the literature of

¹Austin, The Land of Journey's Ending, pp. 245 - 246.

²Cf. Alfred Kazin, On Native Grounds, for a discussion of Hemingway's gaining a new respect for humanity in Spain and an appreciation of the collectivism that binds all men together. Cf. also Mabel Luhan's conclusion in Lorenzo in Taos: "An individual can realize himself only as he lives in others, draws strength from them."

Western America, but she found a literary vocabulary as well."¹ In the Preface to The Land of Journey's Ending, she wrote:

This being a book of prophecy, a certain appreciation of the ritualistic approach is assumed for the reader. The function of all prophecy is to discern truth and declare it, and the only restriction on the prophet is that his means shall be at all points capable of sustaining what he discovers. Anybody can write fact about a country, but nobody can write truth who does not take into account the sounds and swings of its native nomenclature.²

Further she adds:

Being a book of prophecy of the progressive acculturation of the land's people, this is also a book of topography. And the topography of the country between the Colorado and the Rio Grande cannot be expressed in terms invented for such purpose in a low green island by the North Sea.³

The extensive use of words and phrases peculiarly New Mexican or at least Southwestern is one of Mrs. Austin's most important contributions to the regional movement in the Southwest and to the literature of the United States.

In The American Rhythm (1923), Mrs. Austin attempted to demonstrate that American Indian songs and dance dramas have meaning for the basis of a true American literature. As elsewhere, she suggested that authentic American literature would have to come from a physical and mental relation to the environment. Rhythms

¹Houghland, op. cit., p. 36.

²Austin, The Land of Journey's Ending, "Preface," vii.

³Ibid., viii.

of sun, wind, rain and the earth were used by the Indian to get into the allness or the deep spirit of the group. The daily experiences of a race in a given country followed certain rhythmical patterns, therefore, cultural development in America, she suggested, depended upon a keener analysis of the American experience.

Mrs. Austin went so far as to say that the success of democracy in the United States depended to a great extent upon the "subjective coordination of the rhythmic forms of the American scene" and of an awareness of the deeper meanings embedded in American life. "The success of Democratic organization depends finally on the establishment among its members of a state of uncoerced obedience to its ideals."¹

The songs which appear in The American Rhythm are what the author calls "re-expressions." She gave this explanation:

My method has been, by preference, to saturate myself in the poem, in the life that produced it and the environment that cradled that life, so that when the point of crystallization is reached, I myself give forth a poem which bears, I hope, a genetic resemblance to the Amerind song that was my point of contact.²

There was no attempt to be scientific. She made no effort to translate accurately. Lightly she supports this non-scientific approach by saying that her major interest

¹Mary Austin, The American Rhythm (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), New and enl. ed. p. 36.

²Ibid., p. 38.

was concept and intimated that she was qualified to interpret folk thought:

So, from the first, my quest was for primitive concept, for the folk thought under folk-ways. In the beginning, form interested me so little that I did not even undertake to record the original form of the songs I collected, stripping it off as so much husk to get at the kernel of experience.¹

Here again is the invocation to the primitive. It might be stated here that Mary Austin's methodology described above is one of the best examples of the frantic attempt to identify oneself with a spiritual element outside the present. This action suggests several things among which are the rejection of the contemporary cultural milieu and an attempt to escape loneliness and personal isolation by a spiritual and intellectual association with a group--the folk.

While stressing the importance of Indian poetry she criticized American colleges for their neglect of aboriginal literature:

Undergraduate study is practically prohibitive; and along the higher educational levels it is still easier to know more of Beowulf than of the Red Score of the Delaware, more of Homer than of the Creation Myth of the Zuni, more of Icelandic sagas than of the hero myths of Iroquois and Navajo. Here in the United States, the first born literature of our native land, such as becomes among all other peoples a proud and universally accepted literary heritage, is still unmediated by the application of creative literary intelligence. . . . Indian song and story and drama have fallen into the category of museum material; which

¹Ibid., p. 40.

means that they have been handled for the most part as fossil form of something which is no concern of anybody but ethnologists.¹

One of her important observations in this connection was that "Witnessing the Corn Dance of the Rio Grande Pueblos, one realizes how it was that Aristotle came to treat of Poetry as comprising several arts which we now think of as distinct from it."²

The validity of Mary Austin's methods as described in The American Rhythm is questionable indeed. However, the emphasis she placed upon the fact that poetry should grow out of the native environment and experience had meaning for those who were trying to develop faith in the growth of American literature. Her methods, intuitive and unscientific as they appeared, were similar to those of the Imagists and Symbolists. The ideas of Mary Austin at least reinforced the modern movement in poetry. All in all The American Rhythm was another book which stressed the value of the American environment as a basis for developing truer lines of American culture. Some of the seemingly wild surmises in this book may be overlooked when we consider her guess as to the effects and values of the jazz rhythm:

¹Mary Austin, "Aboriginal American Literature," Chap. 31 in American Writers on American Literature: By Thirty-Seven Contemporary Writers, (ed.) John Macy (New York: Horace Liverwright, Inc. 1931), p. 427.

²Austin, The American Rhythm, p. 40.

Jazz is a reversion to almost the earliest type of response of which we are capable. That would imply a certain amount of disintegration of later and higher responses, which would make an excessive exclusive indulgence in jazz as dangerous as the moralists think it. At the same time an intelligent use of jazz might play an important part in that unharnessing of traditional inhibitions of response, indispensable to the formation of a democratic society out of such diverse human material as America has to work with.¹

Mary Austin believed that her novel, Starry Adventure fulfills the requirements of truly regional fiction.² According to one critic, Starry Adventure "holds in solution practically all that Mary Austin had to say."³ One might venture to say also that this novel is an artistic treatment of the public interest in New Mexico during the first three decades of the present century. She included everything: health seekers, art, archaeology, socialism, feminism, religion, Freudianism, World War I, business and Chambers of Commerce, New Mexicans, Easterners, Westerners, Indian culture.

Her obvious purpose was to present in the form of a novel all of her experiences in New Mexico and to show her earnest devotion to the land. It has been

¹Ibid., p. 168.

²Mary Austin, "Regionalism in American Fiction," The English Journal, Vol. XXI (February, 1932), p. 101.

³Houghland, op. cit., p. 23.

rightfully concluded that "The feel of the land is the most prominent thing in the book, and the most beautiful."¹ In order to accomplish her literary mission, she chose as her central character, Gardiner Sitwell, who is only five and a half years old when the novel begins. Her theory of regionalism was that the characters must have consciously and unconsciously absorbed the rhythms of the land and the social environment. She objected to the hero of Willa Cather's Death Comes for the Archbishop because he arrived in New Mexico "at an age when the major patterns of life are already set. . . ."² Through Gardiner Sitwell, her central intelligence, Mary Austin was able to tell all that she felt about New Mexico and the people who lived there or came to reside for short or long periods of time.

The use of the central intelligence naturally limits the scope of ideas and action and makes the novel at times little more than the personal essay. Gardiner Sitwell, like Henry James's character in "The Beast in the Jungle," felt that a wonderful thing was going to happen to him (in New Mexico, of course)--that he was going to have a starry adventure. This persistent idea is the motor of the machinery which produces most of the action. This idea also is the means by which Mary Austin

¹Ibid.

²Austin, "Regionalism in American Fiction," loc. cit., p. 105.

describes the activity of the people in New Mexico between 1900 and 1931. Gardiner's association with and response to other characters in the novel gives us the opinions Mrs. Austin held and wanted the reader to have.

Gardiner's vision early in the novel identifies God with New Mexico. That feeling that a wonderful thing was going to happen in New Mexico was Mary Austin's own feeling. Gard, as he was called, is the embodiment of her whole spiritual conception of New Mexico. Gard's vision was her vision--very personal and esoteric. In the treatment of vision, she shows her own exclusiveness, her antagonism to all who had not embraced "the Southwest with as great an exclusion of everything else"¹ as she had done.

The Hetherington family, into which Gard marries, is the object of her most forceful attack. Gard thought Mr. Hetherinton "A rubber-stamp capitalist, a millionaire because he was a multi-millionaire's yes-man."² Along with the Hetheringtons, Mrs. Austin pours her black ink on another character, Eudora Ballintin who was obviously intended to represent the false aspects of the cultural movement in New Mexico. Although Mary Austin was one of the prime movers in the attempt

¹Muriel McClanahan, "Aspects of Southwestern Regionalism in the Prose Works of Mary Austin," (unpublished doctor dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1940), p. 138.

²Mary Austin, Starry Adventure, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931), p. 126.

to restore colonial architecture and arts, she sees that certain people only used these things as backdrops for acting parts.

The portrait of the rich divorcee, Eudora Ballintin who purchases an old Spanish estate and attempts to restore it to its former--at least what Eudora thinks to be its former--glory, displays, perhaps, one of the chief weaknesses of the movement at Santa Fe. Somewhat as Christopher Newman had done in The American, Eudora Ballintin wanted to possess the whole culture she encountered. Not only did she want the Spanish estate, but she wanted to marry into the Cardenas family and to take on their Catholic religion. Like the Bellgardes, "the Cardenases had been sitting snug in the last resort of their traditional exclusiveness, unassailably poor and triumphant."¹

"The close of the war had brought many people to New Mexico; people looking for fresh beginnings, for a frame of life which had no taint of the war sickness; people who hoped to get all reminders of it out of their systems."² Among these people, came the vulgar and the pseudo-sophisticate. The one wanting to live in the past and the other desiring "Americanization." This objection to "Americanization" is presented by the entrance of two despicable characters, Nettie and Alfredo Tenorio whose conversation at one point turns upon mod-

¹Ibid., p. 389. ²Ibid., p. 186.

ernization:

'Loss An'nelus is a wonderful place,' said Nettie. 'Always something going on. There wasn't hardly a vacant lot when I was there but had something on it. Filling stations, or soft drinks, or one of those handsome billboards. It's one of the most interesting places I ever lived. Don't you think it is interesting, Mr Tenorio?'

'Sure is.'

'Of course, I haven't been around much in New Mexico. Only Todas Santos. There don't seem to be a single modern building in the place; but I guess you know that, Mr. Tenorio. Not hardly a hot-dog stand, and only one pitcher house.'

'It's better around Albuquerque, or Santa Fe,' Alfredo let her know. 'More Americanized.'¹

For Gardiner Sitwell and Mary Austin, "Americanization" was a dirty word and a dirty process; it would prevent any kind of starry adventure.

Despite a superficial interest in things and people New Mexican, Mary Austin displays her prejudice against the Spanish Americans. Except for two servants who worship their employers and the Catholic Church, the Mexicans, as they are called, are the villains of the novel. She is careful to leave out any real treatment of the Spanish Americans. She is only interested in the color that their customs and language provide for her purposes. They are vestiges of the past. It seems obvious in the novel that the great developments in the Southwest are not to include them except in this

¹ Ibid., pp. 153 - 154.

secondary role which is so degrading.¹

Starry Adventure is the summing up of Mary Austin's experience in New Mexico and perhaps of the Southwest regional movement. Throughout, there is the worship of place--yet the inaction of the hero appears symbolic of the results of maintaining such an attitude. Over-preoccupation with a given region may lead to the exclusion of outside ideas--an exclusion not always consciously intended but unconsciously achieved.

It should be added that in the development of the Southwestern regional movement, Mary Austin was a leading figure. She served as a link between Texas and New Mexico--between New Mexico and Oklahoma. Both Texas and Oklahoma had head starts on New Mexico in the matter of regional self-consciousness, yet New Mexico's unique cultural assets enabled her to make great strides when she acquired individuals who would publicize these assets. It may be safe to say that Southwest regionalism as a conscious movement got underway officially when The Texas Review, originally begun at the University of Texas in 1915, was moved to Southern Methodist in 1924 and changed to The Southwest Review.²

¹Cf. George Isidore Sanchez, Forgotten People--A Study of New Mexicans (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940). Sanchez presents a true picture of the Spanish American situation and suggests ideas for a realistic approach to amelioration.

²Robert Adger Law, "The Texas Review, 1915 - 1924," The Southwest Review, Vol. X (October, 1924), pp. 83 --

In his statement of aims, ideals, and policy of the new Southwest Review, Jay B. Hubbel explained that this regional magazine was to be cosmopolitan and regional in outlook--"no one can successfully portray the life of any section when he is ignorant of the best literary art of his own day."¹ The old Texas Review had emphasized what was thought to be the best in literature but that which had little connection with Texas, outside of academic halls. "We have underrated the value of the materials at our doors,"² Hubbel wrote. "It is fortunate," he added, "that we have a younger generation which protests against some of the accepted values of our standardized civilization. In his dislike of certain things in American life, the young Southwesterner will not, we hope, be blind to the richness of his own background. . . . The Southwest Review, then, will be national in outlook, and its pages will be open to all who write well; but it will especially encourage

91. Law explains the purpose of the founding of the review: "They (various members of the faculty of the University of Texas) were convinced that Texas was looked on as a utilitarian state, interested in cotton growing, in stock raising, in oil spudding, but not in spiritual advancement. They believed that this reputation was ill deserved, that Texans have ideals as other men have, but that the outside world knows little of their intellectual strivings. So a group of university professors with the sympathetic support of the Acting President, determined to found a quarterly review that should set forth these articles of faith." p. 83.

¹Jay B. Hubbel, "The New Southwest," The Southwest Review, Vol. X, (October, 1924), pp. 94 - 95.

²Ibid., p. 96.

those who write on Western themes, for it is a magazine of the Southwest."¹

Mary Austin and Witter Bynner became advisory editors of the Southwest Review, thus establishing a cultural relationship between the two States. Until the early thirties when the New Mexico Quarterly was founded, New Mexico writers found the pages of the Texas periodical open to them.

In 1929, The Southwest Review conducted a symposium on the subject of Southwestern culture. It asked this question: "Do you think the Southwestern landscape and common traditions can (or should) develop a culture recognizable as unique, and more satisfying and profound than our present imported culture and art?" One of the replies was given by Mary Austin. She reiterated her definition that "A regional culture is the sum expressed in ways of living and thinking, of the mutual adaptations of a land and of a people."² She lamented the fact that most Americans seemed to be consumers of culture rather than creators. She concluded with a statement which one would consider applicable to cultural development generally:

¹Ibid., pp. 96 - 99.

²Mary Austin, "Regional Culture in the Southwest," in T. M. Pearce (ed.) America in the Southwest: A Regional Anthology (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1935).

It is impossible then to say what will happen to the culture of the Southwest except in relation to the quality of the people who contribute to it. And not only to their quality, but to their cultural disposition. It is important to know whether a given people tries to understand and develop the country upon which it lives, or thinks of itself as imposing its derived notions of the Good Life upon the land.¹

In most of the answers to this question, was the idea that the people of the Southwest should avoid a conscientious attempt to create a special kind of culture. One writer told the regionalists that their preoccupation with Indian and Spanish cultures was much the same as importing French or Greek.²

The regional movement in Oklahoma had its most vocal exponent in B. A. Botkin who was the editor of Folk-Say (1929 - 1932). An article in Folk-Say in 1930 interpreted the new regionalism in the Southwest as an objection to the East as symbol of the whole of America:

The new localism is not a thing solely of artists; it expresses itself with particular clearness in the development of such institutions as Little Theatres, poetry societies, university presses, regional periodicals and schools of painters, and folklore publications. Such undertakings cannot, as an artist can, exist by virtue of their own inner blessedness; they demand audiences, and their existence is proof that provincial audiences exist. I do not think such audiences are declaring their independence from Wagner and Shakespeare, or even from Alfred Kreyborg and Hemingway; they are merely coming to feel the need for an art spun of their own lives to place by the

¹ Ibid.

² T. M. Pearce, "Southwestern Culture: An Artificial or a Natural Growth?" The New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. I (August, 1931), pp. 195 - 197.

side of whatever is excellent in the art of other times and other places. There is no resentment of the dominance of New York, but a growing conviction that Manhattan provincialisms have little claim to stand for American life as a whole.¹

Botkin edited in 1931 an anthology of Southwest poetry which he entitled The Southwest Scene. In his Preface he not only states the general tenets of regionalism as expressed by Mary Austin, but he also offers a criticism of the cultural climate of America and suggests the role that regionalism may play:

America today is divided between the metropolitan civilization of our large industrial centers, where life is uprooted and disharmonious, and the indigenous culture of rural and small-town America, where people have roots in the soil or at least ties with their fellow beings. As metropolitan civilization, with the long arm of the machine, is reaching out farther and farther into the town and country, threatening to destroy the life of the region, we are becoming more and more tenacious of it, more and more intent upon realizing, preserving, and expressing it. Especially is this true of a growing number of writers who have given up the hope of trying to express America in terms of the continent or nation and have come to understand that they can express America only by expressing its several regions. The purpose of the New Regionalism, as it is affecting sociology, engineering, or literature in America, is not to exploit or glorify one region at the expense of another but to discover, develop, and use the resources, physical and spiritual, of all regions for their mutual understanding and common good.²

Carey McWilliams criticized Botkins for ignoring the part that personal motivation played in region-

¹Henry Nash Smith, "Localism in Literature," in Folk-Say: A Regional Miscellany, ed. B.A. Botkin, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1930).

²B. A. Botkin, (ed.) The Southwest Scene: An Anthology of Regional Verse (Oklahoma City: Economy Press, 1931).

alism. However, McWilliams felt that this movement had a strength and value not to be ignored:

Despite its extravagant ambitions and occasional lapses in sense, regionalism has made Americans stand on their own legs. A quarter of a century ago it was an easy task to establish a critical reputation in this country merely by quoting foreign names in public places--Strindberg, Nietzsche, D'Annunzio, etc.¹

New Mexico writers joined the New Regionalist Movement enthusiastically. B. A. Botkin was one of the chairmen when the First New Mexico Round Table on Southwest Literature was held at Las Vegas, New Mexico in July, 1933 at which time Mary Austin was one of the chief speakers along with John Crow Ransome, John Gould Fletcher and Stanley Vestal. At this meeting and subsequent ones, 1934 and 1935, the Round Table concerned itself chiefly with the matter of regionalism as a concept and the regional resources which could be exploited.² Although these meetings were open to regional guests, most of the participants were residents of either Santa Fe or Taos.

Coordinate with the meetings in 1933 - 1934, Lester Raines of the English Department of New Mexico Normal University at Las Vegas developed as a class project a working biography and bibliography of New Mexico

¹Carey McWilliams, The New Regionalism in American Literature, (Seattle: University of Washington Book Store, 1930), p. 32.

²Las Vegas Daily Optic, 7 July 1934 and 6 July 1935.

writers. Perhaps the first of its kind in New Mexico, the bibliography was dedicated to Mary Austin. Raines stated that the "problem of which authors to include soon presented itself. Many writers were residents of the state but had written nothing of Southwestern interest, while others outside the state had written in excellent fashion of the New Mexican locale or have become New Mexicans by adoption, hence the title of the book [Writers and Writings of New Mexico] to enable us to include all varieties."¹

Interestingly enough, however, the bibliography did not include Willa Cather who had written one of the best books dealing with New Mexican materials. Although Mary Austin felt that Willa Cather's Death Comes for the Archbishop was not truly regional because neither Miss Cather nor the Archbishop had grown up in the Southwest, more recent Southwestern critics have cited this novel as a very successful use of regional resources. The acquaintance with the land, one of the chief requisites for good regional writing, according to Mrs. Austin, was to be accompanied by talent and intellect. If this be her theory, it may be supposed that Willa Cather's novel deserves a higher rating than Mrs. Austin desired to give it.

¹Lester Raines, (ed.) Writers and Writings of New Mexico (Mimeographed), (Las Vegas, New Mexico: Department of English, New Mexico Normal University, 1934). Foreword by Raines.

Mary Austin wrote the closing years of her life into the history of Santa Fe by first becoming a permanent resident of the colony of writers and artists on the Camino del Monte Sol and participating in activities which she and this group thought important for themselves and the town. She expended much energy in the defense of Indian culture and the preservation of the Spanish colonial arts. In and around Santa Fe she espoused the cause of regionalism. At the same time, through her writings, chiefly those of the Santa Fe period, she presented to the American public ideas for the development of what she felt to be a more satisfying cultural life.

Mary Austin was known as the dean of the Santa Fe literary group. At the time of her death in 1934, she was considered a "definite force. . . in the life of the city."¹ A passage from one of the newspaper editorials reads:

Santa Fe had no truer nor more intelligent and devoted friend. Her efforts were tireless for every cause or object identified with the true values that go to make up Santa Fe, against the meretricious and the malapropos.²

Several years before her death, Mary Austin had been acclaimed by one writer because of her insight into the promise back of American life:

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 14 August 1934, p. 3.

²Santa Fe New Mexican, 15 August 1934, p. 4.

. . . she has spent her energies for many years in working out the implications of a deep promise back of American life. . . . She has made herself familiar with the civilization of the American Indian, not as an antiquarian pastime, but as a definite source of power in the art and culture of the future. She has been the leading figure in the development of regional cultures in the West, and has given constant aid and encouragement to young writers and artists who are reaching out to find America. In short, she has confidence in American life and art entirely distinct from flag waving and fireworks, and the childish conceit of our tremendous industrial intellects; but more certain than any of these.¹

Just what place history will finally assign to Mary Austin, one cannot tell. Already we know that her persistent advocacy of a genuine interest in the American environment and its background helped to give strength to a movement which in itself strengthened American writers and artists and opened to them new vistas for exploration. However, in her attempt to elaborate her ideas, she at times became overly-enthusiastic or uncompromising. These faults along with others have provoked severe criticism and often caused her to be placed in the category of the cultists:

. . . in her personal life and in her creative one, the Southwest was to her but an exotic background and the culture but a parasitic means of satisfying a creative urge. She turned her back on the rest of America and sought to keep Southwestern culture separate, as a thing in itself and as a thing of the past. The consciousness of these things that are not in any way traditional to her gives to her life and her creative work

¹Henry Nash Smith, "The Feel of the Purposeful Earth: Mary Austin's Prophecy," New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. I (February, 1931), p. 18.

of the new Southwestern regionalism the sterility of a cult.¹

To the writer of this dissertation, this statement seems an over-simplification of Mary Austin's work. Certainly one should not take this conclusion as a final summation. It is doubtful whether thinking Americans would disclaim the value of the peculiar cultural heritage of the Southwest about which Mary Austin sang with poetic enthusiasm.

