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Chapter 8

Mañana, Mañana: Racial Stereotypes and the Anglo Rediscovery of the Southwest's Vernacular Architecture, 1890–1920

Abigail A. Van Slyck

In many ways, the groundwork for the study of the Southwest's vernacular architecture was laid a century ago, when Anglo-American travelers began to reassess the landscapes they encountered in New Mexico, Arizona, and southern California. While adobe structures had prompted early-nineteenth-century visitors to characterize Santa Fe as "a filthy and dull city of mud," by the 1890s these same buildings were the focus of a full-fledged cultural revival supported by the railroad and the fledgling tourist industry.¹

Although architectural historians have long been aware of this phenomenon, our interpretation of it is now changing in important ways. Initially, David Gebhard and others presented the Spanish Colonial Revival as the *discovery* of the Southwest and sought out historical precedents in order to place revival buildings in objective, stylistic categories.² Working along these lines, historians praised designs that revealed a sophisticated understanding of authentic vernacular forms and either implicitly or explicitly interpreted formal accuracy as a thoroughgoing appreciation of southwestern cultures.

The same body of evidence, however, can be seen in a different light. Using Edward Said's study of Orientalism as a guide, scholars in many fields have come to see southwestern revivals less as the *discovery* of the Southwest as an existing cultural landscape and more as the *invention* of the Southwest as a fictive landscape that was constructed by Anglo-American newcomers.³ Scholars like Chris Wilson are working to reveal the process of selection and adaptation that translated this imaginative construct of the Southwest into built form.⁴

This essay builds on this second method of interpretation. Despite frequent references to Hispanic and Native-American building traditions, it is really about Anglo culture; it touches briefly on the Anglo creation of the image of the Southwest and focuses more specifically on Anglo responses to that image, both by professional architects and by those outside the design fields. Albeit sympathetic to southwestern cultures, this reaction was informed by contemporary theories of social Darwinism. Even the most socially progressive shared a belief in a racial and ethnic hierarchy, with western European culture (and its American offshoots) at its peak, and assumed that the progress of western Europe was the driving force of human history. As a result, the early-twentieth-century revivals of the Southwest's vernacular architecture did not constitute an "unalloyed admiration" of southwestern cultures. Instead, these revivals were predicated on racial stereotypes and an Anglo sense of racial superiority.

The Southwest and Antimodernism

The timing of the Anglo invention of the Southwest is hardly coincidental. The defeat of Geronimo in 1886 and the establishment of regular rail connections made the firsthand experience of mission and pueblo safer, faster, easier, and more economical than it had ever been before. More important, however, were the antimodernist sentiments developing farther east in the face of intense in-

dustrial development, massive European immigration, and rapid urbanization. In their otherness, in their apparent simplicity, primitiveness, and closeness to nature, southwestern cultures, their vernacular architectures, and their distinct, natural environments offered an appealing alternative to the modern industrial city.⁵

In this respect, southwestern architectural revivals are not so much a unique regional phenomenon as they are a regional manifestation of national and even international trends. Growing out of the Romantic tradition that emerged in the eighteenth century, southwestern revivals are western versions of English Colonial Revival styles popular in the same years and are subject to interpretations initially developed in conjunction with East Coast developments. Both eastern and western revivals were ultimately rooted in the Arts and Crafts movement of the late nineteenth century, particularly in their veneration of preindustrial traditions, in their respect for handicraft, and in their appreciation of primitive roughness. Both eastern and western revivals appealed initially to a cultured elite. Both eastern and western revivals appeared in settings devoted to leisure before being adopted for a full range of middle-class domestic buildings.⁶

More importantly, in both movements, this Arts and Crafts aesthetic took on particular social meaning in the context of late-nineteenth-century America. In the East, an intensely jingoistic Anglo-Saxon elite feared that massive European immigration endangered the moral and political foundations of the country. By establishing exclusive societies for those who could prove their blood ties to Mayflower passengers and Revolutionary soldiers, this elite used club membership to verify their early occupation of the continent and to support their claim to power. This same group then reiterated that political message in architectural form by building Colonial Revival homes for themselves, for their country clubs, and for their hereditary societies.⁷