Willa Cather: Her Blue Mesa Heritage

In 1912, Willa Cather resigned from McClure's and went out to visit her brother, Douglass Cather at Winslow, Arizona where he held a position with the Santa Fe Railroad. At this time she went on a trip to Walnut Canyon where she saw ruins of the cliff dwellings.² Her response to this remnant of an ancient American civilization appears as a vital experience of the heroine of The Song of the Lark (1915).

As Professor E. K. Brown stated in his critical biography, the Southwest had a definite influence upon many of Willa Cather's novels. "The persistence and the diversity of the references to the Southwest," Professor Brown concluded, "suggest--what is indeed the truth--that the discovery of this region was the prin-

¹McClanahan, loc. cit., p. 171.

²Edith Lewis, Willa Cather Living (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), p. 81.

cipal emotional experience of Willa Cather's mature life."¹

She returned to Arizona again in 1914.² Then in the summer of 1915, accompanied by Miss Edith Lewis, she made an extended trip to the Southwest.³ First, they went from Chicago to Denver and from there they journeyed to Mancos, Colorado which was about twenty miles from the Mesa Verde National Park--site of a very large group of prehistoric cliff dwellings. They spent a week at Mesa Verde exploring the Indian ruins. One day, hearing that Dr. Fewkes had established his archaeologist camp in the area, Willa and Miss Lewis sent a messenger to determine its location. They had to wait alone for some time before his return.

The four or five hours that we spent waiting there were, I think, [Miss Lewis wrote] for Willa Cather the most rewarding of our whole trip to the Mesa Verde. There was a large flat rock at the mouth of Cliff Canyon, and we settled ourselves comfortably on this rock--with the idea, I believe, that we should be able to see any rattlesnakes if they came racing up. We were tired and rather thirsty, but not worried for we knew we should eventually be found. We did not talk, but watched the long summer twilight come on, and the full moon rise up over the rim of the canyon. The place was very beautiful.⁴

Experience like the above was to be utilized throughout much of her later fiction.

¹E. K. Brown, Willa Cather: A Critical Biography (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), xiii.

²Lewis, op. cit., p. 93.

³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 97.

From Mesa Verde, they went to Taos where they spent about a month riding around on horses or taking long drives with a team which they drove themselves.¹ In this way, they were able to see all of the secluded spots and obtain a fairly good picture of the whole area with its peculiar landmarks. They found that "Each Mexican village had its own vivid identity and setting, did not look like all the other Mexican villages. Each little church had its special character, its own treasures."²

In 1916, they went back to Taos for a longer stay and also visited Santa Fe, the Espanola valley and Santa Cruz. From this trip, Willa Cather gathered hundreds of impressions and facts which appeared in subsequent books. The country in those days was comparatively in its primitive state, and Willa Cather enjoyed it. Miss Lewis recalls that:

She [Willa Cather] was intensely alive to the country--as a musician might be alive to an orchestral composition he was hearing for the first time. She did not talk about it much--but one felt that she was deeply engaged with it always, was continually receiving strong impressions from the things she saw and experienced.

She loved the Southwest for its own sake. She did not go there with any express purpose of writing about it--of 'gathering material' as they say, for a story. . . . She was passionately interested in the country itself, in all its natural aspects--and in the people, especially the Mexicans and their ways.³

¹Ibid., p. 99.

²Ibid., p. 100.

³Ibid., p. 101.

Nine years elapsed between this visit in 1916 and the next sojourn in New Mexico. When she met the D. H. Lawrences in New York in the spring of 1925, her desire to visit New Mexico again returned. According to Miss Lewis, "Willa Cather had long wanted to return to the Southwest. It may be that the many impressions she gathered on her visits to that country had begun to suggest ideas for stories."¹ This summer, 1925, she visited the Canyon de Chelly in Arizona. While she was in Santa Fe, Mabel Luhan invited her to spend some time in Taos.² While they were at Taos, Willa Cather and Miss Lewis went on long drives about the country with Tony Luhan, Mabel's Taos Indian husband.³

He took us to some of the almost inaccessible villages hidden in the Cimmaron mountains, [Miss Lewis related] where the Penitentes still followed their old fierce customs; and from Tony, Willa Cather learned many things about the country and the people that she could not have learned otherwise.⁴

Again in 1926, Willa Cather visited Mabel Luhan at Taos, and from Santa Fe she went to visit the beautiful pueblo at Laguna and the legendary pueblo on the rock--[!]Ácoma.

Central to our consideration of Willa Cather

¹Ibid., p. 139.

²Ibid., p. 141.

³Miss Lewis says that Eusabio, the Navajo, in Death Comes for the Archbishop is drawn largely from the personality of Tony Luhan.

⁴Lewis, op. cit., p. 142.

here with the Santa Fe writers are the motives behind Miss Cather's work, her use of materials from the Santa Fe-Taos area, and her kinship to the intellectual rebellion of the period studied in this dissertation.

Willa Cather, like other American writers and artists of the period, was opposed to contemporary American society's cultural status. She was alarmed by the devastating effect of scientific materialism upon standards of taste. In her own way she joined in the revolt against pecuniary values and the encroachments of the masses upon the sanctity of the individual.

In 1925, she built a cottage on Grand Manan, "a wild, beautiful, primitive island off the coast of New Brunswick."¹ This act itself was symbolic of Willa Cather's retreat from the world and of her extreme individualism as it is shown to us by her biographers, Edith Lewis, E. K. Brown, and Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. As a writer, she defies categorization; critics have not been able to identify her with any definite school.

Although she lived most of the time in New York, she was emotionally attached to the small town, Red Cloud, Nebraska where her parents lived until her father's death in the late twenties. Like most of the lost generation writers she was uprooted from the village and pioneer American culture, but unlike that group, she

¹Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, Willa Cather--A Memoir (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippincott Company, 1953), p. 205.

sought values in her native land. Instead of trying to escape into modern experiments in writing, she chose to explore certain phases of America's past where she might discover criteria for higher and enduring standards. She became interested in the heroic pioneer character whose goals were so much different from the vulgar ambitions of the industrial urbanite. Willa Cather selected historical subjects partly as an escape from contemporary life and partly as a means of declaring her ideas concerning the values which she felt once appeared in America's past but no longer existed.

Her visits to the Southwest, especially to the Santa Fe-Taos area, provided her with material for two important works, The Professor's House and Death Comes for the Archbishop. Although her visit to the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings in Colorado was the major experience which contributed to Tom Outland's Story in The Professor's House, she used New Mexico as the setting for the Outland narrative, and many of her New Mexico experiences appear in the story also.

"The Professor's House is, I think" declared Edith Lewis, "the most personal of Willa Cather's novels--and for that cause, no doubt, is given a more symbolic expression than her other stories."¹ As in the case of many of her heroes and heroines, Willa Cather

¹Lewis, op. cit., p. 137.

identifies herself almost completely with them, it is difficult to separate the thoughts and utterances of the professor from her own ideas. She utilized her own responses to situations for the background and the motivations of her characters; therefore, it is rather easy to detect the author's attitude toward similar situations in her own times.

Explaining her arrangement of The Professor's House, Miss Cather stated that she was experimenting with two forms,¹ the first of which was the early French novelists' method of inserting the Nouvelle into the Roman. She divided the book into three major parts: Book One, The Family; Book II, Tom Outland's Story; and Book Three, The Professor. The story of Tom Outland was the inserted narrative. Of the second experiment she said:

But the experiment which interested me was something a little more vague, and was very much akin to the arrangement followed in sonatas in which the academic sonata form was handled somewhat freely. Just before I began the book I had seen, in Paris, an exhibition of old and modern Dutch paintings. In many of them the scene presented was a living-room warmly furnished, or a kitchen full of food and coppers. But in most of the interiors, whether drawing-room or kitchen, there was a square window, open, through which one saw the masts of ships, or a stretch of grey sea. The feeling of the sea that one got through those square windows was remarkable, and gave me a sense of the fleets of Dutch ships that ply quietly on all the waters of the globe--Java, etc.²

¹Willia Cather, On Writing (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949). p. 31.

²Ibid.

She also added:

In my book I tried to make Professor St. Peter's house rather overcrowded and stuffy with new things; American proprieties, clothes, furs, petty ambitions, quivering jealousies--until one got rather stifled. Then I wanted to open the square window and let in the fresh air that blew off the Blue Mesa, and the fine disregard of trivialities which was in Tom Outland's face and in his behaviour.¹

Tom Outland's narrative, however, is not wholly free from the trivialities that appear in the first book. As we shall see later, Willa Cather took an opportunity here to issue some of her most severe criticism of contemporary life.

The Professor's House is the story of a middle aged professor of a midwestern university. Professor Godfrey St. Peter has written several volumes called Spanish Adventurers in North America. For the last two volumes he was awarded the Oxford prize for history with its five thousand pounds which he used for the building of a new house. The professor did not wish to move into the new house. When his wife asks if there was something else he would rather have done with the money, he replies:

Nothing, my dear, nothing. If with that cheque I could have bought back the fun I had writing my history, you'd never have got your house. But one couldn't get that for twenty thousand dollars. The great pleasures don't come so cheap.²

¹Ibid., pp. 31 - 32.

²Willa Cather, The Professor's House (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 33. (All future references to this novel will be taken from this edition and will not be documented.)

Although he finally moved into the new house he refused to move his things from his old, ill-furnished and ill-heated attic study in the old house; he rented the former dwelling just to be able to remain in his little retreat. He would not allow the old sewing forms of the dressmaker, Augusta, to be removed; those forms were a symbol of a happy past. Those forms represented "those very years that he was beginning his great work; when the desire to do it and the difficulties attending such a project strove together in his mind like Macbeth's two spent swimmers--years when he had the courage to say to himself: 'I will do this dazzling, this beautiful, this utterly impossible thing.' He had set himself a heroic task and had succeeded. He wanted to hold on to the attic room as a retreat, for ". . . it was the one place in the house where he could get isolation, insulation from the engaging drama of domestic life." Another fine thing about this room was that "From the window he could see, far away, just on the horizon, a long, blue, hazy smear--Lake Michigan, the inland sea of his childhood." Such a mood was also typical of the lost generation desire to return to childhood and to escape the adult world which was so unsatisfactory.

Professor St. Peter had two daughters. The elder was married to Louie Marsellus, an engineer, who had become wealthy through an invention of Tom Outland, a young man who had been engaged to Rosamond before he

was killed during World War I, leaving his patent to his fiancée. Rosamond, the elder daughter, and her husband, Louie, represented the money-getters and materialists of the era and thus were alienated spiritually from the professor.

The other daughter, Kathleen, was married to Scott MacGregor, a young man who wrote a daily "prose poem" for the newspaper. Although they lived in a standardized bungalow, this daughter and her husband were more akin to the father and were close to Tom Outland before his death.

The young man, Tom Outland, had come up from New Mexico to attend college and sought out Professor St. Peter to help him get started. The Professor and the young man became close friends. Professor St. Peter saw immediately that Tom was different:

The first thing the Professor noticed about the visitor was his manly, mature voice--low, calm, experienced, very different from the thin ring or the hoarse shouts of boyish voices about the campus. The next thing he observed was the strong line of contrast below the young man's sandy hair--the very fair forehead which had been protected by his hat, and the reddish brown of his face, which had evidently been exposed to a stronger sun than the spring sun of Hamilton.

Tom Outland came from the Spanish Southwest and was able to bring to the Professor, who had not finished his Spanish Adventurers, a first hand experience of the very land where the conquistadores had their North American adventures. Tom's character and the information which he imparted to the Professor introduced

a fresh enthusiasm into the Professor's work and caused the last volumes to be different and to win the Oxford prize. During the writing of those last volumes, Godfrey St. Peter had gone out to the Southwest with Tom Outland as his guide. This trip had been a romantic adventure for the Professor.

Majoring in science, Tom succeeded at the university. His invention was patented before he went to war; under the management of the efficient Louie Marsellus, the invention had revolutionized aviation. The Professor cherished the memory of Tom Outland and refused to associate him with the money which his invention had brought his daughter and her husband. When his daughter asked him if they could settle an income on him, the Professor answered:

In a life time of teaching, I've encountered just one remarkable mind; but for that, I'd consider my good years largely wasted. And there can be no question of money between me and Tom Outland. I can't explain just how I feel about it, but it would somehow damage my recollections of him, would make that episode in my life commonplace like everything else. And that would be a great loss to me. I'm purely selfish in refusing your offer; my friendship with Outland is the one thing I will not have translated into the vulgar tongue.

The vulgar tongue was money! Tom Outland had come to symbolize all of the finer values in life--the non-commercial spirit, the beautiful and ordered mind.

The Professor is a man of refined sensibilities. Like Henry James, whose art influenced her early

career as a novelist, Willa Cather selected as vehicles for her ideas and attitudes characters who were intelligent, unconventional, and appreciative of higher spiritual values than those of the vulgar masses. Godfrey St. Peter was a connoisseur of fine wine, food, literature and music. He revered first class scholarship for its own sake, and at his university, he was one of the few who did any worthwhile research. One other professor, Dr. Crane, joined St. Peter in fighting against the inroads made upon the liberal arts by the demands of industrial society. "Both, with all their might, had resisted the new commercialism, the aim to 'show results' that was undermining and vulgarizing education. The State Legislature and the board of regents seemed determined to make a trade school of the university."

Although the majority of the students were the common sort, and his wife felt that it was "hardly dignified to think aloud in such company," Professor St. Peter continued to express his own ideas in the classes whose senses had been deadened by materialism and the machine. One day he did what his wife considered "rather bad taste." He expressed his personal attitude toward science:

No, Miller, I don't think much of science as a phase of human development. It has given us a lot of ingenious toys; they take our attention away from the real problems, of course, and since the problems are insoluble, I suppose we ought to be grateful for distraction. But the fact is,

the human mind, the individual mind, has always been made more interesting by dwelling on the old riddles, even if it makes nothing of them. Science hasn't given us any new amazements, except of the superficial kind we get from witnessing dexterity and sleight-of-hand. It hasn't given us any richer pleasures, as the Renaissance did, not any new sins--not one! Indeed, it takes our old ones away. It's the laboratory, not the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world. You'll agree there is not much thrill about a physiological sin. We were better off when even the prosaic matter of taking nourishment could have the magnificence of a sin. I don't think you help people by making their conduct of no importance--you impoverish them. As long as every man and woman who crowded into cathedrals on Easter Sunday was a principal in a gorgeous drama with God, glittering angels on one side and the shadows of evil coming and going on the other, life was a rich thing. The king and the beggar had the same chance at miracles and great temptations and revelations. And that's what makes men happy, believing in the mystery and importance of their own little individual lives. It makes us happy to surround our creature needs and bodily instincts with as much pomp and circumstances as possible. Art and religion (they are the same in the end of course) have given man the only happiness he has ever had.

Moses learned the importance of that in the Egyptian court, and when he wanted to make a population of slaves into an independent people in the shortest possible time, he invented elaborate ceremonials to give them a feeling of dignity and purpose. Every act had some imaginative end. The cutting of the finger nails was a religious observance. The Christian theologians went over the books of the Law, like great artists, getting splendid effects by excision. They reset the stage with more space and mystery, throwing all the light upon a few sins of great dramatic value--only seven, you remember, and of those only three that are perpetually enthralling. With the theologians came the cathedral-builders; the sculptors and glass-workers and painters. They might, without sacrilege, have changed the prayer a little and said, Thy will be done in art, as it is in heaven. How can it be done anywhere else as it is in heaven? But I think the hour is up. You might tell me next week, Miller, what you think science has done for us, besides making us more comfortable.

Here is an echo of the twentieth century intellectual rebellion against science. We note parallels to Marsden Hartley's argument for an American esthetics. Hartley saw in the Indian ceremonials a strong art spirit--art activity completely integrated with the rhythm of life. Willa Cather, like T. S. Eliot, sees religion as a unifying force--a force that will not destroy the individual personality but give to it strength.

Professor St. Peter and his family existed on the meager salary of the typical university professor, yet they showed good taste in everything and the old house was appropriately furnished. On the other hand, Dr. Crane, Professor St. Peter observed, "lived in the most depressing and unnecessary ugliness." St. Peter reminisced, after they moved into the new house:

They hadn't much, but they were never absurd. They never made shabby compromises. If they couldn't get the right thing, they went without. Usually they had the right thing, and it got paid for, somehow. He couldn't say they were extravagant; the old house had been funny and bare enough, but there were no ugly things in it.

Book One is an excellent study in contrasts.

The major contrast is the life of refinement as displayed by Professor St. Peter and the vulgar American society represented by his son-in-law, Louis Marsellus as well as Dr. Crane. All of the characters seem to fall into one of the camps or somewhere in between. Even the Professor's wife, who was educated and refined, gravitated toward Louie Marsellus. The Professor observed:

"That worldliness, that willingness to get the most out of occasions and people, which had developed so strongly in Lillian in the last few years, seemed to Louie as natural and proper as it seemed unnatural to Godfrey." His wife's tendency toward worldliness along with his new friendship with the unusual Tom Outland brings about an emotional cleavage between the Professor and his wife, Lillian.

Although Tom Outland does not appear physically in the first book, he pervades the life of the St. Peter family and is symbolically in opposition to most of their activities except those of the Professor. Ironically, Tom was responsible for industrial wealth's entering the family via Rosamond, and the fact that Rosamond and her husband are going to build a large manor house, fill it with foreign art objects and call it "Outland" in Tom's memory is the crowning vulgarity.

When the Marselluses and Mrs. St. Peter go to Europe, the Professor remains at home and decides to edit Tom Outland's diary of some of his New Mexico experiences--primarily the discovery of the cliff dwellings on the Blue Mesa.¹ The Professor can return to his attic study in the old house and re-enter the New

¹The story of Tom Outland was the story of Dick Wetherill who swam the Mancos river on his horse and rode into the Mesa after lost cattle and discovered the cliff dwellings. Willa Cather talked to some of the Wetherill family in 1915. Cf. Lewis, op. cit. p. 94.

Mexico world of Tom Outland and the romantic past.

Willa Cather explained that Tom Outland's story was to be a contrast to the first part of the book. It would seem that it serves several purposes. First of all, the cliff dwellings, as Professor E. K. Brown points out in his analysis of the novel,¹ form a crucial symbol to express the emotional experience of Godfrey St. Peter. Secondly, the author uses the story to criticize the trivialities of American culture, and thirdly, the story serves as a means of asserting values which she finds in the past and of suggesting the extent to which they can be utilized.

Tom Outland, whose parents had died when they were crossing southern Kansas in a prairie schooner, was adopted by a locomotive engineer named O'Brien who took the boy to New Mexico. Tom got a job as a call boy at the railroad station as soon as he was old enough. On this job he met Rodney Blake, a good-natured drifter. When Tom contracted pneumonia, Blake acted as nurse, and when the illness subsided, the two went out on the range. While they were working as cowboys, they discovered the Blue Mesa. Tom, however, was the first to explore the Mesa and to discover the ancient cliff dwellings which they called Cliff City.

Tom Outland's experience is partly Willa Cather's experience at Mesa Verde. Tom told the Professor:

¹E. K. Brown, Rhythm in the Novel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950).

I wish I could tell you what I saw there, just as I saw it, on that first morning, through a veil of lightly falling snow. Far up above me, a thousand feet or so, set in a great cavern in the face of the cliff, I saw a little city of stone, asleep. It was still as sculpture--and something like that. It all hung together, seemed to have a kind of composition; pale little houses of stone nestling close to one another, perched on top of each other, with flat roofs, narrow windows, straight walls, and in the middle of the group, a round tower.

Here was a retreat from the world. This hidden village was a symbol of the serene past. It evoked romance, mystery--mental delight. It was a symbol of some enduring quality. Tom was impressed by the mood of the place:

Such silence and stillness and repose--immortal repose. That village sat looking down into the canyon with the calmness of eternity. The falling snow-flakes, sprinkling the piñons, gave it a special kind of solemnity. I can't describe it. It was like sculpture more than anything else. I knew at once that I had come upon the city of some extinct civilization, hidden away in this inaccessible mesa for centuries, preserved in the dry air and almost perpetual sunlight like a fly in amber, guarded by the cliffs and the river and the desert.

After Tom revealed his findings to his friend, Rodney Blake, the two began to excavate, using as much of the techniques of archaeology as they knew. They numbered each specimen and wrote down just where and in what condition it was found and for what they thought it was used. They tried to handle all of the artifacts with care so that they would be able to reconstruct as far as was possible the history of the ancient people and to display a good collection of items. Observing

the artifacts, they concluded everything had been done with patience, unhurried, deliberate. "A people who had the hardihood to build here, and who lived day after day looking down upon such grandeur, who came and went by those hazardous trails, must have been, as we often told each other," said Tom, "a fine people."

Willa Cather, in her description of Cliff City and of the reactions of Tom and a Mr. Ripley of the Smithsonian, expresses very clearly one of her recurring themes: the natural yearning of the human spirit for order and beauty and security. Mr. Ripley told Tom:

Like you, I feel a reverence for this place. Wherever humanity has made that hardest of all starts and lifted itself out of mere brutality, is a sacred spot. Your people were cut off here without the influence of example or emulation, with no incentive but some natural yearning for order and security. They built themselves into this mesa and humanized it.

Here the primitive pioneer spirit had been at work and had wrought wonders; it had not been encumbered by the comforts of science and the machine.

Father Duchene,¹ an old friend who had taught Tom to read the Latin classics, advised that Tom go to Washington to report their findings, so that the proper specialists could come out to study the cliff dwellings. Tom's experience in Washington is displayed as a horrifying example of American culture. Even the Indian

¹The character of Father Duchene is based on Father Haltermann, a Belgian priest whom Willa Cather met at Santa Cruz, New Mexico. Cf. On Writing, p. 4.

Commission and the Smithsonian Institution were a revelation and a disappointment to Tom; they were mere pretenses. Tom recalled that "The clerks at the Indian Commission seemed very curious about everything and made me talk a lot. I was green and didn't know any better. But when one of the fellows there tried to get me to give him my best bowl for his cigarette ashes, I began to suspect the nature of their interest." The Indian Commissioner refused to give any assistance because his business "was with the living Indians, not dead ones."

At the Smithsonian, Tom found that he could not see the Director unless his secretary thought it important. Tom was initiated into the ways of Washington by a Smithsonian stenographer, a little Virginia girl, who told him that "If you want to get attention from anybody in Washington, . . . ask them to lunch. People here will do anything for a good lunch." When he finally took the Director's secretary out to lunch, Tom had to hear about the secretary's trip to Austria, "about balls and receptions, and the names and titles of all the people he had met at the Duke's country estate." For Tom, this interview with the secretary was disheartening indeed: "I was amazed and ashamed that a man of fifty, a man of the world, a scholar with ever so many degrees, should find it worth his while to show off before a boy, and a boy of such humble pretensions,

who didn't know how to eat the hors d'oeuvres any more than if an assortment of cocoanuts had been set before him with no hammer." The pettiness of American scholars and scientists is manifested here in bitter satire. The American interest in Europe prevents their insight into their own past and their own potential for cultural development.

Taking the secretary to lunch prepared the way for meeting the Director of the Smithsonian Institution. Before seeing the Director, however, Tom discovered another thing in Washington that aroused his disgust: the hundreds of clerks who came pouring out of the big buildings at the end of the day. "Their lives seemed to me," Tom related, "so petty, so slavish." The young couple with whom Tom lived in Washington gave him a definite prejudice against that kind of life--a life of mere pretense and strivings to get ahead.

Tom found that "the Director and all his staff had one interest which dwarfed every other. There was to be an International Exposition of some sort in Europe the following summer, and they were all pulling strings to get appointed on juries or sent to international congresses--appointments that would pay their expenses abroad, and give them a salary in addition."

The little stenographer had told Tom: "They don't care much about dead and gone Indians. What they do care about is going to Paris, and getting another ribbon on

their coats." The trip to Washington ended in failure and disgust, because of the attitude shown by the very persons in the United States who ought to have appreciated the significance of the discovery.

When Tom returned to New Mexico, he was shocked to find that his friend, Blake, had sold all of the pottery and other relics the two had taken from the Cliff City. Blake had sold them to a German who took them out through Old Mexico. Tom upbraided him savagely for the betrayal--Blake having done what he thought would please Tom after the fiasco in Washington. Tom yelled passionately:

But I never thought of selling them, because they weren't mine to sell--nor yours! They belonged to this country, to the State, and all the people. They belonged to boys like you and me, that have no other ancestors to inherit from. You've gone and sold them to a country that's got plenty of relics of its own.

The bitter irony comes when Tom spoke of telegraphing Washington to see if they could stop the German from leaving the country. Blake retorted: "That's just it. If there was anybody in Washington that cared a damn, I wouldn't have sold 'em. But you pretty well found out there ain't." Rodney Blake did not have the appreciative sensitivity that Tom possessed. He thought that in the end they were going "to realize" on the things anyway, and Tom wouldn't mind if they were sold. Like Professor St. Peter and his attitude toward the writing of his Spanish Adventurers, Tom was not interested in

money values: "There never was any question of money with me, where this mesa and its people were concerned. They were something that had been preserved through the ages by a miracle, and handed on to you and me, two poor cow-punchers, rough and ignorant, but I thought we were men enough to keep a trust."

Finally Blake understands and tells Tom that he might have given "some of this Fourth of July talk a little earlier in the game." Blake sees that Tom is expressing a deep patriotic feeling. After Tom refused to be appeased and hints that their friendship is at an end, Rodney Blake leaves and never shows up again.

After Blake left, Tom tried to find him but with no success. Back at the Mesa alone, he sees its real significance for him. His description, Willa Cather's elaboration of her own experience again, distills a fine lyrical quality:

I lay down on a solitary rock that was like an island in the bottom of the valley, and looked up. The grey sage-brush and the blue grey rock around me were already a shadow, but high above me the canyon walls were dyed flame-colour with the sunset, and the Cliff City lay in a gold haze against its dark cavern. In a few minutes it, too, was grey, and only the rim rock at the top held the red light. When that was gone, I could still see the copper glow in the piñons along the edge of the top ledges. The arc of sky over the canyon was silvery blue, with its pale yellow moon, and presently stars shivered into it, like crystals dropped into the perfectly clear water.

Tom became aware of the importance of his whole experience:

I remember these things, because, in a sense, that was the first night I was ever really on the mesa at all--the first night that all of me was there. This was the first time I ever saw it as a whole. It all came together in my understanding, as a series of experiments do when you begin to see where they are leading. Something had happened in me that made it possible for me to coordinate and simplify, and that process, going on in my mind, brought with it great happiness. It was possession. The excitement of my first discovery was a very pale feeling compared to this one. For me the mesa was no longer an adventure, but a religious emotion. I had read of filial piety in the Latin poets, and I knew that was what I felt for this place. It had formerly been mixed up with other motives; but now that they were gone, I had my happiness unalloyed.

Tom Outland came to experience a deep reverence for the American primitive past and the American scene. Willa Cather, herself undoubtedly had this experience--the experience which Marsden Hartley describes as a necessity for true American painting and the development of an American esthetics. It would seem that Tom's great discovery was the native cultural past--an inheritance for boys like him who had no "other ancestors to inherit from." This discovery gave him a sense of security and pride. He experienced an ecstatic joy.

Symbolically, the Old World culture is fused with the New World in the Southwest. Since those days at Cliff City, Tom was not able to study Latin without two pictures appearing on the pages of his copy of the Aeneid: "the one on the page, and another behind that; blue and purple rocks and yellow-green piñons with flat tops, little clustered houses clinging together for

protection, a rude tower rising in their midst, rising strong, with calmness and courage--behind it a dark grotto, in its depths a crystal spring."

Later, Tom realized the value of the friendship of Rodney Blake. This realization was explained to Professor St. Peter:

But the older I grow, the more I understand what it was I did that night on the mesa. Anyone who requites a faith and friendship as I did, will have to pay for it. I'm not very sanguine about good fortune for myself. I'll be called to account when I least expect it.

Can we hazard a guess that Willa Cather is indirectly accusing the lost generation writers and artists for turning their backs on America? Is Rodney Blake a symbol of the unimaginative, unappreciative, undeveloped side of man and a symbol of the unimaginative and unappreciative side of America--a side that has its own peculiar function in the cultural process? It would seem that the author indicts Tom Outland for his not understanding the action taken by his friend and coming to terms with him.

Book Three deals primarily with the final emotional and intellectual crisis of Professor St. Peter. The two worlds described in Books One and Two have had an impact upon him. One symbolized the realities of contemporary life; the other symbolized a spiritual adventure--a life outside the vulgar present. Professor St. Peter's struggle and final emergence from the crisis seem to objectify the struggle of the American

expatriates of the twenties. Willa Cather can certainly be identified with Professor St. Peter; his crisis is her crisis. The problem is more than the fear of the approach of old age and a desire to return to the past. At this time, Willa Cather is experiencing a personal expatriation and is torn between life in the East and life in the West; she is also drawn to certain cultural value she finds in Europe. As Professor Brown states in Rhythm in the Novel, "great chords are sounding" in The Professor's House; the whole problem of human cultural development is struck and the notes of individualism and escape are heard in recurring themes.

When the Professor is alone after his family goes to Europe, he is able to think. He realizes that he has had two romances during his life time: one of the heart and one of the imagination. "Just when the morning brightness of the world was wearing off for him, along came Outland and brought him a kind of second youth." Tom had supplied him with the regional background for his Spanish Adventurers. Somewhat like Gard Sitwell in Mary Austin's Starry Adventure, Tom Outland "had grown up there, a boy with imagination, with the training and insight resulting from a very curious experience; who had in his pocket the secrets which old trails and stones and water-courses tell only to adolescence."

Being more and more alone, the Professor's

childhood memories came back to him. Somewhat like Henry James' short story, "The Jolly Corner," in which a man comes back to his old house in New York and gradually discovers his old self there, the Professor's consciousness leads him back to Kansas where he discovers his other self as a boy. The Professor compares his two selves:

The man he was now, the personality his friends knew, had begun to grow strong during adolescence, during the years when he was always consciously or unconsciously conjugating the verb 'to love'-in society and solitude, with people, with books, with the sky and open country, in the lonesomeness of crowded city streets. When he met Lillian, it reached its maturity. From that time to this, existence had been catching at handholds. One thing led to another and one development brought on another, and the design of his life had been the work of this secondary social man, the lover. It had been shaped by all the penalties and responsibilities of being and having been a lover. Because there was Lillian, there must be marriage and a salary. Because there was marriage, there were children, and fervour in the blood and brain, books were born as well as daughters. His histories, he was convinced, had no more to do with his original ego than his daughters had; they were the result of the high pressure of young manhood.

On the other hand there was his earlier self, the Kansas boy:

The Kansas boy who had come back to St. Peter this summer was not a scholar. He was a primitive. He was only interested in earth and woods and water. Wherever the sun sunned and rain rained and snow snowed, wherever life sprouted and decayed, places were alike to him. He was not nearly so cultivated as Tom's old cliff-dwellers must have been--and yet he was terribly wise. He seemed to be at the root of the matter; desire under all desires, truth under all truths. He seemed to know, among other things, that he was solitary and must always be so; he had never

married, never been a father. He was earth, and would return to earth.

The artificial and the real are placed in juxtaposition. There was solace in the realization that the first nature could return to a man. The primitive part of man was connected directly to the infinite; it was a part of earth--a part of nature. This mixture of Wordsworthian and Emersonian ideas seems to be the strongest indication of the author's conscious or unconscious desire for a romantic escape--an escape which she believes to be a natural aspect of the human soul.

The Professor does not regret his social and intellectual development but becomes more and more indifferent to life, and by accident he briefly contemplates suicide. When the light goes out of his old stove in his attic study, he refuses to get up and open the window to let the gas out. Fortunately, the old sewing woman, Augusta comes in and saves him. Augusta takes on a new significance for the Professor; she too becomes a symbol. She is like Rodney Blake.

Augusta, he reflected, had always been a corrective, a remedial influence. When she sewed for them, she breakfasted at the house--that was part of the arrangement. . . . Augusta was like the taste of bitter herbs; she was the bloomless side of life that he had always run away from,--yet when he had to face it, he found that it wasn't altogether repugnant.

Augusta was a Whitmanesque individual:

Seasoned and sound and on the solid earth she surely was, and, for all her matter-of-factness and hard-handedness, kind and loyal. He even

felt a sense of obligation to her, instinctive, escaping definition, but real. And when you admitted that a thing was real, that was enough-- now.

Since the crisis is over the Professor can analyze his situation more clearly.

All the afternoon he had sat there at the table where now Augusta was reading, thinking over his life, trying to see where he had made his mistake. Perhaps the mistake was merely in an attitude of mind. He had never learned to live without delight. And he would have to learn to, just as, in a Prohibition country, he supposed he would have to learn to live without sherry. Theoretically he knew that life is possible, maybe even pleasant, without joy, without passionate griefs. But it had never occurred to him that he might have to live like that.

The book ends with the Professor adjusted to his situation; he felt his feet on the ground. "He thought he knew where he was, and that he could face with fortitude the Berengaria and the future. The Berengaria, the ship bringing his family home, perhaps symbolized the foreign influences that were still to sail into American harbors as well as the materialism of America as manifested in his wife and Louie Marsellus.

As we have seen, New Mexico is used in The Professor's House as a symbol of a romance of the spirit, a usable American past, a source of strength for American cultural development, and a refuge from the inanities of bourgeois culture.

Both the Professor and Tom Outland make two major discoveries: (1) a world outside the vulgarities of ordinary life--the world of history. (2) They dis-

cover that love and friendship of human beings is a necessary ingredient of human well being. Common folk often are the sources of happiness.

The treatment of theme and characters suggest, in the last analysis, that common humanity in the United States was worth living with after all. One had to have finer perceptions, however; one had to know where he stood. Americans were just getting time to analyze their own situation. One character, old Mr. Applehoff, in The Professor's House said in reply to the Professor's question of his being lonely since his wife's death:

When I was young, in de old country, I had it hard to git my wife at all, an' I never had time to t'ink. When I come to dis country I had to work so turrible hard on dat farm to make crops an' pay debts, dat I was like a horse. Now I have it easy, an' I take time to t'ink about all dem t'ings.

Willa Cather's most extensive employment of New Mexico history and landscape appears in Death Comes for the Archbishop. The book had an immediate success in 1927. Miss Lewis says that it was "so unlike anything at all that was being written, the publishers were not prepared for its instant and overwhelming success; and for a time it ran out of stock, and book-sellers could not supply the demand for it."¹ Undoubtedly much of the success was due to the book's main

¹Lewis, op. cit., p. 146.

subject matter, the early Catholic Church in New Mexico. The book was approved by the Catholic Church and sales to Catholic laymen enhanced the popularity. But, as Miss Lewis said, the book was different. The New Mexico setting very likely appealed to many who were familiar with the work of the New Mexico painters. Perhaps the most important determinant of popularity, however, was the technique Willa Cather used in the book and the selection of certain details to amplify and adorn the narrative.

The author said that ever since she saw the Puvis de Chavannes frescoes of the life of Saint Geneviève she had wanted to do something like that in prose.¹ The quiet charm of the past is evoked in a series of episodes dealing with the life of a Catholic priest and his assistant in New Mexico during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Willa Cather described for the people of hectic urban and industrial society a secluded and hallowed spot where disturbed souls might be at peace. The following idyllic description must have had a magnetic effect:

The two friends were roused from their reflections by a frantic beating of wings. A bright flock of pigeons swept over their heads to the far end of the garden, where a woman was just emerging from the gate that led into the school grounds; Magdalena, who came every day to feed the doves and to gather flowers. The Sisters

¹Cather, On Writing, p. 9.

had given her charge of the altar decoration of the school chapel for this month, and she came for the Bishop's apple blossoms and daffodils. She advanced in a whirlwind of gleaming wings, and Tranquillo dropped his spade and stood watching her. At one moment the whole flock of doves caught the light in such a way that they all became invisible at once, dissolved in light and disappeared as salt dissolves in water. The next moment they flashed around, black and silver against the sun. They settled upon Magdalena's arms and shoulders, ate from her hand. When she put a crust of bread between her lips, two doves hung in the air before her face, stirring their wings and pecking at the morsel.¹

It is not surprising that this book with its effusion of religious piety, its manifestations of physical and spiritual changelessness, and its display of inner tranquility had a widespread appeal during the turbulence of the roaring twenties. It was a means of escape! Willa Cather said herself that "Writing this book . . . was like a happy vacation from life, a return to childhood, to early memories."²

Death Comes for the Archbishop is not a novel in the regular sense with a clear plot. The author wrote in a letter to The Commonweal: "Myself, I prefer to call it a narrative. In this case I think that term more appropriate."³ She tells the story of Father John Baptist Lamy who was named vicar apostolic

¹Willa Cather, Death Comes for the Archbishop (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 209. (All future citations from the novel will be taken from the above edition and will not be documented.)

²Cather, On Writing, p. 11. ³Ibid., p. 12.

of New Mexico in 1850¹ after the annexation of that territory to the United States by treaty in 1848 and his vicar general, Father Joseph P. Machebeuf. These two priests appear in the narrative as Father Jean Pierre Latour and Father Joseph Vaillant respectively.

In their twenties, as curate to older priests in Clermont, they were impressed by a Bishop from Ohio who was seeking volunteers for his missions in the United States. They decided to join the Bishop in his mission service. They came out to Santa Fe from Ohio where they had been stationed for a number of years. When they arrived they naturally proceeded to acquaint themselves with the new diocese.

As mentioned above, the structure of the book is episodic. This method, based upon the logical order of the priests orientation to the land, allowed Willa Cather to incorporate an abundance of information concerning the history of the Catholic Church in New Mexico, the folklore of the Indians and Mexicans, and the geography and climate. For the most part, the brief sketches are like paintings. She had written in 1920:

Art, it seems to me, should simplify. That, indeed, is very nearly the whole of the higher artistic process; finding what conventions of form and what detail one can do without and yet preserve the spirit of the whole--so that all that one has suppressed and cut away is there to the reader's consciousness as much as if it were in

¹Father Lamy became Bishop of Santa Fe in 1853 and Archbishop in 1875.

type on the page. Millet had done hundreds of sketches of peasants sowing grain, some of them very complicated and interesting, but when he came to paint the spirit of them all into one picture, 'The Sower,' the composition is so simple that it seems inevitable. All the discarded sketches that went before made the picture what it finally became, and the process was all the time one of simplifying, of sacrificing many conceptions good in themselves for one that was better and more universal.¹

Her visits to New Mexico between 1915 and 1926 provided the author with most of the material needed for writing her narrative. Miss Lewis explained in this connection:

She knew exactly what material she needed in order to write the story as she wanted to write it, and she seemed to draw it out of everything she encountered--from the people she talked with--old settlers, priests, taxi-drivers, Indian traders, trainmen; from old books she found in the various libraries in Santa Fe, and used to bring back to the hotel by the armfuls, and read in the evening; and from the country itself.²

Willa Cather loved the New Mexican country and this enthusiasm enabled her to infuse her descriptions with a vivacity of imagination and personal attachment. Throughout the book her own experiences appear as vital parts of the narrative. For example, one of her rides about the countryside in either 1925 or 1926 is re-expressed in the trip of Father Vaillant to Arroyo Hondo:

¹Cather, On Writing, pp. 102 - 103. See also her essay, "The Novel Démeuble" for a more extended statement of her dicta on simplification and suggestion.

²Lewis, op. cit., p. 140.

One approached over a sage-brush plain that appeared to run level and unbroken to the base of the distant mountains; then without warning, one suddenly found oneself upon the brink of a precipice, of a chasm in the earth over two hundred feet deep, the side sheer cliffs, but cliffs of earth, not rock. Drawing rein at the edge, one looked down into a sunken world of green fields and gardens, with a pink adobe town, at the bottom of this great ditch. The men and mules walking about down there, or plowing the fields, looked like the figures of a child's Noah's ark. Down the middle of the arroyo, through the sunken fields and pastures, flowed a rushing stream which came from the high mountains. Its original source was so high, indeed, that by merely laying a closed wooden trough up the face of the cliff, the Mexicans conveyed the water some hundreds of feet to an open ditch at the top of the precipice. Father Vaillant had often stopped to watch the imprisoned water leaping out into the light like a thing alive, just where the steep trail down into the Hondo began. The water thus diverted was but a tiny thread of the full creek; the main stream ran down the arroyo over a white rock bottom, with green willows and deep hay grass and brilliant wild flowers on its banks. Evening primroses, the fireweed, and butterfly weed grew to a tropical size and brilliance there among the sedges.

Those visits to the Southwest, which began solely as vacations, furnished an invaluable emotional experience and new materials along with a new language in which to describe them. Professor Brown appraised her use of language in his biography:

Her craftsmanship in language, her sense of a true economy, her command of rhythms individual without being eccentric, had never before reached such a delicate sureness. It is the language that makes the impressions of the New Mexican landscape superior to any presentation of setting in the earlier books. She had borne the memories of this landscape in her mind for a long time; at last she had the words to convey them in simple, perfect strength.¹

¹Brown, Willa Cather: A Critical Biography, p. 257.

Although Death Comes for the Archbishop is a synthesis of the history of New Mexico with its varied races, customs, etc., the main subject remained the Catholic Church. Of her choice of subject, the author wrote:

The longer I stayed in the Southwest, the more I felt that the story of the Catholic Church in that country was the most interesting of all its stories. The old mission churches, even those which were abandoned and in ruins, had a moving reality about them; the hand-carved beams and joists, the utterly unconventional frescoes, and countless fanciful figures of the saints, no two of them alike, seem a direct expression of some very real and lively human feeling. They were all fresh, individual, first-hand. Almost every one of those many remote little adobe churches in the mountains or in the desert had something lovely that was its own. In lonely sombre villages in the mountains the church decorations were sombre, the martyrdoms bloodier, the grief of the Virgin more agonized, the figure of Death more terrifying.¹

Her final determination to write a book on the Catholic Church in New Mexico was precipitated in 1925 by her discovery at Santa Fe of an old book, The Life of the Right Rev. Joseph P. Machebeuf, D. D. (1908) written by Father William J. Howlett in Colorado. Father Machebeuf is the Father Vaillant of Willa Cather's narrative. Since the book revealed as much about Father Lamy as Father Machebeuf, it became an invaluable source. In acknowledging her indebtedness to Father Howlett, Willa Cather said:

¹Cather, On Writing, p. 5.

Father Howlett had gone to France and got his information about Father Machebeuf's youth direct from his sister, Philomene. She gave him her letters from Father Machebeuf, telling all the little details of his life in New Mexico, and Father Howlett inserted dozens of them, splendidly translated, into his biography. At last I found out what I wanted to know about how the country and the people of New Mexico seemed to those first missionary priests from France. Without these letters in Father Howlett's book to guide me, I would certainly never have dared to write my book. Of course, many of the incidents I used were experiences of my own, but in these letters I learned how experiences very similar to them affected Father Machebeuf and Father Lamy.¹

She explained that what she got from Father Machebeuf's letters "was the mood, the spirit in which they accepted the accidents and hardships of a desert country, the joyful energy that kept them going."² Although Father Howlett's book was the major literary source, Willa Cather, as Miss Lewis indicated, used many others.³

We have seen in our brief sketch of the genesis of the book that Death Comes for the Archbishop is a fusion of personal experiences and historical interpretations. Therefore, this book, like The Professor's House, is a vehicle for transporting personal attitudes.