The corresponding architectural movement in the Southwest was fueled by a similar desire to demonstrate Anglo-Saxon superiority, but it is not subject to an identical analysis. After all, in the Colonial Revival movement in the East, Anglo-Saxons mimicked buildings like Mount Vernon to underline the finer qualities of the culture of their forefathers and, by extension, used those forms to claim special status for themselves as descendants of earlier builders. In contrast, the Pueblo and Spanish Colonial Revivals appropriated the forms of alien groups, using them as foils against which to measure the assumed superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Los Angeles, ca. 1895

It seems contradictory for supporters of these southwestern revivals to emulate cultures that they viewed as inferior. Nonetheless, Charles F. Lummis and many of his contemporaries negotiated this contradiction successfully. An eastern-born, Harvard-trained journalist and one of the biggest boosters of the region he dubbed “the Southland,” Lummis is synonymous with the history of the Anglo rediscovery of this area. Having “tramped across the country” from Ohio to California in 1885, he made frequent and often sustained trips from his home base in Los Angeles throughout the American Southwest (particularly to the Pueblo settlements of New Mexico), as well as to Mexico and South America. Until his death in 1928, Lummis was the organizing force behind many pioneering efforts to protect the natural and cultural resources of the Southwest, including the Landmarks Club (to preserve the Spanish colonial missions of southern California), the Sequoia League (to secure better treatment of Native-American populations), and the Southwest Museum (to promote the study of southwestern archaeology). As the editor of *Out West* magazine until 1905 and as the author of numerous books about the Southwest, Lummis was responsible for bringing a scholarly understanding of Hispanic and Native-American cultures to a popular audience.⁸

Mixing romanticism and scholarship, Lummis's writings point to the complexities that characterized the Anglo reassessment of the Southwest. On the one hand, the understanding of archaeology and history that informed Lummis's writing impressed the scholarly community. When *The Land of Poco Tiempo* appeared in 1893, Frederick W. Hodge of the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, D.C., called it the best popular work on the Southwest yet published.⁹

The romantic imagery of Lummis's books, however, was still built upon stock images of the Southwest. For instance, the opening passages of *The Land of Poco Tiempo* introduced readers to New Mexico with these words:

Sun, silence, and adobe—that is New Mexico in three words. If a fourth were to be added, it need be only to clinch the three. It is the Great American Mystery—the National Rip Van Winkle—the United States which is *not* the 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 “Now! Now!” of the haggard States. The opiate sun soothes to rest, the adobe is made to lean against, the hush of day-long noon would not be broken. Let us not hasten—*mañana* will do. Better still, *pasado mañana*.¹⁰

The passage's primary purpose is to present the slower pace of New Mexican life in a positive light. Yet, the specific imagery conjured up—a figure napping outside all day against an adobe wall—is drawn directly from a longer tradition of negative stereotypes. Characterizations of New Mexico as “the national Rip Van Winkle” or (later in the same essay) of Mexicans as “in-bred and isolation-shrunken descendents of the Castilian world” or his choice of the burro as “the sole canonizable type of northern New Spain” call into question Lummis's admiration for the cultures he observed and his sensitivity to their religious beliefs.¹¹ If an

antimodernist outlook inverted old insults into new compliments, it did nothing to dispel the ethnic and racial stereotypes of Mexicans as lazy or Native Americans as backward. Instead, this strain of antimodernism reconfirmed the validity of these stereotypes. Indeed, its rhetorical effectiveness depended on them.

Particularly problematic in Lummis's writing is the continued use of the concept of the primitive, particularly in connection with Pueblo cultures. By labeling contemporary cultural practice as “primitive,” Lummis presented these cultures as basically simple, childlike, and essentially unchanging. Likewise, his use of Biblical analogies in stories like “A New Mexico David” at once ennobled his subjects for a Christian audience yet also cast them into a seemingly unretrievable past, a realm made doubly remote by its actual antiquity and by its popularly perceived ahistorical nature.¹²

The hierarchy of value is clear here. Indigenous cultures seemed to contribute to the species by providing an object lesson in the advantages of the simple life. Yet, in defining these cultures as essentially primitive and in presenting them as a collection of easily classifiable, static types, Lummis and his ilk also stripped them of their potential to act. Trapped in amber, these cultures appeared to be isolated outside the stream of evolution. In contrast, Anglo-Saxon culture inhabited a privileged position. Although urbanization and industrialization had led Anglo-Saxon society astray, this setback seemed temporary and reversible. Indeed, for Lummis, the importance of studying indigenous southwestern cultures was directly linked to the antimodernist assumption that the dominant culture could get back on the evolutionary track by relearning forgotten lessons of the simple life exhibited by “primitive” peoples. The implication was that Anglo-Saxons could learn and change, while the indigenous cultures would inevitably stay behind.

The inequality of cultures implied in Lummis's writing had an impact on the way that he and his

Fig. 8.1. Charles Lummis, El Alisal, Los Angeles, 1897–1910. Exterior. (Courtesy of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. Photo no. N 37848.)



contemporaries incorporated southwestern architectural forms into revival buildings. El Alisal, Lummis's own house in Los Angeles, is a good example (figs. 8.1 and 8.2). Standing on three acres of land in Arroyo Seco, less than four miles from downtown, the house was under construction between 1897 and 1910. With the help of young men of the Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico, Lummis built the house himself by collecting rocks from the property and cementing them in place to form a rugged exterior wall on the southern, entrance facade. The building is L-shaped, with a circular tower at the southwest corner linking the living areas behind the main facade and the dining room/kitchen wing on the west. These wings define a large patio dominated by a sprawling sycamore, one of thirty trees on the site for which the house was named.

In keeping with Lummis's philosophy that "a man's home should be part of himself," El Alisal reflects its owner's interest in and appreciation for several vernacular architectural traditions of the region.¹³ Forming walls from rocks collected on the site paralleled the construction methods used in ancient Anasazi cliff dwellings and in New Mexican missions built in the first half of the seventeenth century. The dining room's scalloped gable is a motif borrowed from California's Spanish mis-

sions. The single-pile arrangement of the house, the *zaguan* (or vestibule that links the entrance facade with the patio), the *portales* bordering the patio, and the patio itself are all drawn from Spanish colonial domestic architecture. Even the corner tower may refer to the defensive *torreon* employed by Spanish colonial settlers.

This wealth of visual references to regional architecture reflects the important role that El Alisal played in Lummis's rejection of the polish of Victorian culture and his lifelong struggle to escape what he called "the maw of 'snivelization.'"¹⁴ Yet, to interpret El Alisal only in relation to southwestern traditions is to misunderstand the building's complexity. In its construction, in the social structure of its space, and in its use, the house was embedded in the ideals and cultural practices of late Victorian culture.

The construction of El Alisal was closely linked to the Victorian idea of the single-family house as the most appropriate site for demonstrating individuality. Indeed, there was an element of theater in the construction process. The length of time that Lummis devoted to the house, the way that he continued to work on the house when visitors arrived—sometimes admonishing them to lend a hand—the fact that rough stonework appeared



Fig. 8.2. El Alisal. Museo.
(Courtesy of the Southwest
Museum, Los Angeles. Photo
no. N24267.)

only on the south and west facades, where visitors formed their first impressions of the house—in all of these ways, Lummis staged the construction of the house, controlling the impact his house would make on others. In this respect, the un-Victorian image of rough stone walls was the product of an extremely Victorian desire to create a unique expression of personal identity.