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid., p. 10.

³The following have been suggested as some of the author's sources: Adolph Bandelier, The Gilded Man (1893); Charles F. Lummis, A New Mexico David and Other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest (1891) and Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo (1925); Ralph E. Twitchell, Leading Facts of New Mexican History (1911 - 1917); G. P. Winship, The Journey of Coronado (1904); The Catholic Encyclopedia. Cf. Edward A. and Lillian D. Bloom, "The Genesis of Death Comes for the Archbishop," American Literature, Vol. XXVI (January, 1955), pp. 479 - 506.

"The Archbishop," says Edward and Lillian Bloom "like Miss Cather's other frontier novels, represented an intensely personal experience, in conception and growth. It was not so much a piece of fiction--a mere story-- as it was her vision of life and attitude toward truth."¹

As in The Professor's House, she especially emphasizes the value of a refined sensibility and its dependence upon a long tradition. We learn at the outset that Jean Marie Latour is "a man of severe and refined tastes, but he is very reserved." Refinement is in opposition to vulgarity as well as excessive enthusiasm and bounding haste. Father Latour could appreciate the New Mexican santos, as Willa Cather did; they showed human individuality and imagination rather than factory precision:

The wooden figures of the saints, found in even the poorest Mexican houses, always interested him. He had never yet seen two alike. These over Benito's fireplace had come in the ox-carts from Chihuahua nearly sixty years ago. They had been carved by some devout soul, and brightly painted, though the colours had softened with time, and they were dressed in cloth like dolls. They were much more to his taste than the factory-made plaster images in his mission churches in Ohio--more like the homely stone carvings on the front of the old parish churches in Auvergne.

He delighted in the old adobe Episcopal residence. His study was especially agreeable, because "The thick clay walls had been finished on the inside by the deft palms of Indian women, and had that irregular and intimate

¹Bloom, loc. cit., pp. 484 - 485.

quality of things made entirely by the human hand. There was a reassuring solidity and depth about those walls, rounded at doorsills and windowsills, rounded in wide wings about the corner fire-place." Here we see again the emphasis upon individualism--the human spirit versus the machine; also the desire for security is expressed.

Prophetic of the architectural renaissance which was to take place in the first decades of the twentieth century at Santa Fe, the Archbishop deplored the passing of the old style and the flourishing of the eclectic:

The old town was better to look at in those days. Father Latour used to tell Bernard with a sigh. In the old days it had an individuality, a style of its own; a tawny adobe town with a few green trees, set in a half-circle of carnelian coloured hills; that and no more. But the year 1880 had begun a period of incongruous American building. Now, half the plaza square was still adobe, and half was flimsy wooden buildings with double porches, scroll-work and jack-straw posts and banisters painted white. Father Latour said the wooden houses which had so distressed him in Ohio had followed him. All this was quite wrong for the Cathedral he had been so many years in building. . . .

On their first Christmas Day in Santa Fe, Father Joseph prepares the dinner himself, being guided chiefly by the discriminating taste of Father Latour. When the two sit down to eat, Father Latour comments:

I am not deprecating your individual talent, Joseph. . . but, when one thinks of it, a soup like this is not the work of one man. It is the result of a constantly refined tradition. There are nearly a thousand years of history in this soup.

When Father Joseph discovers a famous bell in the basement of old San Miguel Church and manages to have it placed so that it can be rung, the Bishop is teased by the tradition behind the art of silver work in New Mexico. He said to Father Joseph:

I am glad to think there is Moorish silver in your bell. When we first came here, the one good workman we found in Santa Fe was a silversmith. The Spaniards handed on their skill to the Mexicans, and the Mexicans have taught the Navajos to work silver; but it all came from the Moors.

As Father Latour travels throughout his diocese, his personality comes sharply into focus; he is always the epitome of refinement. The trip to Taos to visit Padre Martínez is interesting in this connection:

Father Latour was told to consider the house his own, but he had no wish to. The disorder was almost more than his fastidious taste could bear. The Padre's study table was sprinkled with snuff, and piled so high with books that they almost hid the crucifix hanging behind it. Books were heaped on chairs and tables all over the house, and the books and the floors were deep in the dust of spring sand-storms. Father Martinez's boots and hats lay about in corners, his coats and cassocks were hung on pegs and draped over pieces of furniture. Yet the place seemed overrun by serving-women, young and old, and by large yellow cats with full soft fur, of a special breed, apparently. They slept in the window-sills, lay on the well-curb in the patio; the boldest came, directly, to the supper-table, where their master fed them carelessly from his place.

Of course this sharp little sketch symbolizes Padre Martínez's whole moral and social disintegration as well as it manifests the character of Father Latour.

Amidst the roughness and crudity of pioneer life at Santa Fe and its vicinity, the two priests were

able to find a "little poésie in life" in the home of the Olivares family. Antonio Olivares was a wealthy New Mexican who had lived a large part of his life in New Orleans where he married Doña Isabella, a refined woman and a devout Catholic. Both Doña Isabella and Antonio Olivares were refined personages of the age of the hidalgos. Here was a little oasis of culture and refinement which contrasted with the frontier life which characterized the majority of the diocese.

The character of Father Latour appears rather fragile beside Father Vaillant. This delineation can be accounted for partly by the fact that the author relied very heavily upon Father Howlett's biography of Father Machebeuf (Father Vaillant). Father Vaillant is appealing because of his boundless energy and pioneer fortitude. Willa Cather was certainly appreciative of pioneer heroism, yet she was just as interested in the mellowing influence of cultural refinement. She found these qualities, pioneer heroism and cultural refinement, minimized in contemporary society. Then too, she evidently wished to suggest the saintly quality of the Archbishop; he must be devoid of too many earthly characteristics; in him the spirit of St. Francis of Assisi was re-evoked. Although Father Latour was not altogether suited to the frontier as a single individual, with Father Vaillant, his contribution to cultural development was unquestionable. The two men symbolized

the dual nature of the refining process. Father Vaillant's estimate of their two natures gives a key to Willa Cather's attitude:

Yes, he reflected, as he went quietly to his own room, there was a great difference in their natures. Wherever he went, he soon made friends that took the place of country and family. But Jean, who was at ease in any society and always the flower of courtesy, could not form new ties. It had always been so. He was like that even as a boy; gracious to everyone, but known to a few. To man's wisdom it would have seemed that a priest with Father Latour's exceptional qualities would have been better placed in some part of the world where scholarship, a handsome person, and delicate perceptions all have their effect; and that a man of much rougher type would have served God well enough as the first Bishop of New Mexico. Doubtless Bishop Latour's successors would be men of a different fibre. But God had his reasons, Father Joseph devoutly believed. Perhaps it pleased Him to grace the beginning of a new era and a vast new diocese by a fine personality. And perhaps, after all, something would remain through the years to come; some ideal, or memory, or legend.

Despite the fact that Padre Martínez is one of the villains of the piece, if one can use so strong an epithet, the chapter on this priest is one of the most interesting and enjoyable. It would seem that although Padre Martínez exhibited pioneer heroism, it was the wrong kind. His opportunism was too much like that of the twentieth century; he was too violent. Padre Martínez was selfish and violated the sanctity of the Church; he was a heretic. Even the Padre's background represented distortion and lack of moderation which prevented true refinement:

Martinez was born directly under that solitary blue mountain on the sky-line west of Taos, shaped

like a pyramid with the apex sliced off, in Abiquiu. It was one of the oldest Mexican settlements in the territory, surrounded by canyons so deep and ranges so rugged that it was practically cut off from intercourse with the outside world. Being so solitary, its people were sombre in temperament, fierce and fanatical in religion, celebrated the Passion Week by cross-bearings and bloody scourgings.

Padre Martinez represented crude, rugged individualism, "a man of the old order, a son of Abiquiu, and his day was over." Yet, the Padre had his admirable qualities.

The Bishop had never heard the Mass more impressively sung than by Father Martinez. The man had a beautiful baritone voice, and he drew from some deep well of emotional power. Nothing in the service was slighted, every phrase and gesture had its full value. At the moment of the Elevation the dark priest seemed to give his whole force, his swarthy body and all its blood, to that lifting-up. Rightly guided, the Bishop reflected, this Mexican might have been a great man. He had an altogether compelling personality, a disturbing, mysterious, magnetic power.

Consciously and unconsciously, Willa Cather juxtaposed New Mexico and the outside world; sometimes she contrasted the past with the period of the narrative; at other times she unconsciously used the twentieth century in contrast.

Father Latour sees the treatment of the Navajos as the impact of the restless energy and greed of the American whites.

For many years Father Latour used to wonder if there would ever be an end to the Indian wars while there was one Navajo or Apache left alive. Too many traders and manufacturers made a rich profit out of that warfare; a political machine and immense capital were employed to keep it going.

Though the nomadic Navajos were much slower to adopt

the white man's ways than the Pueblos, "Father Latour felt a superior strength in them," "There was purpose and conviction behind their inscrutable reserve; something with an edge. The expulsion of the Navajos from their country, which had been theirs no man knew how long, had seemed to him an injustice that cried to Heaven."

The primitive innocence of the Mexicans in the area near Tucson is in sharp contrast to the values of modern society. Father Vaillant expressed his desire to minister to the people in the new territory:¹

The more I work with the Mexicans, the more I believe it was people like them our Saviour bore in mind when He said, Unless ye become as little children. He was thinking of people who are not clever in the things of this world; whose minds are not upon gain and worldly advancement. These poor Christians are not thrifty like our country people at home; they have no veneration for property, no sense of material values.

The Indians had developed, above all, a fine art tradition; they had developed a respect for their natural surroundings and thus had not become mercenary and greedy for power:

In the working of silver or drilling of turquoise the Indians had exhaustless patience; upon their blankets and belts and ceremonial robes they lavished their skill and pains. But their conception of decoration did not extend to the landscape. They seem to have none of the European's desire to 'master' nature, to rearrange and re-create. They spent their ingenuity in the other directions; in accommodating themselves

¹The new territory here is that of the Gadsden Purchase.

to the scene in which they found themselves. This was not so much from indolence, the Bishop thought, as from an inherited caution and respect. It was as if the great country were asleep and they wished to carry on their lives without awakening it; or as if the spirits of earth and air and water were things not to antagonize and arouse.

Through the Archbishop, Willa Cather joins the Santa Fe-Taos group in their earth contact philosophy--in their rejection of industrialism.

In a letter to The Commonweal in 1936, Willa Cather accused the "lost generation" writers of making "a career of destroying the past." She said that these writers felt that the false past must be destroyed before the new could emerge.

Not at all: [she wrote] spare yourselves that disagreeable duty. Give us a new work of genius of any kind, and if it is alive, and fired with some more vital feeling than contempt, you will see how automatically the old and false makes itself air before the new and true.¹

The past held for Willa Cather a fine thread of tradition, values that must be perpetuated, experiences that, when vicariously repeated, would add verve to the sensitive soul. Instead of scorning the past, she returned to it for strength. She sought a spiritual continuity rooted in the past and extending into the present.

Robert Morss Lovett wrote that Death Comes for the Archbishop "is not a tragic or a pathetic tale, but one full of happiness; and yet it moves one to tears, by the picture of such goodness and beauty seen through

¹Cather, On Writing, p. 26.

the medium of a faultless art."¹ Willa Cather, through her preoccupation with the past, was able to derive a sense of security and well being.

Joseph Wood Krutch stated in his review that

In recounting the lives of her characters she chooses by preference their moments of calm reflection; when she wishes to throw the long tradition of the priesthood into relief against the primitive background of the new land, she seizes upon some contrast that is deep without being violent; and she sees everything as one sees it when one broods or dreams over the past. The tumult and the fighting reach us but dimly. What we get is the sense of something far off and beautiful--the picturesqueness and the fragrance of the past more than the past itself, pictures softened by time and appearing suddenly from nowhere.²

The pastoral serenity is evoked especially by her little vignette called "The Month of Mary." She tells us that Father Latour's chief recreation was his garden. This idea of the garden is pervasive in the novel, evocative of primitive innocence--the Garden of Eden if you will! The following paragraph is exemplary:

It was the month of Mary and the month of May. Father Vaillant was lying on an army cot, covered with blankets, under the grape arbour in the garden, watching the Bishop and his gardener at work in the vegetable plots. The apple trees were in blossom, the cherry blooms had gone by. The air and earth interpenetrated in the warm gusts of spring; the soil was full of sunlight, and the sunlight full of red dust. The air one breathed

¹Robert Morss Lovett, "A Death in the Desert," Review of Death Comes for the Archbishop, The New Republic Vol. LII (October 26, 1927), p. 267.

²Joseph Wood Krutch, "The Pathos of Distance," Review of Death Comes for the Archbishop, The Nation, Vol. CXXV (October 12, 1927), p. 390.

was saturated with earthy smells, and the grass under foot had a reflection of blue sky in it.

Discussing the matter of "escapism" in her letter to The Commonweal, she asked "What has art ever been but escape?" She then alluded to the Indian civilization of the Southwest as an example:

Hundreds of years ago, before European civilization touched this continent, the Indian women in the old rock-perched pueblos of the Southwest were painting geometrical patterns on the jars in which they carried water up from the streams. Why did they take the trouble? These people lived under the perpetual threat of drought and famine; they often shaped their graceful cooking pots when they had nothing to cook in them. Anyone who looks over a collection of prehistoric Indian pottery dug up from old burial-mounds knows at once that the potters experimented with form and colour to gratify something that had no concern with food and shelter. The major arts (poetry, painting, architecture, music) have a pedigree all their own. They did not come into being as a means of increasing the game supply or promoting tribal security. They sprang from an unaccountable predilection of the one unaccountable thing in man.

She added that "Religion and art spring from the same root and are close kin. Economics and art are strangers."²

As Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant noted, Willa Cather refused to become involved in social protest activities after McClure's. Even there she had not directly engaged in reform movements; having to read over so much reform literature, she "became disillusioned about social workers and reformers."³ She disliked John Collier, the great champion of the Indian, and she would not become

¹ Cather, On Writing, p. 19. ² Ibid. ³ Ibid., p. 23.

associated with any causes. Social reform activities had for her connotations of vulgarity. She wanted to escape, as she suggested, through her art. "The Archbishop," the Blooms concluded, "like all of her novels of the frontier, allegorizes the individual withdrawal from a 'stupefied materialistic world' and his quest for a direction of life which will relate him most meaningfully to a higher order, either of an impersonal, non-religious power or of a highly personal, Christian God."¹

Death Comes for the Archbishop abounds in symbols of refuge. Her interest in the human longing for sanctuary is seen especially in her treatment of the Indian pueblo--Ácoma. She wrote:

Already the Bishop had observed in Indian life a strange literalness, often shocking and disconcerting. The Ácomas, who must share the universal human yearning for something permanent, enduring, without shadow of change,--they had their idea in substance. They actually lived upon their Rock; were born upon it and died upon it. There was an element of exaggeration in anything so simple!

The rock of Ácoma was the symbol of salvation:

If a band of Navajos were on the Ácoma's trail, there was still one hope; if he could reach his rock--Sanctuary! On the winding stone stairway up the cliff, a handful of men could keep off a multitude. The rock of Ácoma had never been taken by a foe but once, by Spaniards in armour. It was very different from a mountain fastness; more lonely, more stark, and grim, more appealing to the imagination. The rock, when one came to think of it, was the utmost expression of human need; even

¹Bloom, loc. cit., p. 480.

mere feeling yearned for it; it was the highest comparison of loyalty in love and friendship. Christ Himself had used that comparison for the disciple to whom He gave the keys of His Church.

The Canyon de Chelly, like the rock of Ácoma, was a refuge:

But this canyon had always before proved impenetrable to white troops. The Navajos believed it could not be taken. They believed that their old gods dwelt in the fastnesses of that canyon; like their Shiprock, it was an inviolate place, the very heart and centre of their life.

The Cathedral in Santa Fe was itself one of the strongest symbols of security:

The next morning Father Latour wakened with a grateful sense of nearness to his Cathedral--which would also be his tomb. He felt safe under its shadow; like a boat come back to harbour, lying under its own sea-wall. . . . He felt a great content at being here, where he had come as a young man and where he had done his work. The room was little changed; . . . the same thick, wavy white walls that muted sound, that shut out the world and gave repose to the spirit.

Although the Archbishop's renunciation of the Old World,--his decision to live his final days in New Mexico--is symbolic of escape and desire for refuge, it also symbolizes the fusion of the Old and New World culture.¹

The American landscape was satisfying, as Marsden Hartley said in 1918; it was new and vital. All that was needed was proper appreciation and cultivation. Death Comes for the Archbishop ends on a fervent patriotic note--a lyrical hymn to the land;

¹See David Daiches, Willa Cather: A Critical Introduction (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951).

In New Mexico he [the Archbishop] always awoke a young man; not until he rose and began to shave did he realize that he was growing older. His first consciousness was a sense of the light dry wind blowing in through the windows, with the fragrance of hot sun and sage-brush and sweet clover; a wind that made one's body feel light and one's heart cry 'To-day, to-day,' like a child's.

Beautiful surroundings, the society of learned men, the charm of noble women, the graces of art, could not make up for the loss of those light-hearted mornings of the desert, for that wind that made one a boy again. He had noticed that this peculiar quality in the air of new countries vanished after they were tamed by man and made to bear harvests. Parts of Texas and Kansas that he had first known as open range had since been made into rich farming districts, and the air had quite lost that lightness, that dry aromatic odour. The moisture of plowed land, the heaviness of labour and growth and grain-bearing, utterly destroyed it; one could breathe that only on the bright edges of the world, on the grass plains or the sage-brush desert.

The air would disappear from the whole earth in time, perhaps; but long after his day. He did not know just when it had become so necessary to him, but he had come back to die in exile for the sake of it. Something soft and wild and free, something that whispered to the ear on the pillow, lightened the heart, softly, softly picked the lock, slid the bolts, and released the prisoned spirit of man into the wind, into the blue and gold, into the morning, into the morning!

For Willa Cather, Santa Fe and Taos were sources of inspiration as well as mines from which she took raw material to refine a golden American classic. Although she merely sojourned in these New Mexico villages, her general attitude toward contemporary life was by and large the same in temper as those writers and artists who remained in the Southwest in exile for longer periods and gave impetus to the Santa Fe-Taos cultural movement. She took a happy vacation in reality by her several

visits to New Mexico, and imaginatively she vacationed in the Southwest by writing her books.

The Professor's House and Death Comes for the Archbishop were just as typical of the intellectual rebellion of the twenties as The Sun Also Rises (1926) and Main Street (1920). It was merely Willa Cather's technique and point of view that caused her books to seem outside the realm of the Main Street campaign against vulgarity. In both the novels, the mood of escape is overwhelming; they are infused with a passionate romanticism. However, the idealization of the American past in the Southwest contributed immensely to the re-discovery of American values in the twenties. The blue mesas of New Mexico revealed a national heritage which could be used for the refinement of an American tradition.

Taos

Mabel Dodge Luhan: Sphinx of Taos Desert

Although many writers sojourned in Taos between 1900 and 1934, very little writing was done there--especially the kind which we call belle lettres. This little retreat always was and still remains a center for painters. However, the work of at least two of the writers who have resided in Taos gained national attention, partly because they were famous personalities when they went to New Mexico and partly because of what they have had to say about that part of the country.

It has been said that the expatriates who went to Santa Fe and Taos felt a need to justify their existence there and as a consequence joined certain activities and preached the gospel of place. We have seen that two major strains appear in the thinking of the individuals studied--the idea of mental and physical well-being and the idea of preserving native American cultural remnants to be used for developing a richer American culture. Certainly these motives are the ones impelling one of the most noted of the exiles at Taos. Mabel Dodge Luhan, perhaps more than any other individual, was responsible for the trek to New Mexico of hundreds of famous people.¹ Because,

¹Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, "Sphinx of Taos Desert," The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 19 (November, 1938), 12 - 14.

as she claimed, she found peace there, she recommended the place to others.

Mabel Luhan is the supreme example of the American who wished to escape from the highly industrialized mass society and once having escaped tried to formulate ideas about what constituted the "good life" where she found herself. Mrs. Luhan has never been considered an important American writer, yet the several autobiographical studies which she has written in New Mexico may be considered in future years a vital addition to our literature. They constitute important documentation for an interesting period in American life.¹

Mabel Luhan grew up in Buffalo, New York in a nouveaux riche family, the Gansons, during the latter quarter of the last century. Against this Buffalo life and family background she began to rebel early.² Her life, since those Buffalo years, seems to be a history of attempts to escape. Isolation as an only child and alienation from her parents had helped to develop discontent and frustration:

¹Cf. Howard Mumford Jones, Guide to American Literature and Its Background Since 1890. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), pp. 144-145. See also entry in Robert E. Spiller et. al. Literary History of the United States.

²Mabel Dodge Luhan, Background, Vol. I: Intimate Memories (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933), passim.

Probably most people have some memories of their earliest years that contain a little warmth and liveliness but in my own I cannot find one happy hour. I have no recollection of my mother's ever giving me a kiss or smile of spontaneous affection, or of any sign from my father except dark looks and angry sounds. I know they must both of them have been cheated of happier times than they found under their own roof, and they had no happiness to radiate to a solitary child. We all needed to love each other and to express it, but we did not know how.

Born into the leisure class, Mabel acquired the leisure class habits and characteristics. Not having anything to do caused her to become interested in all kinds of movements which made her spiritual life completely disordered.

After the death of her first husband, she went to Europe. Following a second marriage, she settled in Italy where she bought a large house. In her Villa Curonia in Florence, she held a kind of salon for Americans and Europeans alike.² This was her first great escapist adventure. In European Experiences (1935) she gives a description of the character of those Florentine days:

All a-making and an-aping of the pictures and talking about them. People always being told they had 'character', which did not at all mean they had virtues--often quite the contrary. But that they had genre; . . . or 'interesting color.'