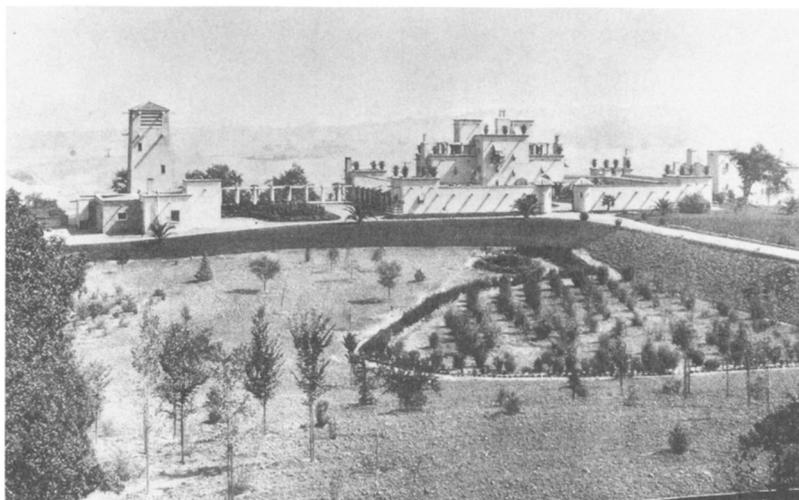
What is more, the theatrical performance emphasized the theme of masculinity. Lummis, for instance, regularly observed to visitors that “any damn fool can write a book. It takes a man to build a house.” In a similar vein, he repeatedly referred to the construction process as his “gymnasium,” inviting attention to his strength and fitness. Thus, Lummis did not simply reject Victorian culture in its entirety. Instead, he joined his contemporaries in decrying the impact of what was interpreted as excessive feminine influence on Victorian culture and in glorifying manly vigor as a means of regaining authentic culture.¹⁵

Given Lummis’s relationship to Victorian culture—he was critical of it, yet eager to work within it to reform its feminine excesses—it is hardly surprising that the social structure of space at El Alisal reflects Victorian norms.¹⁶ Functionally specialized rooms took on distinctive shapes and paralleled

standard Victorian uses. The room that functioned as the parlor was called the *museo*, perhaps a more accurate description of a room type conventionally devoted to display. Despite its single-pile plan, the house was zoned to maintain family privacy, both from visitors on formal calls and from household servants. The *zaguan* functioned much like the hall of the Victorian house, providing ready access to the *museo* at the front of the house, while family activities took place farther from the door (in this case, outside on the patio). The kitchen and laundry were relegated to the back of the house, shielding living spaces from the noise and activity of servants.¹⁷

The tone and content of the activities that took place at El Alisal are equally telling of Lummis’s participation in late Victorian culture. Elaborate salons that Lummis called “Noises” were complex social rituals in which spontaneity was more or less orchestrated. These events typically began with a mock trial, presided over by Lummis himself, “dressed in a tightfitting buckskin coat, covering a soft-bosomed, Spanish drawnwork shirt, which revealed the vivid red Bayeta undershirt beneath” and wielding an old Spanish pistol that he rapped on the table to call the proceedings to order. Newcomers to the groups were arrested and tried for “not knowing what a real, old California

Fig. 8.3. A. C. Schweinfurth, Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, Pleasanton, California, 1895-96. Exterior. (From Barr Ferree, *American Estates and Gardens* [New York, 1906], 213.)



good time was." After the prosecution and defense had presented their cases, the neophytes were formally acquitted and dinner began. The multicourse meal was prepared by Lummis's cook, Elena, and served by Amate, a Spanish folksinger who did double duty as Lummis's gardener. Music was an important part of the meal. Circling the table between courses, Amate played the guitar and sang Mexican and Spanish songs, while everyone present was expected to join in at the chorus. Sometimes "Lummis would put down his fork, pick up the Spanish pistol, and point it at someone around the table. Then that someone would be commanded to sing for his supper."¹⁸