¹ Ibid., p. 23

² Mabel Dodge Luhan, European Experiences, Vol. II; Intimate Memories, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), passim.

or that they were very 'period' or picturesque. The only people who counted, who were visible to the trained eyes of the Florentine world, were those who resembled works of art of a by-gone day, so that everyone did his best, often unconsciously, to revert. Everybody looked like somebody of the past or some painting of the past. The farther past, the better, too.¹

In Italy, Mabel lived the life of a Henry James heroine, and she developed the Jamesian attitude toward America. To her, Americans seemed to lack the great spiritual life--"la grande vie intérieure."

When she returned to America in 1913, she was even more displeased with life in America than she had expected. In order to make life bearable for herself, she opened her New York house at 23 Fifth Avenue to friends as she had done in Italy.² Here she entertained artists, writers, socialists, anarchists, politicians, philosophers, feminists, musicians and everyone else who interested her. It seems that a sort of informal meeting on Thursday evenings was suggested to her by Lincoln Steffens.³ Of these evenings Mabel wrote:

Well, the apartment became a kind of home for many people who came and sat there once a week and gave their souls a little fun. I

¹Ibid., p. 23.

²Mrs. Luhan gives us an interesting sketch of this period, 1913 - 1916, in her Movers and Shakers (1936).

³Mabel Dodge Luhan, Movers and Shakers, Vol. III: Intimate Memories (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936).

remember complaining to Walter [Lippmann] soon after I came to New York that people had no inner life in America. There was no opportunity for the grande vie intérieure. . . . Everywhere people seemed so active and in pursuit of the main chance in America. I think the Evenings gave to those who needed it an opportunity to be thoughtful and discursive and let ideas emerge quietly somewhat like the European life did.

Her salon was a pot for stirring up new ideas which were to have a force in American life thereafter. It was similar to the studio of Alfred Stieglitz:

Was it the climate, [Mabel wrote] or what other imponderable force was it, that drove people so? There seemed no place to come to rest in New York, no time to dream and ponder. The only spot I knew of outside my own apartment where one could find a kind of peaceful activity was with Stieglitz, at '291'. There one did have that sense of a spiritual home that a cultural₂ environment and background always gives one.

Here at the home of Mabel Dodge, artists met socialists and writers who influenced art and literature along new lines.³ At least many young artists were inspired by the variety of ideas, and Mabel Dodge, herself, assisted with the publicity for the Armory Show in 1913.

Although these meetings were held at her home, Mabel Dodge took very little part in them, thus attracting even more attention and drawing to herself

¹Ibid., pp. 94 - 95.

²Ibid., p. 95.

³Ibid., p. 90.

more popularity:

The fact is, [she tells us] I had become a mythological figure right in my own lifetime, which, I am sure is a rather rare experience. But the faculty I had for not saying much and yet for being there gave people's imagination a chance to fabricate their own Mabel Dodge, which they did, attributing to her all kinds of faculties and powers. . . . People attributed power to me and by their bestowal I had it, so I was able to secure a singular attention for anything any time and this made people eager to have my name on committees and prospectuses, or to have me associated with new movements.

In 1913 - 1914, according to Mabel, there seemed to be a kind of quest for individualism--an advocacy of philosophical anarchism. Of Hutchins Hapgood, she wrote:

He loved the evidences of what he believed to be a distorted civilization, and he cultivated them. He seemed to be always looking for examples of suppressed individualism so that he could pour his affection and sympathy over them. He despised the mechanical and 'crystallized' conventions of our system.²

From the Evenings, Mabel had derived a sort of peace and satisfaction and at the same time the people with whom she came in contact gave her something to do. Her participation in movements kept her from being bored. Her association with the radicals of both the leisure class and the working classes caused her to become even more dissatisfied with the so-called "proper behavior" of the class into which she was born. After about a year, however, the gath-

¹Ibid., p. 140.

²Ibid., p. 187.

erings were stopped, and she became increasingly disturbed.

Although Mable Dodge became distressingly bored and upset in 1914 because of her personality and circumstances, it seems that she was not an exception:

This had become a time [she wrote] when many people frantically tried to find salvation outside themselves. They consulted psychics and they went to all kinds of Healers and Doctors and Psychiatrists. Although Europe was at war our northern continent seemed to stand firm, yet invisibly it was sinking. Psychologically, what has been told happened to Atlantis was taking place once more and people felt it even though they did not know it. Something was breaking up and passing slowly away out of the world--a civilization was going to pieces. . . .¹

Mabel turned to psychiatrists and Christian Science healers to nature and to art. "Christian Science Treatments did not seem to change one. They colored one differently for awhile, then the color wore off."² There was one time when Mabel spent an evening smoking "Peyote," an Indian drug.³ She and her friends were openly accused of being just plain dope addicts. Such was the extent of her leisure and her boredom when she decided to leave New York and go out to her country place, Finney Farm, in 1915. She described herself thus: "I was a weak, unstrung creature--at war with myself and lost to life. At such a

¹Ibid., p. 307. ²Ibid., p. 31. ³Ibid., pp. 265-279.

disadvantage that I felt like shunning everyone, yet dreadfully lonely when I was alone."¹ She met and married the artist, Maurice Sterne, who was the immediate cause of her going out to Taos in 1916.²

After Sterne had been in New Mexico for a short time, he wrote to Mabel and suggested that she become interested in the Indians:

Dearest Girl -

Do you want an object in life? Save the Indians, their art--culture--reveal it to the world! I hear insensitiveness of our Indian Office--through ignorance, solely, for they mean well--the stupidity and the pathetic crimes committed by its agents through a sense of superiority of the white color and civilization (including, I suppose, the 'Great White Way'--Broadway at night, over everything which has color).

Mabel decided to join Maurice and went out to New Mexico where she remained.

Her first reaction to New Mexico was a common one. She had a feeling of well-being which was produced by the climate:

From the very first day I found out that the sunshine in New Mexico could do almost anything with one: make one well if one felt ill, or change a dark mood and lighten it. It entered into one's deepest places and melted the thick, slow densities. It made one feel good. That is, alive.

¹ Ibid., p. 296.

² Sterne's going to New Mexico was expected to be the beginning of a permanent separation.

³ Luhan, Movers and Shakers, p. 534.

⁴ Mabel Dodge Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality, Vol. IV: Intimate Memories (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937), p. 17.

She felt that she had not been happy before. Her description of the trip from Santa Fe to Taos is rhapsodic:

It had been, like a passage through a pink and yellow dream, surrounded on all sides with that dry, unmagnetic sand-blue staring down and the bright air making everything seem to waver and vibrate around us.¹

Having reached Taos, she is able to view New York from a vastly different perspective:

And New York! why, when I remembered that clamor and movement out here beside this river, listening to the inner sound of these mountains and this flow, the rumble of New York came back to me like the impotent and despairing protest of a race that has gone wrong and is caught in a trap. How unhappy, how horribly unhappy, the memory of the sound of New York was in my ears! I felt scared. Could I hook on here and mingle with it, or was it too late? I recognized that it was mine for the recognition, but had I stayed away too long?²

She wants to make her escape final by entering into this new world completely and cutting herself off from the old world she knew. Later, it is apparent that she does not altogether accomplish this desire. Yet, at first, she attempts to experience the landscape without a frame of reference:

This landscape [she said] made me think of a painting by Constable with its thick, soft, faraway clumps of trees, and there I was impatient because I did not want to connect this new world with the old. I wanted it to be itself alone and not a part of any past I had ever known. I did not want to be reminded of

¹Ibid., p. 30.

²Ibid., p. 33.

old familiar things.¹

When she first sees the landscape near Blue Lake she has difficulty in dissociating it with the past:

Shakesperean, I thought, and then quickly dismissed the analogy. Was one to be forever reminded of something else and never to experience anything in itself at first hand.²

Mabel delighted in the primitive atmosphere and in the primitive appearance and circumstances of the Indians. All of these things seemed "somehow down to rock-bottom and away from the pretense and the artificialities we had always lived with."³

To unite herself completely with the new world, she divorced Maurice Sterne and married Antonio Luhan, a Taos Indian. Mabel claimed that some mystical power brought them together. She utters an indictment of American society in her explanation of why her former marriages and relationships had failed and the union with the Indian did not.

Then the men I had known had been of the same material as I, of the same environment and social system. They, like I, had been in various ways competitive, restless go-getters. Of course, they thought of themselves as dynamic for they went so far and so fast in their efforts to escape themselves.

Everything they did took them away from the contemplation of the inner man. They would create new art forms, they would remake the world, but they would never come to grips with their own solid crystallized deformities. This

¹Ibid., p. 301.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 98.

world of escapists I had lived among, this crowd of reformers, artists, writers, labor leaders, philosophers, and scientists, they had been terribly busy all the time, 'doing the job' as they were wont to call it, the job, in fact, of avoiding the responsibility of themselves, and of getting into themselves, and their activities had not left them time or leisure to be: for mere being. They . . . never radiated. They had not the time to be: to be anything much. . . .¹

Mabel Luhan and others like Mary Austin and D. H. Lawrence espoused a philosophy of earth contact and of the relation of the individual to the human tribe. When one gives their ideas some consideration, he sees shades of Emerson and Whitman and Nietzsche and Rousseau and Spinoza, if you will. It is perhaps presumptuous to even connect their utterances to the name philosophy--there being no system of ideas orderly presented. Yet their writings do have a philosophical tone.

What is the nature of the ideas of Mabel Luhan and whence comes these ideas? First, one could say that the particular place itself would obviously assert itself as a force because the landscape was so tremendous and sensual. Secondly, the "zeitgeist" of which Mabel Luhan was a part constituted a determinant. Thirdly, the Indian and Spanish heritage, being an antithesis to the civilization from which she wished to escape, played a significant role.

¹Ibid., pp. 272 - 273.

The striking difference in the landscape--the immense spaces, the magnitude of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains with their subtlety and variety of colors--could not be ignored even if one tried. The whole aspect was strange and mystical:

It doesn't take long for the aspect of the world to change here, and in a short time great galleons of cloud sailed over the sky and soon covered the sun. Then everything looked sad indeed. We depend so much on the high key of light for illumining things. When the sun shines, it colors every tree and hummock of earth near-by and in the distance the ether seems of powderable blue and violet and mauve; the mountain changes from pansy purple to periwinkle blue, and great cloudshadows shaped like eagles move over it, or it turns ink black splashed with white, behind the pale, radiant fields that glisten and flash. All day long there are changes of color and mood, startling and strange, and one never grows accustomed to the endless variety of the hours.

From the overpowering influence of the landscape comes the idea of the "genius loci."² "People have nothing to do with the genius loci. They do not create it."³ The Indians had created a great mythology around the flora, fauna, mountains and lakes and the relation of the people to these objects in the landscape. The isolation of the Indians and their natural adaptation to the land exhibited a harmonic relationship of man and nature. Willing to enter this new world,

¹Mabel Dodge Luhan, Winter in Taos (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935), p. 102.

²This term was used frequently by Mabel Dodge in European Experiences and in her other works dealing with Taos.

³Luhan, European Experiences, p. 99.

Mabel Dodge naturally accepts this environmentalism as a sort of mystique. As she had done earlier when she went to Finney Farm and became interested in nature and in artists, she began an escape into nature here in Taos.

The Indian was one with nature; they reinforced each other. "I have never seen" Mabel wrote, "a look of anxiety or exasperation over any kind of weather on an Indian face. Whatever comes in Nature they meet it with acceptance as though it were right. They do not know how to resist natural things like drought or hail or cloudbursts with anger and hate because they are so much at one with all the elements. They know they are themselves the earth and the rain. . . ."¹

Misanthropic and pessimistic, Mabel Luhan rejects her former gregariousness. People and society--the society she knew--had been the source of all her ills. She wrote:

And in the same way that I lost Florence, I have lost this whole, round earth . . . Paris, New York, Santa Fe, . . . For what? For people. People who have been the most passionate consideration of all. People! Never, for fifty years have I left off pursuing, fussing, speculating, identifying, grouping, devouring, and rejecting! People, the material of my experience, and my changes, development and growth. Cell by cell, I built myself a world to replace the lovely world of nature that I lost and sacrificed for them; and each cell is made of a human life. . . . But now, at the latter end, I return to what

¹Luhan, Winter in Taos, pp. 195 - 196.

I always lost. Life is in the natural world.¹

Mabel had lived in a world of scientific progress. One of the effects of this progress upon society, she concluded as did Mary Austin, was the alienation of individuals from one another.² The civilizing process had given modern society knowledge, but it had caused a separation from nature--from contact with the earth and agrarian pursuits. Her theory of this cleavage and disorder is as follows:

Knowledge is power, was the belief behind the activity of the students of the world--but it was a knowledge of the infinitely divisible atoms of that world. Cut of the endless breaking up and recombining of the elements, the numberless taking-to-pieces of things, the examination and the observation--out of all that knowledge people learned how to move faster, how to transmit electrical force, and how to be more physically comfortable. The practice of infinite divisibility had produced an enormous number of devices. . . . The more singleness, separateness, and individuality became the habit of our development. . . . the more ways there were of escaping mechanically. Actually, the conquest of machinery was to promote the separation of the individual from the mass; and the by-product of scientific conquest has become the elaborate, unhappy, modern man, cut off from his course, powerful in mechanism, but the living sacrifice of his scientific knowledge.³

Although Mabel Dodge seems to favor the group or tribe, "where a different instinct ruled, where a different

¹Luhan, European Experiences, p. 100.

²Mabel Luhan shows that she has been influenced to a great extent by D. H. Lawrence. See his "Pan in America," Southwest Review (January, 1926).

³Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert, p. 63.

knowledge gave a different power,"¹ she points out that the individual self is not to be lost or completely subordinated to the mass--a beautiful rationalization for her own course of action. There should be a harmonic interdependence. She wrote:

Though I had just had a lesson in the invisible coherence of all human beings, it did not seem illogical that I felt entirely separated from the others out here. There was a new faculty of detachment from them, dawning upon me, a different kind from the solitary, unbalanced attitude which was the only one I had ever known. It is difficult to define. There was the beginning of objectivity in it, a realization of our oneness and dependence upon all others, with, at the same time, the realization of the need for withdrawal, for independence, for non-identification with the mass. In a new dimension one might, may, must, realize that one is related to and identified with this universe and all its aspects, and yet that one must become more than that, more than a bright neighborly cell in the great organism.²

Here on the edge of the desert, then, Mabel Dodge Luhan discovers or rediscovers Emersonian idealism as is expressed in "The Over-Soul," "Nature," and "Self-Reliance."

Mabel Luhan came to feel that the civilization of which she had been a part was artificial, unreal, and that if one were going to have peace of mind and a sense of well-being he would have to get back to the fundamentals. He would have to be as close to primitive nature as possible and give up the struggle--the selfish struggle to live outside of the human group.

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., pp. 312 - 313.

Somehow this idea of giving up and participating in the human group is as idealistic as the rest of her theory. She implies that one can give up in solitude and maintain a certain attitude toward the group or tribe.

Although she retired to Taos, Mabel Dodge continued to maintain her position as a great hostess. She invited people from all over the world to come to New Mexico. She built a large house to accommodate these guests. The following is her description of it:

It is a strange house, slow grown and with a kind of nobility in its proportions, and with all the past years of my life showing there in Italian and French furniture, pictures from many lands, books from New York, bronzes from Venice, Chinese paintings, and Indian things. And always a fire burning in the fireplaces.¹

Her house, her guests and her entertaining makes one wonder just to what extent was escape completed. One critic felt that Mabel Dodge had not been changed despite her talk of place and the Indian way:

If she really believes in the Indian way, why doesn't she try it? The Indians don't live in the Big House with objets d'art from Fiesole to Taxco to keep alive their aura or what have you. Her way of life and thought is still, as her books show, European in spite of the play-acting by which she exasperated her family when she took to long Indian-like silences and began to insult herself under an Indian shawl. Indians don't turn on their own tribe with vindictive scorn of their tribal faults; nor do Indians try to save themselves or each other by some new sensa-

¹Mabel Dodge Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos (London: Martin Secker, 1933), p. 53.

tion which can cure all the old dull ones flesh is heir to.¹

Like Mary Austin, Mabel Dodge Luhan busied herself with the collection of Indian and Spanish colonial arts. Perhaps her greatest influence in the Santa Fe-Taos movement was publicity. Because of her European experiences and her contacts with New Yorkers, she drew people to New Mexico. Many remained long enough to write or paint something of the land or the people. Her own books which were written in Taos provided added interest to a place which was so far away from New York and Chicago.

Mabel Dodge's autobiography, Intimate Memories, in four volumes, is the most important of her writings. When she wrote to D. H. Lawrence that she wanted to publish her memoirs, he answered:

'Memoirs of a Born American'--they are frightfully depressing, leave me with my heart gone way down out of my shoes, so I haven't any heart at all, feel like a disembodied corpse, if you know what that means. At the same time, I should say it's the most serious 'confession' that ever came out of America, and perhaps the most heart-destroying revelation of the American life process that ever has or ever will be produced. It's worse than Oedipus and Medea, and Hamlet and Lear and Macbeth are spinach and eggs in comparison.²

She wrote the respective volumes as follows: Background (1933); European Experiences (1935); Movers and Shakers (1936); and Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality (1937).

¹T.M. Pearce, "Edge of Taos Desert," New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. VII (November, 1937). p. 297.

²Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 266.

Another interesting book is an account of D. H. Lawrence's stay at Taos. It is entitled Lorenzo in Taos and is addressed to Robinson Jeffers whom Mabel had also persuaded to visit New Mexico. Other books are Winter in Taos (1935) and Taos and Its Artists (1947).

Although most of her autobiography deals with other places and other times, it was written in Taos and serves as an excellent documentation for a study of the origins of the interest in New Mexico during the twenties and thirties. Because of their scandal content, the public, as Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant observed, has come to read the books for that subject matter rather than for their literary merit, "their recreation of the past, their portraits, burning narratives, and visual perception."¹

Everyone from Edgar Lee Hewett on down continued to declare the need for a great writer to record in a great book the country, its people and its history. Mabel Dodge insists that she drew D. H. Lawrence to Taos for the purpose of writing about the land:

I had never forgotten my urgent wish to have Lawrence write and tell all about that country before it should die and become American like Buffalo and all the other towns and states. Imagine Buffalo before the Indians were gone. Then it must have had the same sound health as Taos Valley, for Indians are disinfectant. . . . I was born in Buffalo at zero hour when it was a town from which the native people had been driven out, and those families who possessed it

¹Sergeant, "Sphinx of Taos Desert," loc. cit. p. 14.

were sinking down into a diseased and melancholy inanition, for lack of knowing what to do to rouse the flogging blood current.¹

She wanted Lawrence to record the life of the "little living oasis in the desert world."² She claims that by some mystical power she got Lawrence to come to Taos:

I drew myself all in to the core of my being where there is a live, plangent force lying passive--waiting for direction. Becoming entirely that, moving with it, speaking with it, I leaped through space, joining myself to the central core of Lawrence, where he was in India, in Australia. Not really speaking to him, but being my wish, I became that action that brought him across the sea.³

Whether one gives any thought to the so-called mysticism or not, D. H. Lawrence did come to New Mexico and created more publicity than anything else. One might ask, before any consideration of Lawrence's impressions, whether the Mabel Dodge-D. H. Lawrence episode in Taos springs from the expatriate problem--the plight of the uprooted and the alienated. It would seem that a positive answer would be nearer the truth.

D. H. Lawrence: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness

When D. H. Lawrence accepted Mabel Dodge's invitation to come to New Mexico in 1922, the world had been too much with him and he had been too much with it. Lawrence is one of the best examples of the international expatriate. He had shown his dissatisfaction with life by travelling from one place to an-

¹Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 229.

²Ibid., p. 230.

³Ibid., p. 43.

other, not finding anywhere to his liking. His writings up to this time had revealed a rebellious spirit trying to free itself from the shackles of convention and mediocrity.

Lawrence's intellectual rebellion caused him to be exiled. He became a "prophet, a voice crying in the wilderness of his own isolation."¹ Aldous Huxley has said of Lawrence:

It was, I think, the sense of being cut off that sent Lawrence on his restless wanderings around the earth. His travels were at once a flight and a search for some society with which he could establish contact, for a world where the times were not personal and conscious knowing had not yet perverted living; a search and at the same time a flight from the miseries and evils of the society into which he had been born, and for which, in spite of his artist's detachment, he could not help feeling profoundly responsible.²

Lawrence's search for a place where his spirit might attach itself was in progress in 1922, and he decided that perhaps America might be the Valhalla he sought. He wrote to Mabel Dodge: "I do hope I shall get from your Indians something that this wearily external white world can't give, and which the east is just betraying all the time."³ He had accepted the idea of his being able to write a novel about New Mexico:

¹D. H. Lawrence, The Letters of D. H. Lawrence, (ed.) Aldous Huxley (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932), "Introduction," xxv - xxvi.

²Ibid., xxvi.

³Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 35.

"I build quite a lot on Taos--and the pueblo. I shall be so glad if I can write an American novel from that centre. It's what I want to do."¹ Lawrence and his wife, Frieda, arrived in New Mexico by way of California in 1922.

Shortly after the newness of Taos had worn off, Lawrence wrote to Catherine Carswell:

Perhaps it is necessary for me to try these places, perhaps it is my destiny to know the world. It only excites the outside of me. The inside it leaves more isolated and stoic than ever. That's how it is. It is all a form of running away from oneself and the great problems: all this wild west and the strange Australia. But I try to keep quite clear. One forms not the faintest inward attachment, especially here in America. America lives by a sort of egoistic will, shove and be shoved. Well, one can stand up to that, too: but one is quite, quite cold inside. No illusion. I will not shove, and I will not be shoved.²

At this time, Lawrence found only the desert fascinating and he liked to ride alone--in the sun in the forever unpossessed country--away from man."³ "That is a great temptation," he wrote, "because one rather hates mankind nowadays."⁴ During these days in New Mexico, Lawrence is portrayed as being a completely frustrated being.⁵ His neurotic personality colors

¹Ibid.

²Lawrence, The Letters of D. H. Lawrence, pp. 555 - 556. Hereafter, this volume shall be cited as Letters.

³Ibid., p. 556. ⁴Ibid.,

⁵See Lorenzo in Taos, passim.

everything he says and does. His New Mexican hostess, obviously is a great source of his distress. Taos became too much for him. From Questa he wrote:

You see, we have made a little move--only 17 miles. Taos too much. Mabel Sterne and suppers and motor drives and people dropping in. This, materially, very fine. We have an old 5-room log cabin on this big wild ranch on the Rocky foothills . . . very beautiful. . . . Altogether it is ideal, according to one's ideas.¹

America, that part which he had seen, was spiritually sterile as far as Lawrence was concerned:

But innerlich, there is nothing. All this outside life---and marvelous country--and it all means so little to one. I don't quite know what it is one wants because the ordinary society and 'talk' in Europe are weary enough. But there is no inside life throb here--none--all empty--people inside dead, outside buttlng sometimes. Anyhow dead and always on the move. Truly I prefer Europe. Liberty--space--deadness. . . money and moving about--nothing more.²

Lawrence's criticism of the activity in and around Santa Fe and Taos was vitriolic indeed! He followed the itinerary of the rest of the tourists, but at the same time he was able to associate with the groups who were giving momentum to what they called the Southwest Renaissance. To Lawrence, in 1923, all of this activity was like a circus or a comic opera:

It is all rather like comic opera played with solemn intensity. All the wildness and wooliness and westernity and motor cars and art and sage and savage are so mixed up, so incongruous, that it is a farce, and everybody knows it. But they refuse to play it as a farce. The wild and wooly section insists on being heavily dramatic, bold

¹Lawrence, Letters, p. 560. ²Ibid.

and bad on purpose; the art insists on being real American and artistic; motor cars insist on being thrilled, moved to the marrow; highbrows insist on being ecstatic, Mexicans insist on being Mexicans, squeezing the last black drop of macabre joy out of life, and Indians wind themselves in white cotton sheets like Hamlet's father's ghost, with a lurking smile.¹

Despite all of the conscious efforts on the part of certain individuals at Santa Fe and Taos, Lawrence was able to discern grave absurdities which could only weaken the movement:

Whatever makes a proper world, I don't know. But surely two elements are necessary: a common purpose and a common sympathy. I can't see any common purpose. The Indians and Mexicans don't even seem keen on dollars. That full moon of a silver dollar doesn't strike me as overwhelmingly hypnotic out here. As for common sympathy or understanding, that's beyond imagining . . . West is wild and woolly and bad-on-purpose, commerce is a little self-conscious about its own pioneering importance--Pioneers, Oh, Pioneers!--highbrow is bent on getting to the bottom of everything and saving the lost soul down there in the depths, Mexican is bent on being Mexican and not gringo, and the Indian is all the things that all the others aren't. And so everybody smirks at everybody else, and says tacitly, "Go on, you do your little stunt, and I'll do mine," and they're like the various troupes in a circus, all performing at once, with nobody for Master of Ceremonies.²

Lawrence was highly critical of this circus-like atmosphere which prevailed in New Mexico. He rebelled against the cult of the Indian. He was aware of the ill feeling, dissatisfaction, and inactive opposition of the

¹D. H. Lawrence, "Indians and an Englishman," The Dial, Vol. LXXIV (February, 1923), p. 144.

²Ibid.

Spanish American element. He noticed the aggressive pioneer with his idea of manifest destiny and his concern for the development of commerce at any cost. Above all, he saw the evangelism of the highbrow and the destruction he was causing with his serious self-righteousness and missionary zeal.

Crowds and spectacles irritated Lawrence-- especially the Indian dances. With sarcasm, he described one of the dances and the audience:

As dusk fell, the singers came back under a certain house by the south kiva, and as they passed under the platform they broke and dispersed, it was over. They seemed as if they were grinning at being there in all that white crowd of inquisitives. It must have been a sort of ordeal, to sing and tread the slow dance between that solid wall of silent, impassive white faces. But the Indians seemed to take no notice. And the crowd only silently, impassively watched. Watched with that strange static American quality of laisse faire and of indomitable curiosity. . . .¹

Although Lawrence was dissatisfied with life in New Mexico, he did not want to return to England: "But when I think of England, willy-nilly my gorge rises in a sort of profound mistrust. I suppose there's nothing to do but to come to England and get it over."² He wrote to Knud Merrild: "If I can't stand Europe we'll come back, go to Mexico and spit on our hands

¹D. H. Lawrence, "Taos," The Dial, Vol. LXXIV (March, 1923), p. 254. See also a painting by John Sloan called "Curiosities" in which the white spectators are satirized.

²Lawrence, Letters, p. 568.

and stick knives and revolvers in our belts--one really has to--and have a place here."¹ The Lawrences returned by way of New Orleans which D. H. detested, and when they reached New York Lawrence could see "Liberty clenching her fist in the harbor."²

While Lawrence disliked certain aspects of American life, he was impressed by New Mexican landscape and the historical background of the Indian. He had written to Gilbert Seldes that he felt that perhaps a great promise was to be fulfilled in America:

But I feel about U.S.A, as I vaguely felt a long time ago: that there is a vast unreal, intermediary thing intervening between the real thing which was Europe and the next real thing which will probably be in America, but which isn't yet, at all. Seems to me a vast death--happening must come first. But probably it is here, in America (don't say just U.S.A.), that the quick, will keep alive and come through.³

When Lawrence returned to England, he hated life there and wanted to be in New Mexico again. He wrote to Mabel Luhan:

It is hateful here in England, so dark and stifling, and everyone and everything trying to drag one away from the life one would make. I feel the English much more my enemies than the Americans. I would really rather be in America.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 570. This letter was written from Chapala in Mexico where the Lawrences had gone with Witter Bynner.

²Ibid., p. 573.

³Ibid., p. 565. Lawrence was referring to Mexico here.

⁴Ibid., p. 126.

Lawrence managed to return to America in 1924.¹ A letter to Harriet Monroe reveals his joy in having returned to the Southwest:

I must say I am glad to be out here in the south-west of America--there is the pristine something, unbroken, unbreakable, and not to be got under even by us awful whites with our machines--for which I thank whatever gods there be.²

On his second visit to New Mexico, it would seem that Lawrence began to look upon America a little more favorably; at least he began to definitely formulate ideas about the value of New Mexico in his own experience. The natural religion of the Indian was his discovery. Lawrence complained that the engine had come between man and "all living things."³ He asserted that it was necessary for man to consciously relate himself to the earth, the sky and to things in nature such as animals, birds and trees. Man could derive spiritual power from nature.

Lawrence summed up his experience in New Mexico in an essay which appeared in Survey in 1931:

I think New Mexico was the greatest experience from the outside world that I had ever had. It certainly changed me forever. Curious as it may sound, it was New Mexico that liberated me from the present era of civilization, the great era of material and mechanical development.

¹Lawrence brought with him Hon. Dorothy Brett, a painter who still resides in Taos.

²Lawrence, Letters, p. 599.

³D. H. Lawrence, "Pan in America," Southwest Review, Vol. XI (January, 1926), pp. 114 - 115.

Months spent in Kandy, in Ceylon, the holy of holies of southern Buddhism, had not touched the great psyches of materialism and idealism which dominated me. And years, even, in the exquisite beauty of Sicily, right among the old Greek paganism that still lives there, had not shattered the essential Christianity on which my character was established.¹

Not even Tahiti or California could possess his spirit. These places, like Australia, according to Lawrence, could only cast a spell. He gives the following description of his response to New Mexico:

But the moment I saw the brilliant, proud morning shine high up over the deserts of Santa Fe, something stood still in my soul, and I started to attend. There was a certain magnificence in the high-up day, a certain eagle-like royalty, so different from the equally pure, equally pristine and lovely morning of Australia, which is so soft, so utterly pure in its softness, and betrayed by green parrots flying. But in the lovely morning of Australia one went into a dream. In the magnificent fierce morning of New Mexico one sprang awake, a new part of the soul woke up suddenly, and the old world gave way to a new.²

Lawrence explains the nature of the religion which he says he discovered:

It is curious that one should get a sense of living religion from the Red Indians, having failed to get it from Hindus or Sicilian Catholics or Cinghalese. . . . Curious that the land which has produced modern political democracy at its highest pitch should give one the greatest sense of overweening, terrible proudness and mercilessness. . . .

It was a vast old religion, greater than anything we know; more darkly and nakedly religious. There is no god, no conception of a god. All is god. But it is not the pantheism we are accustomed to which expresses itself as 'god is every-

¹D. H. Lawrence, "New Mexico," Survey, Vol. LXVI (May, 1931,) p. 153.

²Ibid., pp. 154 - 155.

where, god is in everything.' In the oldest religion, everything was alive, not supernaturally but naturally alive. There were only deeper and deeper streams of life, vibration of life more and more vast. So rocks were alive, but a mountain had a deeper, vaster life than a rock, and it was much harder for a man to bring his spirit, or his energy, into contact with the rock. And he had to put forth a greater religious effort. For the whole life-effort of man was to get his life into direct contact with the elemental life of the cosmos, mountain-life, cloud-life, thunder-life, air-life, earth-life, sun-life. To come into immediate felt contact, and so derive energy, power, and dark sort of joy.

This effort to get into sheer naked contact, without an intermediary or mediator, is the real meaning of religion. . . .¹

So possessed is Lawrence by his idealism that he predicts the downfall of democracy after the interregnum of the present age. From New Mexico will spring up this new religion based upon that of the Indian. It would seem that Lawrence indulges in one of the most romantic of his literary exercises here. However, it may be concluded that his acid pessimism produces this prophecy of the return to natural religion after the downfall of democracy:

But there it is: [he wrote] the newest democracy ousting the oldest religion! And once the oldest religion is ousted, one feels the democracy and all its paraphernalia will collapse, and the oldest religion, which comes down to us from man's pre-war days, will start again. The sky-scraper will scatter on the winds like thistledown, and the genuine America, the America of New Mexico, will start on its course again.²

From the Indians of New Mexico, D. H. Lawrence had derived a concept of natural religion. One readily

¹Ibid., p. 155.

²Ibid.

sees that it stems from his renunciation of civilization and even of real primitive societies like those he found in New Mexico. Lawrence detested the Indians as individuals and as a group. However, he saw in their (the Indians') total race experience something to be respected--an abstract concept which one might adopt for centering one's own spiritual life. He opposed participation in the activities of Negroes, and he warned against entering too fully into the life of the Indian. Lawrence continued to reiterate the futility of attempting to return to the primitive life even vicariously through working with the Indians, yet he seemed to be thrilled by the contemplation of his human relation to the savage:

I don't want to live again the tribal mysteries my blood has lived long since. I don't want to know as I have known, in the tribal exclusiveness. But every drop of me trembles still alive to the old sound, every thread in my body quivers to the frenzy of the old mystery. I know my derivation. I was born of no virgin, of no Holy Ghost. Ah, no, these old men telling the tribal tale were my fathers. . . . But I stand on the far edge of their firelight and am neither denied nor accepted. My way is my own, old red father; I can't cluster at the drum any more.¹

Upon examination, it would appear that the religious mysticism of Mary Austin, Mabel Dodge, and D. H. Lawrence springs from the same sources. It appears to be an attempted extension of the individual

¹Lawrence, "Indians and an Englishman," loc. cit., p. 152.

spirit into the world of nature exclusive of either primitive or civilized institutions--an individual escape from the contemporary world. The end result could only come after unscrupulous violation of or complete lack of interest in social laws. According to Mabel Luhan:

Lawrence was always right, though everything he did was wrong, and he made a mess of living and of friendship and love. Lawrence was always wrong, always in the wrong, because he never learned to 'control' himself, but let life rule.¹

It might be said of Lawrence what Alfred Kazin said of Dos Passos. Lawrence was "a mind groping for more than it can define to itself, the protest of a mind whose opposition to capitalism is not greater than his suspicion of all societies."²

D. H. Lawrence's stay in New Mexico resulted in several books by and about him.³ While most of the books cannot be called noteworthy literary production in Taos (many authorities classifying them as scandal manuscripts), they are related directly to the problem of the genesis of one facet of the Southwest regional movement. These books not only reveal personalities, but they touch upon and treat ideas of the place and

¹Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 26.

²Kazin, On Native Grounds, p. 345.

³See books about Lawrence: Hon. Dorothy Brett, Lawrence and Brett; Mabel Dodge Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos; Frieda Lawrence, . . . Not I But the Wind; and Witter Bynner, Journey With Genius.

of the period.

Mabel Luhan had wanted Lawrence to write a great book about Taos:

I wanted Lawrence to understand for me. To take my experience, my material, my Taos, and to formulate it all into a magnificent creation. That was what I wanted him for.¹

It seems, however, that Lawrence had his own ideas about how the book should be written. He would center it around her life:

He said [Mabel wrote] he wanted to write an American novel that would express the life, the spirit, of America and he wanted to write it around me--my life from the time I left New York to come out to New Mexico; my life, from civilization to the bright, strange world of Taos; my renunciation of the sick old world of art and artists, for the pristine valley and the upland Indian lakes.²

Lawrence used Mabel Luhan's experience for three short works instead of a full length novel. His most important American novel, if it be called such, The Plumed Serpent, has Old Mexico as its setting and owes little to Mrs. Luhan's own life, yet much of Lawrence's New Mexico experience appears in this particular work. During the summer of 1924, while he was living at the ranch near Taos, Lawrence completed a short novel or novelette and two short stories. Both the novelette, St. Mawr and the short stories, "The Princess," and "The Woman Who Rode Away," derive something from the

¹Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 77.

²Ibid., p. 59.

life of Mrs. Luhan.

By 1924, Lawrence had developed certain themes and methods to express his ideas concerning the inadequacy of contemporary culture. One major theme was that of the woman in search for a more vital experience and the conflict between reality or natural feeling and intellectual absolutism or social artificiality. Lawrence was concerned with the re-creation of the individual or a higher plane of existence. Such a process called for the interrelatedness of all experience.¹ Sex was for Lawrence a means of escape from the living death of the modern scientific and intellectual world. He asserted that contemporary society held two extreme attitudes toward sex and that both of these extremes were inimical to the best interest of the individual and thus of society. He wrote:

In contrast to the puritan hush! hush! which produces the sexual moron, we have the modern young jazzy and high-brow person who has gone one better, and won't be hushed in any respect, and just 'does as she likes.' From fearing the body, and denying its existence, the advanced young go to the other extreme and treat it as a sort of toy to be played with, a slightly nasty toy, but still you can get some fun out of it, before it lets you down. These young people scoff at the importance of sex, take it like a cocktail, and flout their elders with it.²

¹See Lawrence's essay, "The Novel," in Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine (1925).

²Quoted by Harry T. Moore, The Life and Works of D. H. Lawrence, (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1951). p. 260.

As William York Tindall has pointed out, Lawrence's New Mexico work represents "varieties of symbolism." In opposition to machine culture, Lawrence selects for his major symbols well known forms in nature--the sun being the all-encompassing one. Topographical features, birds, animals, flowers, trees, and climatic conditions are skillfully utilized for conveying symbolically ideas which he felt could not be adequately expressed otherwise.

Lawrence symbolized the sterility of society in the sexual impotence of his chief male characters and in the domineering will or incessant quest for physical and mental satisfaction or escape from boredom of the women in the stories. Society lacked strength because it was feminine in character--the male principles being submerged. It would seem that Lawrence's preoccupation with the sex theme stems from the public attitude toward the subject as well as his attitude toward the scientific spirit of the times. Aldous Huxley says that "Lawrence disapproved of too much knowledge, on the score that it diminished men's sense of wonder and blunted their sensitiveness to the great mystery. His dislike of science was passionate and expressed itself in the most fantastically unreasonable terms."¹ In his essay, "The Novel," Lawrence declared: "And since every novelist who amounts to anything has a

¹Huxley (ed.) The Letters of D. H. Lawrence, xiv.

philosophy . . . any novel of importance has a purpose. If only the 'purpose' be large enough, and not at odds with the passional inspiration."¹ He also stated that in every great novel, not any of the characters is the hero "but some unnamed and nameless flame behind them all."² One major idea of Lawrence's "sermon-on-the-mounting" was that a powerful natural force existed in the world and that man through his civilizing process had excluded himself from it. If civilization were to survive, it would have to re-create itself along new lines, and this great natural force would have to be repossessed.

St. Mawr is the story of Lou Carrington's quest for a more satisfactory life than that she found in England with her husband Rico. A daughter of a moderately rich Louisiana family which had moved down to Texas, Lou had been sent to school in Europe where she met Rico, a painter. "Lou Witt [family name] had had her own way so long that by the age of twenty-five she didn't know where she was. Having one's own way landed one completely at sea."³ Lou had a "lurking sense of being an outsider everywhere, like a sort of

¹Lawrence, "The Novel" in The Later D. H. Lawrence (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 190.

²Ibid., p. 193.

³D. H. Lawrence, St. Mawr in The Later D. H. Lawrence. All citations from St. Mawr come from this edition.

gipsy, who is at home anywhere and nowhere. . . . She didn't quite belong."

When the story opens in London, Lou's mother, Mrs. Witt, is staying with her daughter and son-in-law. Having many of the same characteristics as Lou, Mrs. Witt is also a kind of gipsy. Although, it has been said that Mrs. Witt is a partial portrait of Mabel Dodge Luhan, it seems that both Mrs. Witt and Lou are drawn from this Taos personality. Between Mrs. Witt, Lou and Rico, there was constant tension.

Why was it? She [Lou] did not know. But she felt that in some way it came from a battle of wills. Her mother, Rico, herself, it was always an unspoken, unconscious battle of wills, which was gradually numbing and paralysing her. . . always there was this tension of will, that was so numbing.

Mrs. Witt was upsetting because of her insatiable curiosity and biting criticism:

Always this same morbid interest in other people and their doings, their privacies, their dirty linen. Always this air of alertness for personal happenings, personalities, personalities, personalities. Always this subtle criticism and appraisal of other people, this analysis of other people's motives. If anatomy presupposes a corpse, then psychology presupposes a world of corpses. Personalities, which means personal criticism and analysis, presupposes a whole world-laboratory of human psyches waiting to be vivisected. If you cut a thing up, of course it will smell. Hence, nothing raises such an infernal stink, at last, as human psychology.

Mrs. Witt was a pure psychologist, a fiendish psychologist. Lou wanted to become "unwound" and to "escape this battle of wills" between her mother and

her husband whom she found unsatisfying. Some hint of the possibility of escape was given by the red-gold colored stallion, St. Mawr, which Lou had purchased for her husband.

Only St. Mawr gave her some hint of the possibility. He was so powerful, and so dangerous. But in his dark eye, that looked with its cloudy brown pupil, a cloud within a dark fire, like a world beyond our world, there was a dark vitality glowing, and within the fire, another sort of wisdom. She felt sure of it: even when he put his ears back, and bared his teeth, and his eyes came bolting out of his naked horse's head, and she saw demons upon demons in the chaos of his horrid eyes . . . Why did he seem to her like some living background, into which she wanted to retreat? When he reared his head and neighed from his deep chest, like deep wind-bells resounding, she seemed to hear the echoes of another darker, more spacious, more dangerous, more splendid world than ours, that was beyond her. And there she wanted to go.

From the beginning St. Mawr, the stallion, becomes a symbol of the dynamic power that was manifested in nature but outside of society and free from the devastating force of civilization. Lou was fascinated by St. Mawr and what he seemed to represent:

She realized that St. Mawr drew his hot breaths in another world from Rico's, from our world. . . . It was . . . an older, heavily potent world. And in this world the horse was swift and fierce and supreme, undominated and unsurpassed.

St. Mawr's groom, Lewis, a bearded, strange-looking, little man (a partial portrait of Lawrence) manifests a kind of detachment and mystery which is characteristic of the horse. Along with Lewis is Mrs. Witt's groom, Phoenix, a half-breed Indian who is admired by Lou and her mother because of his strangeness. Yet, at the same

time, Lawrence indirectly attacks Phoenix because of his Indian background which has bred in him the weaknesses engendered by servility and hatred. Despite his criticism of contemporary society, Lawrence manifested a harsh contempt for races other than the Caucasian--the Anglo-Saxon more exactly. At one point this description of Phoenix is given:

He [Phoenix] stood there watching her in silence, the invisible smile on his face, and the inscrutable Indian glint moving in his eyes. What was he thinking? There was something passive and almost submissive about him, but, underneath this, an unyielding resistance and cruelty: yes, even cruelty. . . . He submitted circumstantially, he worked for wage. . . . But much deeper than any circumstance, or any circumstantial liking, was the categorical hatred upon which he was founded, and with which he was powerless.

It is likely that Lawrence drew somewhat upon Antonio Luhan for his portrait of Phoenix; especially interesting in this connection is the villainous character he attributes to the Indian when he returns to the Southwest with Mrs. Witt and Lou. Here Phoenix has hopes of marrying Lou for the material advantages he would derive from such a union.

As Lou became more and more interested in the mystery suggested by the horse, her husband, Rico became more and more a symbol of futility. In late spring after the "season" was over in London, Mrs. Witt

took a house in Shropshire, on the Welsh borders where she had as neighbors, the Manbys of Corrabach Hall. The Manbys were rich Australians returned to the old country and set up as Squires. As a parvenu family, the Manbys symbolize the detested material force against which St. Mawr is juxtaposed. It is through Flora Manby who is attracted to Rico that Lou gets rid of her husband.