In these "Noises," we see most clearly that El Alisal was still essentially a Victorian household. Despite the trappings of the Spanish colonial era, this sort of ritualized fun was closely related to contemporary modes of middle-class socializing. Mock seriousness, the threat of violence followed by sociability, even the emphasis on full participation in the evening's entertainment—these could be found throughout the country, from fraternity parties to the annual encampment at Bohemian Grove north of San Francisco.¹⁹

More important, these events reveal that Lummis's intellectual and emotional appreciation of Hispanic and Native-American cultures did not

translate easily or automatically into social practice. Like any other Victorian household, El Alisal's success as a setting for gracious living and memorable hospitality was predicated on the presence of servants, whose inferior position was reinforced by differences of race or ethnicity as well as those of class. Although Lummis adopted Spanish dress, he seemed to take for granted his place at the top of a power hierarchy in which race and ethnicity were both components.

In this context, El Alisal's vernacular elements remained largely superficial. The rough stone walls, the scalloped gable, the corner fireplaces, the Native-American baskets and rugs that decorated the house, even the glass transparencies depicting Native Americans incorporated into the glazing of the front window all functioned essentially as Victorian parlor decorations. Together, they helped convey to visitors a sense of the owner's aesthetic taste, but they were not offered as a serious challenge to the belief in the superiority of Western culture.

Lummis's Impact

By promoting southwestern cultures on many fronts, Lummis helped foster an interest in the region that spread far beyond its immediate geographical boundaries. At times, Lummis's impact

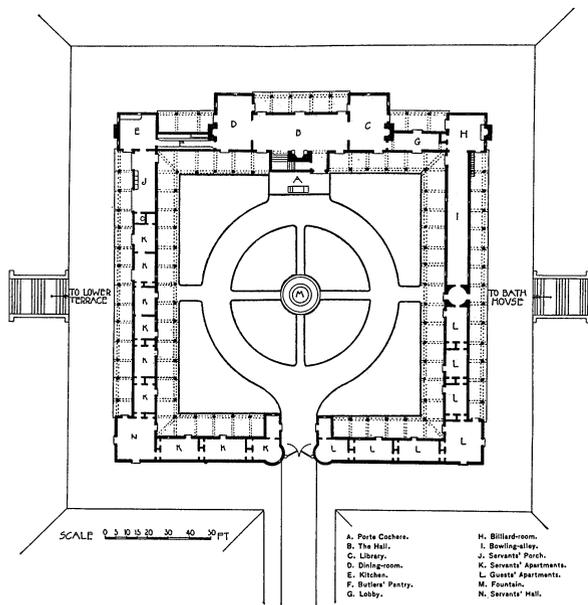


Fig. 8.4. Hacienda del Pozo de Verona. Plan. (From *American Architect and Building News*, May 2, 1896, 46.)

was direct and easily documented, as in 1895 when San Francisco architect A. C. Schweinfurth designed a country house for William Randolph Hearst (figs. 8.3 and 8.4). Located in Pleasanton, California, the house came to be called the Hacienda del Pozo de Verona, after the Italian well-head installed in its courtyard. Like Lummis's slightly later El Alisal, the Hacienda was inspired by vernacular structures of the Southwest. Indeed, it combined an exterior massing reminiscent of Pueblo forms with a single-pile courtyard plan drawn from Spanish colonial prototypes.²⁰ Also like El Alisal, the Hacienda functioned essentially like a Victorian house, with functionally specialized rooms carefully arranged to preserve family privacy both from visitors and from household servants who maintained the complex.

The architect articulated his debt to Lummis more fully in his letters to Phoebe Hearst, who appropriated the newly completed house from her son. Hoping to dissuade Mrs. Hearst from hanging French tapestries, which would destroy the stylis-

tic unity of the house, Schweinfurth explained that he intended the house as "a place where a man tired out with the cares and responsibilities of an active metropolitan life could find absolute change . . . where everything would express . . . that he was in the land of *poco tiempo*, and where the feeling of *mañana, mañana* could be cultivated."²¹ In quoting the title of Lummis's book and in paraphrasing one of its more memorable passages, the architect revealed both his familiarity with the author's writing and his acceptance of Lummis's cultural stereotypes of unhurrying, lazy New Mexicans. Further, Schweinfurth cited this negative stereotype as the basis for his design decisions. Hispanic and Native-American forms were appropriate in this commission, he suggested, as a means of giving the client a house that would counterweight his "natural" Anglo activity. Schweinfurth's goal was not simply to promote the laziness associated with the region's non-Anglo cultures, but to achieve a balance of Anglo and southwestern cultural stereotypes.

In the end, Mrs. Hearst mixed Native-American baskets and blankets with her substantial collection of European antiques, and installed the lot in this southwestern architectural setting. This mixture may have infuriated her architect, but it reflected her perception of southwestern elements as the latest trend in parlor furnishings. Like European tapestries, they demonstrated the owner's personal taste and buying power, without signaling a fundamental reassessment of late Victorian cultural values.

Santa Fe, ca. 1915

By the second decade of the twentieth century, Lummis's approach to the Southwest's vernacular architecture had been transformed, largely because of developments that Lummis himself had actively encouraged. To begin with, the recognition that an exotic architectural image could attract tourist dollars fueled the revival of Hispanic and Native-American architectural forms in other parts of the

Fig. 8.5. A. Page Brown (A. C. Schweinfurth, designer), California Building, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. Exterior. (The Chicago Public Library, Special Collections Division.)



Southwest. What is more, Lummis's involvement with the preservation and restoration of southern California's vernacular buildings prompted his admirers to look at the cultural resources in their own backyards. Armed with firsthand knowledge of their own regions, decision makers in New Mexico and Arizona abandoned many of the motifs that Lummis had popularized, adopting instead a repertoire of distinctive forms that they hoped would set them apart from California in the minds of prospective tourists and investors.²²

The most intense focus of activity in this later phase of the southwestern vernacular revivals was certainly Santa Fe.²³ In Santa Fe the movement was spearheaded by the anthropologists and artists associated with the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico. As one of the founding board members of the school and as a regent of the museum, Lummis was well known to these scholars.²⁴ Museum director Edgar Lee Hewett particularly liked and admired Lummis, whom he acknowledged as the "chief spokesman of the Southwest." Their long correspondence reflects the warmth of their affection for one another and reveals that Hewett's attitudes toward historic preservation were anchored in the same

body of Arts and Crafts theory that motivated his friend.²⁵

Despite common interests, however, Santa Fe's academically trained anthropologists approached the revival of southwestern forms somewhat differently. For one thing, their professional interest in non-Western cultures resulted in an explicit veneration of Pueblo culture and an implicit devaluation of Hispanic traditions. This Indianism among museum personnel developed steadily, albeit somewhat unevenly, during the last half of the 1910s and is particularly clear in the staff's published discussion of New Mexico's Spanish colonial mission churches. In 1915, for instance, staff archaeologist Sylvanus Morley emphasized the Spanish elements of New Mexico's missions, characterizing the church at Acoma as the oldest European structure in New Mexico, while decrying the "martyrdom" of Spanish *padres* who died there during the Pueblo rebellion of 1680.²⁶ In contrast, when Hewett wrote about the missions just three years later, he invoked "the hands of Indian workmen" who gave the missions "the character of that remarkable race."²⁷ This attitude was reiterated by staff artist Carlos Vierra, who argued that New Mexico's missions had more to do with the Indian



Fig. 8.6. Rapp and Rapp, New Mexico Building, Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, California, 1915. Exterior. (Jesse L. Nusbaum, Courtesy Museum of New Mexico. Negative no. 60254.)

culture of the builders than with the Spanish culture of the *padres*.²⁸ Although couched in historical terms, the erasure of Hispanic contributions to southwestern culture was equally embedded in a contemporary context of intensified anti-Mexican sentiments, fueled in part by Pancho Villa's raids and an influx of poor Mexican immigrants fleeing the revolution.²⁹