During one of the visits of the Manby's to Mrs. Witt's where Lou and Rico have come also, there is a discussion of the Great God Pan. Here Lawrence is able to present an exposition of that great natural force from another angle. One character explains that the Greeks had turned the old primitive god, Pan, into an anthropomorphic conception of half-goat and half-man and that the Pantheists in philosophy had been even more destructive. He added;

Pan was the hidden mystery--the hidden cause. That's how it was a Great God. Pan wasn't he at all: not even a Great God. He was Pan. All: what you see when you see in full.

Thus Pan was the potent force which St. Mawr represented. Lou told her mother that she wanted men to possess that mystery that she saw in St. Mawr and Mrs. Witt replied that some had left off wanting men for the last fifteen years, "Because I couldn't see that peculiar hidden Pan in any of them." So entranced by the idea of this natural mystery, Lou found ordinary relations with men "so slow, so dead, so deadly dull." She longs for direct

contact with the outside source of power:

And don't misunderstand me, mother. I don't want to be an animal like a horse or a cat or a lioness, though they all fascinate me, the way they get their life straight, not from a lot of old tanks, as we do. I don't admire the cave-man, and that sort of thing. But think, mother, if we could get our lives straight from the source, as the animals do, and still be ourselves.

Lou felt that life was devoid of wonder and if man had that old animal or primitive force "instead of one fixed, automatic thing, which he is now, grinding on the nerves," life would be worth living.

One of the rides which the whole group took out toward the Welsh border serves two main purposes. First, Lawrence presents a view and discussion of aboriginal England, and secondly, he contrives a symbolic and actual conflict of Rico and St. Mawr. The old pre-Anglo-Saxon natives of England were existing in history and thus more closely related to the great mystery:

They came at last, trotting in file along a narrow track between heather, along the saddle of a hill, to where the knot of pale granite suddenly cropped out. It was one of those places where the spirit of aboriginal England still lingers, the old savage England, whose last blood flows still in a few Englishmen, Welshmen, Cornishmen. The rocks, whitish with weather of all the ages, jutted against the blue August sky, heavy with age-moulded roundnesses.

Lou was impressed by the idea of the "old fighting stock that worshipped devils," and she suggested that those ancient days were better than the present. Disagreeing, Flora Manby said:

I consider these days are the best ever, especially for girls. . . . And anyhow they're our own days, so I don't jolly well see the use of crying them down.

Shortly after this little colloquy, St. Mawr becomes unruly; both Rico and another young man are very badly wounded by the horse. After the accident, Lou rode back to the farm to get some brandy. In a long unspoken soliloquy, Lou delivers Lawrence's sermon:

Lou rode on, her face set toward the farm. An unspeakable weariness had overcome her. She could not even suffer. Weariness of spirit left her in a sort of apathy.

And she had a vision, a vision of evil. Or not strictly a vision. She became aware of evil, evil, evil, rolling in great waves over the earth. Always she had thought there was no such thing-- only a mere negation of good. Now, like an ocean to whose surface she had risen, she saw the dark-grey waves of evil rearing in a great tide.

And it had swept mankind away without mankind's knowing. It had caught up the nations as the rising ocean might lift the fishes, and was sweeping them on in a great tide of evil. They did not know. The people did not know. They did not even wish it. They wanted to be good and to have everything joyful and enjoyable. Everything joyful and enjoyable, for everybody. This was what they wanted, if you asked them.

But at the same time, they had fallen under the spell of evil. It was a soft, subtle thing, soft as water, and its motion was soft and imperceptible, as the running of a tide is invisible to one who is out on the ocean. And they were all out on the ocean, being borne along in the current of the mysterious evil, creatures of the evil principle, as fishes are creatures of the sea.

There was no relief. The whole world was enveloped in one great flood. All the nations, the white, the brown, the black, the yellow, all were immersed in the strange tide of evil that was subtly, irresistibly rising. No one, perhaps, deliberately wished it. Nearly every individual wanted peace and a good time all round: everybody to have a good time.

The idealism as manifested in the theories of socialism, Bolshevism, Fascism and Democracy was the great evil. Science was abetting mankind in this self-destruction. Instead of strong conservative Darwinism, a liberal, social Darwinism was being accepted and everyone was being saved--an accumulation of mass horror!

Mankind no longer its own master. Ridden by this pseudo-handsome ghoul of outward loyalty, inward treachery, in a game of betrayal, betrayal, betrayal. The last of the gods of our era, Judas supreme!

People performing outward acts of loyalty, piety, self-sacrifice. But inwardly bent on undermining, betraying. Directing all their subtle evil will against any positive living thing. Masquerading as the ideal, in order to poison the real.

Creation destroys as it goes, throws down one tree for the rise of another. But ideal mankind would abolish death, multiply itself million upon million, rear up city upon city, save every parasite alive, until the accumulation of mere existence is swollen to a horror. But go on saving life, the ghastly salvation army of ideal mankind.

Russia and Germany Lou sees, or Lawrence, if you will, as examples of this betrayal of mankind in its greatest form.

What's to be done? Generally speaking, nothing. The dead will have to bury their dead, while the earth stinks of corpses. The individual can but depart from the mass, and try to cleanse himself. Try to hold fast to the living thing which destroys as it goes, but remains sweet. And in his soul fight, fight, fight, to preserve that which is life in him from the ghastly kisses and poison-bites of the myriad evil ones. Retreat to the desert, and fight. But in his soul adhere to that which is life itself, creatively destroying the stiff old thing to let the new bud come through.

In Lou's realization, D. H. Lawrence utters the keynote of the Santa Fe--Taos expatriation.

Rico makes arrangements to sell St. Mawr to Flora Manby who has hinted that she would have him gelded. When Mrs. Witt hears of this plan, she tells her daughter:

I should say: 'Miss Manby, you may have my husband, but not my horse. My husband won't need emasculating, and my horse I won't have you meddle with. I'll preserve one last male thing in the museum of this world, if I can.'

The gelding of the horse became another subject through which Lawrence could issue his indictment of a barren society whose heroic character had been destroyed by science and laissez faire:

Ignoble men, unworthy of the animals they have subjugated, [Lou thought] bred the woe in the spirit of their creatures. St. Mawr, that bright horse, one of the kings of creation in the order below man, it had been a fulfillment for him to serve the brave, reckless, perhaps cruel men of the past, who had a flickering, rising flame of nobility in them. To serve that flame of mysterious further nobility. Nothing matters but that strange flame, of inborn nobility that obliges men to be brave, and onward plunging. . . .

But now where is the flame of dangerous, forward-pressing nobility in men? Dead, dead, going out in a stink of self-sacrifice whose feeble light is a light of exhaustion and laissez faire.

And the horse, is he to go on carrying men forward into this?--this gutter?

No! Man wisely invents motor-cars and other machines, automobile and locomotive. The horse is superannuated, for man.

But alas, man is even more superannuated, for the horse.

Since both Mrs. Witt and Lou are bored with life in England, they take Phoenix's suggestion and return to America. Mrs. Witt devises a plan by which St. Mawr can be saved, and they bring him to the Southwest. When they arrived at the ranch in Texas (really a description of

Lawrence's experience upon his arrival in New Mexico in 1922) they found "It was all so queer: so crude, so rough, so easy, so artificially civilized, and so meaningless. Lou could not get over the feeling that it all meant nothing. There were no roots of reality at all. No consciousness below the surface, no meaning in anything save the obvious, the blatantly obvious. It was like life enacted in a mirror." Even the cowboys were "coloured up like a Zane Grey book-jacket, all of them living in the mirror."

Finding life in Texas unbearable, Mrs. Witt and Lou go to New Mexico. St. Mawr is left with Lewis. It appears that even St. Mawr is overshadowed by the overpowering New Mexico landscape; consequently the horse is no longer needed as the source of power--New Mexico being the force itself or at least revealing it more powerfully than St. Mawr. Arriving in Santa Fe just at the close of the Fiesta, Lou and her mother noted one of the signs which read: "Welcome Also Mrs. and Miss Tourist." Lawrence could not resist taking side swipes at the commercial and artificial atmosphere of Santa Fe:

They stayed awhile in Santa Fe, in the clean, comfortably, 'homely' hotel, where 'every room had its bath': a spotless white bath, with very hot water night and day. The tourists and commercial travellers sat in the big hall down below, everybody living in the mirror! And, of course, they knew Lady Carrington down to her shoe-soles. And they all expected her to know them down to their shoe-soles. For the only object of the mirror is to reflect images.

In order to escape the inanities of Santa Fe, Lou and Phoenix set out to find a quiet little ranch up near the mountains. As she rode with Phoenix, Lou began to recognize the nature of her situation:

She wanted relief from the nervous tension and irritation of her life, she wanted to escape from the friction which is the whole stimulus in modern social life. She wanted to be still, only that to be very, very still, and recover her own soul.

She was arriving at the care-and-not-to-care position of T. S. Eliot. At this point, Lou makes a kind of sacrifice. She retreats to the little mountain ranch to live solitary so that she can enjoy a close connection with the mysterious, natural force. Overtones of the renunciation of the Catholic sisterhoods appear in Lou's further realization:

'I am not a marrying woman,' she said to herself. 'I am not a lover nor a mistress nor a wife. It is not good. Love can't really come into me from the outside, and I can never, never mate with any man, since the mystic new man will never come to me. No, no, let me know myself and my role. I am one of the eternal Virgins, serving the eternal fire I want my temple and my loneliness and my Apollo mystery of the inner fire. And with men, only the delicate, subtler, more remote relations

She felt a great peace inside herself as she made this realization. And a thankfulness. Because, after all, it seemed to her that the hidden fire was alive and burning in this sky, over the desert, in the mountains. She felt a certain latent holiness in the very atmosphere, a young, spring-fire of latent holiness, such as she had never felt in Europe, or in the East. . . . 'For me, this place is sacred. It is blessed.'

The final pages deal chiefly with the ranch and the surrounding landscape. In the presentation of a

history of the little ranch (Lawrence's own ranch above Taos), he gives us some of his most brilliant description. His major object, however, in this section seems to be an attack upon American idealism, the genteel tradition, and confidence in scientific progress; at the same time, there is a rejection of the general "this is the best of all possible worlds" view. Although the book seems to end inconclusively, the ideas in this latter section of St. Mawr complement those in the first part of the book.

The history of the ranch is centered around the New England wife of a trader, who was the second owner. We note a movement from sheer sensuous beauty in description to a contemplation of the violent conflict of man and the natural forces of the universe that are present in New Mexico. From the view of the New England woman (Lawrence calls her by this name only) we observe the beauty of the landscape:

From her doorway, from her porch, she could watch the vast, eagle-like wheeling of the daylight, that turned as the eagles which lived in the near rocks turned overhead in the blue, turning their luminous, dark-edged patterned bellies and under-wings upon the desert, brushing the farthest out-watching mountains. And sometimes the vast strand of the desert would float with curious undulations and exhalations amid the blue fragility of mountains, whose upper edges were harder than the floating bases. And sometimes she would see the little brown adobe houses of the village Mexicans, twenty miles away, like little cube crystals of insect-houses dotting upon the desert, very distinct, with a cottonwood tree or two rising near. And sometimes she would see the far-off rocks, thirty miles away, where the canyon made a gateway between the mountains. Quite clear, like the canyon-passage. And on the desert

itself, curious puckered folds of mesa-sides. And a blackish crack which in places revealed the otherwise invisible canyon of the Rio Grande. And beyond everything, the mountains like icebergs showing up from an outer sea. Then later, the sun would go down blazing above the shallow cauldron of simmering darkness, and the round mountain of Colorado would lump up into uncanny significance, northwards. That was always frightening. But morning came again, with the sun peeping over the mountain-slopes and lighting the desert away in the distance long, long before it lighted on her yard. And then she would see another valley, like magic and very lovely, with green fields and long tufts of cottonwood trees, and a few long-cubical adobe houses, lying floating in shallow light below, like a vision.

However, the beauty of the landscape is only half of the story in New Mexico. The beauty one sees is in the distance. Living there, one must come to terms with the immediate environment, and then the conflict begins.

And if it had been a question simply of living through eyes, into the distance, then this would have been Paradise, and the little New England woman on her ranch would have found what she was always looking for, the earthly paradise of the spirit.

But even a woman cannot live only into the distance, the beyond. Willy-nilly she finds herself juxtaposed to the near things, the thing in itself. And willy-nilly, she is caught up into the fight with the immediate object.

The New England woman had fought to make the nearness as perfect as the distance: for the distance was absolute beauty. She had been confident of success. She had felt quite assured, when the water came running out of her bright brass taps, the wild water of the hills caught, trickled into the narrow iron pipes, and led tamely to her kitchen, to jump out over her sink, into her sink, into her wash basin, at her service. There! she said. I have tamed the waters of the mountain to my service.

So she had, for the moment.

At the same time, the invisible attack was being made upon her. While she revelled in the beauty of the luminous world that wheeled around and below her, the grey-rat-like spirit of the inner mountains was attacking her from behind.

After so many misfortunes with her chickens, flowers, vegetables and attacks from animals as well as the storms

Openly she thought of her dear New England Church as usual. But in the violent undercurrent of her woman's soul, after the storms, she would look at that living seamed tree, and the voice would say in her, almost savagely: What nonsense about Jesus and a God of Love, in a place like this! This is more awful and more splendid. I like it better. . . . There was no love on this ranch. There was life, intense, bristling life, full of energy, but also with an undertone of savage sordidness.

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And her love for her ranch turned sometimes into a certain repulsion. The underlying rat-dirt, the everlasting bristling tussle of the wild life, with the tangle and the bones strewing. Bones of horses struck by lightning, bones of dead cattle, skulls of goats with little horns: bleached, unburied bones. Then the cruel electricity of the mountains. And then, most mysterious but worst of all, the animosity of the spirit of place: the crude, half-created spirit of place, like some serpent-bird forever attacking man, in a natried of man's onward-struggle towards further creation.

Finally the New England woman and her husband had to give up the ranch and go to live in one of the villages. Contentment with savage life had broken something in her, and she did not want to go up to the ranch again. The ranch "had hurt her terribly. It had maimed her forever in her hope, her belief in paradise on earth. Now, she hid from her own corpse, the corpse of her New England belief in a world ultimately all for love."

The strivings of the New England woman is symbolic of American idealism and faith in the idea of progress and more generally indicative of mankind's frantic

and almost futile struggle in the fight for the progress of true culture. Lawrence viewed his own life as a kind of battle for a better life. He suggests here as elsewhere that youthful idealism is misleading; yet, the final hope lies in the individual's inward vision:

Every new stroke of civilization has cost the lives of countless brave men, who have fallen defeated by the 'dragon', in their efforts to win the apples of the Hesperides, or the fleece of gold. Fallen in their efforts to overcome the old, half-sordid savagery of the lower stages of creation, and win to the next stage.

For all savagery is half sordid. And man is only himself when he is fighting on and on, to overcome the sordidness.

And every civilization, when it loses its inward vision and its cleaner energy, falls into a new sort of sordidness, more vast and more stupendous than the old savage sort. An Augean stable of metallic filth.

And all the time, a man has to rouse himself afresh, to cleanse the new accumulations of refuse. To win from the crude wild nature the victory and the power to make another start, and to cleanse behind him all the century-deep deposits of layer upon layer of refuse: even of tin-cans.

Lou's renunciation of the world is symbolic of the individual's withdrawal from the masses as a necessary condition for the perpetuation of culture. Lou withdraws like the nuns but not for Christianity. The Church of Christ was man-made and artificial; the spirit in New Mexico was primitive and pristine. New Mexico was the last refuge of the transcendent spirit. Lou resigns herself to this environment:

There's something else even that loves me and wants me. I can't tell you what it is. It's a

spirit. And it's here, on this ranch. It's here in this landscape. It's something more real to me than men are, and it soothes me, and it holds me up. It's something wild, that will hurt me sometimes and will wear me down sometimes. I know it. But it's something big, bigger than men, bigger than people, bigger than religion. It's something to do with wild America. And it's something to do with me. It's a mission, if you like. I am imbecile enough for that! But it's my mission to keep myself for the spirit that is wild, and has waited so long here: even waited for such as me. Now I've come! Now I'm here. Now I am where I want to be: with the spirit that wants me. And that's how it is. And neither Rico nor Phoenix nor anybody else really matters to me. . . . And I am here, right deep in America, where there's a wild spirit wants me, a wild spirit more than men. And it doesn't want to save me either. It needs me. It craves for me. And to it, my sex is deep and sacred, deeper than I am, with a deep nature aware deep down of my sex. It saves me from cheapness, mother. And even you could never do that for me.

"The Woman Who Rode Away" was also written in Taos in 1924, but it has as its setting Old Mexico where Lawrence journeyed in 1923¹ before he returned to Europe after his first visit to America. Themes and ideas in the story, however, relate it to St. Mawr. The questing woman, sexual impotence, and the strange dark gods appear. A woman who is bored by her husband and her isolation in a mountain adobe house in Chihuahua, decides to leave her family and go off in search of a legendary tribe of Indians, the Chilchuis. This tribe was said to be descendants of Montezuma and the old Aztecs. The idea that they kept up their ancient

¹See Witter Bynner's Journey With Genius.

religion and offered human sacrifice fascinated the woman, and she rode on horseback alone to the neighborhood of the Indian village where she was met by three men, natives of the tribe, who escorted her the rest of the way. By a mountainous path, they arrived at the hidden valley:

And the track curved round and down, till at last, in the full blaze of the mid-morning sun, they could see a valley below them, between walls of rock, as in a great wide chasm let in the mountains. A green valley, with a river, and trees, and clusters of low flat sparkling houses. It was all perfect and tiny, three thousand feet below . . . all small and perfect, looking magical, as any place will look magical, seen from the mountains above.

She was taken captive by the village priests and after a time sacrificed. The period between her arrival at the village and the sacrificial ritual, the woman is in a kind of dazed and confused state, but all along she is conscious of the fact that she has given up and has retired from her own world. She never desires to turn back to her husband and children. She is only curious about the meaning of the Indian religion. During the interval, the woman and the reader become acquainted with the outlines of a primitive religion. Lawrence very skillfully weaves myth and legend into the story and prepares for the ending which the woman desires--death. The descriptions of Mexico, stemming from his own experience, add power and depth to a rather unbelievable story.

The title of this story is in itself significant and indicative of the quest for sanctuary for the individual spirit--an escape from life. Written in Taos, the story, which also derives from the life of Mabel Dodge Luhan, is characteristic of the Santa Fe-Taos critical attitude toward American life.

In another short story, "The Princess," which Lawrence wrote during his sojourn at Taos in 1924, the New Mexico landscape is used as both setting and symbol. Again, Lawrence exploited the sex theme, and the mountain scenery around Taos represented for him the vital life force with its somewhat terrible wonder.

Mary Henrietta Urquhart was the daughter of a Scotch father, Colin Urquhart and a New England mother, Hannah Prescott. Her father, who was said by her American relatives to be just a bit "off," called her his Princess which name he felt appropriate for a young lady of royal blood which he insisted upon claiming. The mother having died when the Princess was two years old, the little girl was brought up by the father in Europe. It was the father who was responsible for the girl's attitude toward life and people and finally of her sex problem. She had become isolated because of what her father had told her as a child:

My little Princess must never take too much notice of people and the things they say and do. . . . People don't know what they are doing

and saying. They chatter-chatter, and they hurt themselves very often, till they cry. But don't take any notice, my little Princess. Because it is all nothing. Inside everybody there is another creature, a demon which doesn't care at all. You peel away all the things they say and do and feel, . . . And in the middle of everybody there is a green demon which you can't peel away. And this green demon never changes, and it doesn't care at all about all the things that happen to the outside leaves of the person . . . and this demon is a man's real self, and a woman's real self. It doesn't really care about anybody, it belongs to the demons and the primitive fairies, who never care. . . . But there are no royal fairy women left. Only you, my little Princess. You are the last of the royal race of the old people; the last, my Princess.

Under her father's guidance and training, the Princess became "as impervious as crystal" and lived in a world of her own. Because of her indifferent attitude, the Princess was often treated with "brutal rudeness" by cabmen and railway-porters for whom "the phallic mystery was still the only mystery."

When the Princess was nineteen, her grandfather died and left her a considerable fortune on the condition that she spend six months of each year in the United States. She and her father returned to America and travelled from East to West annually until his death some years later. When her father died, the Princess was thirty-eight years old and as virginal as Miss Charlotte Cummins who had been employed as a nurse and companion for the father before his death. Since there was nothing to do after Mr. Urquhart's death, the Princess and Miss Cummins went out to New Mexico and lived at a dude ranch which description

fits Mabel Luhan's house at Taos. At the Rancho del Cerro Gordo, the Princess was intrigued by a Mexican guide, Domingo Romero whose "dark face was long and heavy, almost sinister, with the peculiar heavy meaninglessness in it characteristic of the Mexicans of his own locality." She noted a difference in Romero:

Domingo Romero was almost a typical Mexican to look at, with the typical heavy, dark, long face, clean-shaven, with an almost brutally heavy mouth. His eyes were black and Indian looking. Only, at the centre of their hopelessness was a spark of pride, or self-confidence, or dauntlessness. Just a spark in the midst of the blackness of static despair.

Black becomes the symbolic color for Lawrence's dark god, in this case the phallic consciousness. White is the opposing symbol for sexual frigidity, female willfulness etc. Romero's black cashmere shirt, his wide black trousers and his black hat symbolized the force that he represented. In Romero's presence, the Princess felt "a subtle, insidious male kindliness she had never known before waiting upon her."

Under the pretense of desiring to see wild animals move about in their wild unconsciousness, Miss Urquhart arranges to have Romero take her far up into the mountains where he has a little shack from which they can watch. When Romero and the Princess set out for the mountains, Miss Cummins accompanies them, but Miss Cummin's horse has an accident and she has to return to the ranch. As the Princess and Romero continue their trip, the New Mexico mountain landscape assumes

a vital role. The description of the flaming colors of Autumn makes the journey seem a romantic excursion similar to the semi-conscious ride to the Indian village in "The Woman Who Rode Away."