Equally important, the mantle of scholarly objectivity allowed the museum staff to accomplish more in the way of promoting southwestern revivals than even the energetic Lummis. They not only sought to preserve the historic structures of Santa Fe, but they also used the museum's prestige to push for a new architecture based upon the state's vernacular traditions. Hewett and Morley both served on Santa Fe's first city planning board, the group that carried out the re-Hispanicizing of the city's street names and architectural character. In the same years, the museum's journal, *El Palacio*, often highlighted articles on preservation and restoration, even at the expense of scholarly articles on anthropological topics.³⁰

At first glance, the architectural products of this phase do not seem substantially different from their 1890s counterparts. In 1893, for instance,

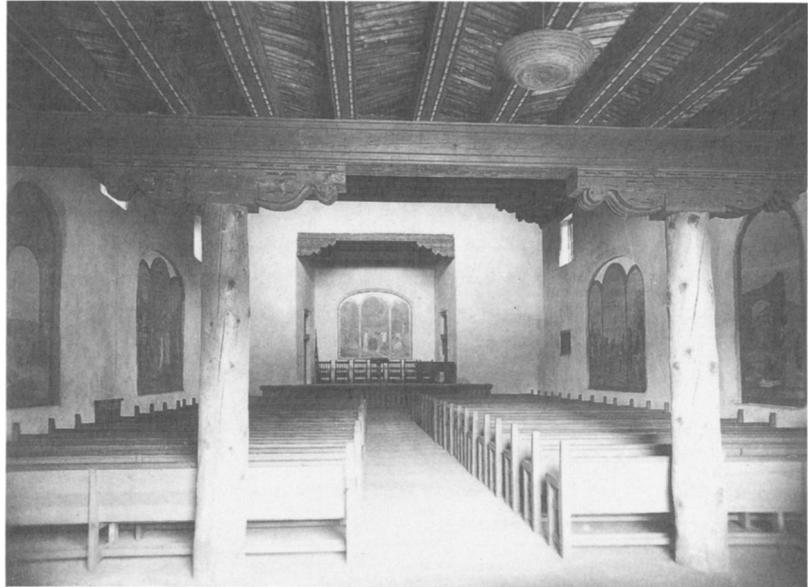
Schweinfurth (while working in the office of A. Page Brown) had designed the Mission Revival California Building for the World's Columbian Exposition by combining elements drawn from California's best-preserved missions (fig. 8.5).³¹ Over twenty years later, the New Mexico building at the 1915 San Diego Exposition was the product of a similar approach. There, architects Ira H. and W. M. Rapp combined the general plan of the mission church at Acoma with a facade balcony borrowed either from the Cochiti pueblo church or from the mission church at San Felipe (fig. 8.6).

To the extent that such fairs attempted to make sense of the modern world by presenting an orderly model of its constituent parts, this eclectic approach was an appropriate one. At the very least, each building served as a mini tour of its state's missions, giving visitors an opportunity to locate the Southwest's Hispanic past on their mental maps of American history. Better yet, these buildings might prompt visitors to make a trip to the real thing.³²

Yet, in each building, the combination of motifs was motivated by the conviction that the vernacular traditions presented were actually improved by contact with Anglo culture. In the case of the New Mexico building, this assumption was explicitly articulated by the scholars on the museum staff who had collaborated on the building's design. Morley, for instance, explained that "the introduction of a second story balcony between the two towers of the church considerably relieves the monotony of the façade and lightens an otherwise too massive effect" of the original at Acoma.³³ At home in Santa Fe, they based the museum's new Fine Arts Building on their successful exposition building, further "improving" the vernacular originals by using the Laguna church as the model for a new side entrance.³⁴

After the fair, the conviction that Anglo scholarship could and should control the revival of southwestern architectural forms prompted the museum staff to take an increasingly prominent role in

Fig. 8.7. Rapp and Rapp, Fine Arts Building, Museum of New Mexico, Sante Fe, New Mexico, 1916-17. St. Francis Hall. (Wesley Bradfield, Courtesy Museum of New Mexico. Negative no. 6741.)