In his black clothes and on his black horse, Romero was a power that drew the Princess on as they ascended the rugged mountain heights:

The Princess set off in blind, reckless pursuit, tottering and yet nimble. And Romero, looking constantly back to see how she was faring, saw her fluttering down like some queer little bird, her orange breeches twinkling like the legs of some duck, and her head, tied in the blue and buff kerchief, bound round and round like the head of some blue-topped bird. The sorrel mare rocked and slipped behind her. But down came the Princess in a reckless intensity, a tiny, vivid spot on the great hollow flank of the tawny mountain.

Romero and the Princess reached the "small, naked valley with grey rock and heaps of stones, and a round pool of intense green water, dark green," where his little cabin stood.

That night when the Princess suddenly awoke and felt completely chilled, she sat up in the dark thinking:

What did she want? Oh, what did she want? She could hear the steady breathing of the sleeping man. She was shivering with cold; her heart seemed as if it could not beat. She wanted warmth, protection, she wanted to be taken away from herself. And perhaps more deeply than anything, she wanted to keep herself intact, untouched, that no one should have any power over her, or rights to her. It was a wild necessity in her that no one, particularly no man, should have any rights or power over her, that no one and nothing should possess her.

Despite this desire for complete self possession and rights, she cried out to Romero that she was cold and he asked:

'You want me to make you warm?'

and her monosyllabic reply:

'Yes.'

After the intimacy of that night, she was determined to remain unaffected and when Romero asked "Don't you like last night?" she could only insist "I don't care for that kind of thing." Determined to make her surrender fully to him, to assert his authority and maintain his pride, Romero threw her clothes into the dark green pool and kept her his prisoner for days. When Forest Service men came, Romero engaged them in a gun battle in which he was killed. The Princess told the Service men that Romero had gone out of his mind. The story comes to an end thus:

The real affair was hushed up. The Princess departed east in a fortnight's time, in Miss Cummin's care. Apparently she had recovered herself entirely. She was the Princess, and a virgin intact.

But her bobbed hair was grey at the temples, and her eyes were a little mad. She was slightly crazy.

'Since my accident in the mountains, when a man went mad and shot my horse from under me, and my guide had to shoot him dead, I have never felt quite myself.'

So she put it.

Later, she married an elderly man, and seemed pleased.

The Princess had willed her seduction, but she could not bear to be in the power of any man. The

story ends in tragedy which is due to the conflict between the dark natural force of sex with the independent female will. Lawrence used his New Mexico experience for constructing the story, but the criticism of society in general is at a minimum. However, his eternal sermon concerning the proper attitude toward sex is given in the regular Lawrencean style, and the tragic situation in "The Princess" is clearly related to the problems of St. Mawr and "The Woman Who Rode Away."

Lawrence wrote a number of poems which appeared in periodicals and later in anthologies.¹ Many of his poems include New Mexico materials, but the ideas in them for the most part are criticisms of American culture.

Two volumes of essays resulted from his stay in New Mexico. Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine was published in 1925 and contains much of his literary criticism and social and political thought. Mornings in Mexico is a collection of essays dealing with Arizona and Old Mexico as well as with New Mexico. Perhaps these are some of the best known of Lawrence's work. William York Tindall calls the essays of this volume visions rather than reports.

¹See D. H. Lawrence, Birds, Beasts and Flowers (New York: Thomas Seltzer) and Alice Corbin Henderson, The Turquoise Trail. See especially the poem, "The Red Wolf."

Lawrence gave up New Mexico in 1926 and went to Europe never to return. After their arrival in Europe, the Lawrences met Aldous Huxley again. Frieda Lawrence wrote to Mabel Luhan: "We have seen Aldous Huxley--charming, cultured, thin, my word, you can get him in half an hour."¹

It seems clear that Lawrence's New Mexico episode furnished background material for Aldous Huxley's Brave New World (1932). It was not by accident merely that the savage of Huxley's book came from New Mexico and that the savage's mother was a member of the Indian tribe. Although differently characterized in the book, it would seem that Antonio Luhan was the prototype of the noble savage of Brave New World. Lawrence wrote to Mabel Luhan concerning Tony's mother's death:

Tony's mother was your enemy--so she too is gone!--and I shall never see her loom up at me again, sharply, as I sit in the car: with so much sharp understanding--and with so pathetically little, since our psyche is equipped with a whole extra box of tools. . . . To my feeling, it would be a bit cruel to bring Tony to Europe. But you will do what your will makes you do, so why ragonare?¹

Later Lawrence wrote:

I can hardly believe Tony's mother is dead. I caught her eye once or twice, and she did not look like a dier. But a man can't have his mother forever.³

¹Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, p. 277.

²Ibid., pp. 279 - 280.

³Ibid., p. 282.

The idea that Mabel Luhan wished to bring Tony to Europe furnished an excellent idea which Huxley expanded in Brave New World.

D. H. Lawrence's sojourn at Taos during the early twenties, his criticism of American culture, and his espousal of a form of natural religion and philosophy, exemplify the rejection of contemporary society which was a major characteristic of the Santa Fe-Taos cultural milieu. Lawrence's passionate assertion of the intense life of the New Mexican environment, existing naturally and independent of artificial social life in America helped to enhance the "nativist" tenor of the post-war years. Prompted largely by the escapist vision, his descriptions of New Mexico have a prophetic tone and religious undercurrent which gave priestly sanction to regionalism.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

From the evidence presented in the foregoing pages, the writer concludes that Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico were cultural centers during the period investigated, that in these towns activity in the fields of archaeology, art, and literature manifested ideas which were prevalent in other sections of the United States, that certain local conditions helped to shape the particular tone of the centers, and that Santa Fe and Taos objectified a criticism of American culture.

Since it has been shown that, to a large extent, the major personalities involved in the movement at Santa Fe and Taos were individualists who objected to the main trends in American cultural development and who offered outlines of new courses which American culture might take, it would seem that their criticism and suggestions be considered valuable in that they contribute to a better understanding of the whole of American culture and the gropings which we as citizens make toward a better life. It appears obvious, now that this study is completed, that the activities at Santa Fe and Taos represented not only individual responses to certain elements in American life but also

a social imperative. The fact that the group which we have considered articulated a violent reaction against contemporary American culture was evidence of the necessity for a reappraisal of that culture and, perhaps, a redirection of it.

Numerous circumstances combined to make Santa Fe and Taos centers of interest and culture during the years, 1900 - 1934. First of all, the land and the climate which are peculiar to that portion of the Southwest constituted a basic factor. Secondly, the native people who had inhabited the land for centuries and adjusted themselves to it created in that locality a twentieth century interest which was just as world-wide and influential as that of the Spanish conquerors. The descendants of the Spanish colonists as well as the Pueblo Indians were considered natives, and both groups had cultivated distinct ways of life. A third influence was the rise of science and scientific studies in the latter half of the nineteenth century-- physical science along with the biological and social sciences. The development of all types of machinery paved the way for the rise of industry and large urban centers with mass production and consumption as natural consequences. The building of the great railways westward, the federal geological surveys, the Indian problems and general westward expansion after the Civil War were contributing influences. Important also was

the development of the Territory of New Mexico and its fight for statehood. Another influence was the revolt in American art and literature during the first two decades of this century. Perhaps the most important of all the influences was the intellectual rebellion against certain consequences of industrialization and urbanization. The social protests of the latter years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth had as a corollary an intellectual protest which manifested itself in a variety of activities.

Revolt against the Genteel Tradition standards in American life merged with a revolt against the new standards of Babbitt. Many intellectuals in America, along with pseudo-sophisticates, recognized that scientific and economic progress in the United States was not accompanied by an equal progress along ethical and moral lines. They were alarmed by the vulgarity of many democratic practices and institutions which tended to lower cultural standards. Competition and standardization were consequences of urban and industrial society, and for the intellectuals, the city became synonymous with an abundance of evil. The disillusionment which followed World War I only enhanced the rebellion against current social trends. It became fashionable to attempt to escape the vulgarities of the city and its standardized culture.

Santa Fe and Taos were relatively untouched by industrialism; they were for the most part primitive and old. Because of the publicity given them, these two towns became symbols of a non-industrialized America. They exhibited in the lives of the Indians and the Spanish Americans societies that were unspolied by the machine! Here were Theocritan villages of the type suggested on Keat's Grecian urn! Santa Fe and Taos and their surrounding area provided the intellectual rebels of Massomania a return to the village for primordial values which they sought.

The expatriates to Santa Fe and Taos unlike those who fled to Europe in search of new values felt it necessary to advertise their new retreat and to justify their existence there by participating in certain local activities and creating others. They directed their attention more and more to the past because of their philosophical attitude as well as the surroundings which manifested more of the past than the present. Cultural activities in Santa Fe and Taos centered chiefly around archaeology and the Indian plus the colonial past of the Spanish American element. The escapists rushed into these new activities with religious fervor and proclaimed that these cultures in New Mexico possessed values which should be adopted by the rest of America.

The Indian with his primitive art and religion

received most attention because he was farthest removed from contemporary life. It was held that the harmony of Indian society was the thing lacking in American life. The culture of the Indian displayed that religion was the single unifying principle. The dances of the Pueblos were praised as the symbolic expression of this complete harmony of all elements in Indian society. It was noted especially that the arts played a significant role--a role that was commensurate with that of economics, politics, etc. The arts of the Indian were an indispensable part of his religion. Indian music manifested the inner direction of the group spirit; it showed satisfaction and concord; it was in sharp contrast to the discord and dissent displayed by jazz, the rage of the twenties. The expatriates juxtaposed the Indian and the Negro--the one superior in his social adjustment, the other inferior and maladjusted as the disharmonies of his music so tellingly illustrated.

The Spanish colonial arts and crafts were prized for their individuality and manual dexterity. They had been created from the imagination and genius of the individual and not by the machine in a factory. To justify their enthusiasm for the Indian dances and arts and their praise of Spanish colonial arts and crafts, the group at Santa Fe and Taos joined other groups in the United States who were becoming more conscious of America as a country without a cultural past. They

boasted that here in the Southwest was a usable heritage in the cultures of the Indian and the Spanish colonial.

The land was celebrated as a special influence in itself. Writers and artists claimed that there was some mystical power in the mountains and hills-- these ideas stemming from the philosophy and religion of the Indian. The idea of return to native earth appears in the group's writing from the beginning, partly because of the obvious sensuous effects of the landscape and partly because of their attitude toward civilization--civilization in America's small and large cities. Living in the city, they had become tainted with the diseases of industrialism; they would be cleansed and purified by the healing powers of the soil.

Some felt that a sincere devotion to the land would in itself engender an American esthetic consciousness. A reference to the Santo Domingo Corn Dance might be considered in this connection: "The women dance barefooted here as in other pueblos, that they may absorb the earth's fertility through their contact with the earth."¹ It was argued that America might be emancipated from the intellectual tutelage of Europe if American artists would get in tune with their own land.

The post-war disillusionment which the "lost generation" writers exhibited by their trek to Europe

¹Irene Fisher, "When the Gods Attend," New Mexico (August, 1935), pp. 20 - 21.

was manifested in Santa Fe and Taos especially during the Twenties. The cult of individualism,¹ as Harvey Wish labelled the intellectual rebellion of this period, was established here in New Mexico, and, as some claimed, Santa Fe and Taos were two of the last strongholds. Taos had always been an outpost where rugged individualism had free reign. This twentieth century individualism, however, often meant just a breaking away from conventions.

The battle cry was "Down with the tyranny of standardization." The desire for individual expression as opposed to the dictatorship of the masses seems to have been one of the chief characteristics of the movement. Yet, there was an equal objection to laissez-faire individualism.

Machinery was the chief enemy! Science in general was a destructive force! When D. H. Lawrence was hustled into Taos as the high priest and defender of philosophic anarchism, he immediately issued an oracle declaring machinery man's greatest enemy. Of course Lawrence opposed systematization of any kind and all authorities; he liked adobe buildings because they were not bound up by rigidity.

The struggle for personal adjustment was one

¹See Harvey Wish, "The Twenties: Cult of Individualism," Contemporary America--The National Scene Since 1900. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945).

of the most potent forces underlying the whole movement. Personal disturbances not necessarily connected with intellectual revolt impelled many to take up residence in Santa Fe and Taos. Some were completely defeated by life; here they hoped to regain status and personal reorientation. Santa Fe, as one of these pilgrims to the City of the Holy Faith put it, became the haven of the sore-distressed. William Russell Ferguson's little eulogy, "Mecca of the Sore-distressed," which appeared in the Santa Fe New Mexican in 1920 expresses this idea:

Thou shrine of Holy Faith, we call thee so
We who have found here freedom from all fears;
A village reared among the hills, and, lo,
A monument enduring through the years!

Girt round by mountains, gray and green and gold,
That mark the meeting of the east and west--
It fits thee well, thy christening of old,
Thou blessed mecca of the sore-distressed.¹

Romantic idealists, reformers, radicals, anarchists, missionaries, cynics and a host of others found for awhile a resting place. Isolation, the turbulence of the ominous clouds and storms, ghost-like desert sands, lonely canyons, towering mountains and "rosy-fingered" dawns, and golden sunsets appealed to the romantic souls. And under the guise of intellectual rebellion, many individuals carried out a personal escape. Perhaps the personal element in the whole movement is stronger than any group philosophy. However, this

¹Santa Fe New Mexican, 21 April 1920, p. 4.

element helped to create and to articulate the cultural ideals of the whole group.

When one looks back upon the period studied, he can with little difficulty point out some of the weaknesses which characterized the cultural movement at Santa Fe and Taos. Notwithstanding the fact that some of these very weaknesses may have had and may even yet contribute to positive influences in cultural development, they appear now as glaring deterrents to satisfactory cultural progress.

The very temper of the movement, it seems, set a negative rather than positive tone. It was one of rejection, of retreat, of resignation. It is true that all individuals concerned did not assume this negative attitude; however, inevitably the general climate exercised power over the whole group. Since archaeological and ethnological pursuits colored most of the cultural endeavors, the movement was oriented toward the past instead of the future. Preservation became the by-word--preservation of health and artifacts as well as the contemporary Indian and Spanish colonial villages.

The School of American Archaeology and the activities of the Museum of New Mexico set the pace for movement in this direction. The renaissance of Spanish colonial architecture had as its main impetus the desire to return to the old and to keep out

the new--to keep Santa Fe "different." This desire for the different in terms of the past naturally caused other activities of the town to run along these lines. This concern for the old architecture in the long run discouraged any strong interest in modern architecture which, as one sees today, would be equally suited to the region.

The almost fanatic concern for the preservation of the Indian and his social structure, having as its origin the primitivist attitude toward primordial values supposedly inherent in Indian culture together with the commercial motives of the railroad companies and other business interests, led to excessive advertising and to over-emphasis on Indian themes. Although many valuable studies of the Indian have been made, too much work in this area smacks of cultist enthusiasm. The Indian became a fad and the concern for him in too many instances did more harm than good. He was to be preserved in his primitive state, his ways being superior to those of civilization in the United States! The almost monotonous recurrence of the primitive note made the Indian theme unpopular to many who might have otherwise developed a genuine interest. In addition, this strong attempt to keep the Indian separate and the equal movement to preserve the Spanish colonial village life bred much ill-feeling in the environs of Santa Fe and Taos than was intended. Segre-

gation and discrimination were intensified--the situation already existing.

Since the temper of the movement was generally escapist or at least that of withdrawal, spirit of place was over-stressed. It was held that some mystical influence was at work and that one could not create anything until he understood the mysteries or until he was in tune with the environment. Many artists and writers took this idea seriously and left without being initiated into the mysteries of the past or the genius loci. Thus, transiency was a hindrance, certainly, to serious work, and the movement suffered from "changing of place" influences.

Another weakness close to "changing of place" was the absence of first rate scholars at the School of American Research, the center of cultural activity. Clark Wissler warned that very little worthwhile work could be accomplished without a scholar "who shall be the world's authority on the anthropology of the Southwest, a scholar whose voice shall command the respect of the learned wherever he chooses to speak."¹ The lack of scholarly work and the narrowness of outlook of the Museum undoubtedly prevented a strong cultural movement which would later gain respect.

Regionalism, which the Museum emphasized from

¹Clark Wissler, "New Mexico's Great Heritage," El Palacio, Vol. 6 (April 19, 1919), p. 150.

the beginning, had its negative as well as positive effects upon cultural development. Regional art and regional literature were encouraged at the expense of many outside influences which were necessary for advancement. Products of the Southwest were stressed, and little attention was given to developments elsewhere. Fine contributions to world culture were often sacrificed for the regional work which was in too many instances amateurish and chauvinistic.

Influenced by fears of real and imaginary dangers of standardization, the group at Santa Fe and Taos fetishily cultivated individualism for its own sake. The communities became atomistic, and a complexity of interests weakened many of the constructive projects. Human weakness was overcome by gossip, jealousy, cynicism, and downright indifference. The small town atmosphere which they hoped to escape was recreated and it assailed them again. Cliques, snobbishness and boredom caused many individuals to lose their enthusiasm or to go away.

The insistence upon individuality made them more susceptible to the archaeological-ethnological influence of the past. The arts and crafts of the past were seized upon as inspiring examples of individuality, and this preoccupation with the past excluded study of the modern and its possibility for individual creativity.

The antiquarianism that motivated other activities had its dessicating influence upon imaginative literary production. Most of the literature was either historical or interpretative. Preservation of folklore and historical documents engaged the attention of most writers, and work in that vein is too much in evidence among present authors of New Mexico.

Although there was a great deal of experimentation in art, the major work during the period was documentary. The Indian theme was overused and the picturesque qualities in most of the other subjects were exploited to excess.

Centered chiefly in the arts, the movement was debilitated by the lack of an intelligent social awareness. Mesmerized by the charm of the past, these entrepreneurs of culture for the most part neglected the social, economic and political problems which were equally important. Attempting to escape from these problems, they focused their attention upon the humanities. The expatriates screamed that American civilization lacked genuine culture and that industrialization sapped the energies which could produce it. Yet they failed to accept the responsibility of really outlining for Gopher Prairie a practical program which could compare favorably with the Indian rhythm that was adored and acclaimed for its harmony of culture and economics. Except for a few patronizing attempts,

the social, economic and political problems which haunted the Indian and Spanish American were not attacked.

The cultural movement at Santa Fe and Taos was over-advertised. Cultural activities were made the chief attractions for the tourists. So much energy was expended in preparation for advertising and the tourists that little was left for serious creative work. Individuals participating in the movement were too publicity conscious. Hewett and Mary Austin often seemed more interested in advertising than in first class work. Of course, they contended that it was important to attract persons who could accomplish great things. Whatever the motive, the tourist atmosphere contributed toward a lowering of standards and a wariness of important artists and writers who might have permanently settled there.

We may say finally that the movement at Santa Fe and Taos illustrated one aspect of the quest of certainty during the first quarter of the twentieth century. It exemplified the age old search for meaning in life. Because of the growing suspicion of science and material progress,¹ the voluntary exiles in New Mexico sought means by which a genuine culture could be developed and sustained.

Edward Sapir wrote in 1924 that a genuine

¹See Joseph Wood Krutch, The Modern Temper (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929).

culture "refuses to consider the individual as a mere cog or an entity whose sole raison d'etre lies in his subservience to a collective purpose that he is not conscious of or that has only a remote relevancy to his interests and strivings."¹ The escapist-sojourners at Santa Fe and Taos, as thousands of others in the United States during the period, feared the increasing subservience of the individual to the impersonal and unscrupulous power of a materialistic civilization. In their opinion, industrial America frustrated artistic creation. Esthetics was subordinated or crushed altogether by practical economics. A genuine culture would express a unified and consistent attitude toward life.² The significance of one element should be viewed in its true relation to the other elements. Ideally, nothing is meaningless in life. The Indian societies of the upper Rio Grande Valley symbolized this cultural ideal. To the cult of laissez-faire individualism was juxtaposed an individualism which was nourished by harmonic community interests and goals. A sense of belonging manifested itself in Indian life. Thus Santa Fe and Taos ideals served as a criticism of the businessman's world.

Many of the persons who sought refuge in the

¹Sapir, Selected Writings of Edward Sapir, p. 215.

²Ibid., passim.

villages of New Mexico saw as one of the major problems in the redirection of cultural development the creation of an esthetic consciousness. The strong criticism of America's attitude toward the humanities was accompanied by a passionate pledge to American soil and its potential for esthetic development. The group in New Mexico suggested that the exotic regional materials which they found be appreciated first for what they meant to the native Americans and secondly for what they represented in the general culture of the United States. Appreciation of native American art materials was urged, then, as a spiritual basis for developing a genuine culture and for the ultimate goal of cultural independence of Europe. Uppermost in the minds of the group at Santa Fe and Taos was the necessity of creating an awareness of the problem of cultural inadequacies and the disharmony created by industrialism. Perhaps the most important idea expressed by the group was that American values differed from those of Europe and that twentieth century American values needed reassessing.¹ New directions required a more comprehensive analysis of the United States as a whole--a one region emphasis being abandoned.

At the time when New Englanders and Midwesterners were debunking their own traditional values, it is not

¹See F. S. C. Northrop's discussion of Georgia O'Keefe in The Meeting of East and West.

surprising that Southwesterners would reject even more forcefully standards of the Genteel Tradition. As cultural centers, Santa Fe and Taos were leaders in the Southwest regional movement. Although it is very difficult to separate the economic interests of many citizens from those interests that were honestly cultural, many State activities begun during the early years of the century assumed a much greater intensity after the expatriates of the twenties began to praise regional resources which were not commercial. Without question, the cultural activities at Santa Fe and Taos helped to develop a regional self-consciousness which enhanced embryonic developments in all states of the Southwest and helped to shape a cultural tradition that was in accord with "a specific terrain"¹ and not a feeble echo of the standards of New England.

¹See Henry Nash Smith, "The Southwest: An Introduction," The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. XXV (May 16, 1942), pp. 5 - 6.

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