Santa Fe's development. Indeed, it was the common ground that united Morley, who continued to favor a revival of Spanish colonial forms, and Vierra, the self-appointed spokesman for the Pueblo revival. Although he worked for the museum as an artist, Vierra supported the scholarly community's claim to leadership in this field, identifying "analysis of the influences which controlled the development of the original" as the quality that distinguished reproduction (which he favored) from mere imitation.³⁵ Morley disagreed with the particular forms Vierra advocated, but shared his conviction that scholars had a responsibility to lead the way. His own contributions included service on the city planning board, authorship of a 1912 report defining the characteristics of the Santa Fe style, and continuing efforts to promote a popular understanding of these characteristics.³⁶

The participation of these anthropologists in the creation of the Santa Fe style complicated the popular understanding of the Southwest's vernacular traditions. The scholarly authority that their work commanded meant that most lay observers accepted their reconstructions as valid replacements for the original buildings. The Fine Arts Building was par-

ticularly influential with locals, who seem to have looked upon it as a repository of approved motifs. Even with the growing popularity of Pueblo forms after 1915, the museum's narrow range of Spanish colonial elements appear repeatedly in the public buildings around the city's plaza.³⁷

The museum's involvement in the Santa Fe style also led to more serious misunderstandings, particularly for countless tourists who visited Santa Fe only once. Lillian Gunter, of Gainesville, Texas, was one such visitor, who arrived in 1924 to attend a meeting of the American Library Association. Impressed by the distinctive architectural environment she encountered there, she found it easy to mistake the reconstruction for the genuine article.

More important, Gunter used her impression of Santa Fe to articulate her ideas about the proper form for the small library for the Southwest. In her diary, she recorded a clear vision of the ideal southwestern library as "a blue eyed adobe hut, with a beamed and stick ceiling just like St. Francis hall in the state museum . . . whitewash tempered with a little yellow ochre on the outside, blue doors and window sash, red barn paint for the roof, and inside a neutral color on the walls with

all the furniture painted a lovely soft blue."³⁸ How telling that her model of an ideal southwestern architecture was neither a mission building nor a Native-American pueblo, but a room only eight years old, in a building designed by architects born in Illinois, decorated with murals planned and executed by academically trained artists (fig. 8.7). Convinced by the museum's scholarly reputation, she readily accepted the modern, Anglicized version of southwestern vernacular traditions as the real thing.³⁹

At the same time, her reference to a blue-eyed adobe suggests that there was a racial component to her choice, that her ideal was a building inspired by Hispanic traditions, but "corrected" by the contributions of Anglo-Saxons. In fact, Gunter implemented her vision of the blue-eyed adobe in the Negro branch library opened in Gainesville's colored school in that same year.⁴⁰ Although Gunter wrote about the "gorgeous" blue-and-orange bookcases without any hint of irony, the situation in Gainesville reveals a complex intertwining of racial and architectural ideas.



What had changed in this thirty-year period? In the 1890s, Lummis had operated on the basis of assumptions he had inherited from the Victorian world. A strong faith in the tenets of bourgeois individualism made him unaware of the degree to which his race and class were responsible for many of the privileges he enjoyed. Confident in what he interpreted as his right to move freely into any cultural setting, he sought to insert himself into the vernacular building process he had encountered in the Southwest. Without recognizing the impact of his presence on the process, he offered to carry on the architectural traditions of a culture he assumed was ill-equipped to adapt to the modern world.

In contrast, the scholars active in Santa Fe a generation later were more aware of the gap that existed between the established cultures of the Southwest and their own group of Anglo newcomers. Rather than repeat Lummis's somewhat naive attempts to bridge the gap, their response was to appropriate vernacular forms. Using the tools of analysis and classification, they conceptually detached these forms from their original contexts and brought them into the realm of professional expertise that the scholars themselves inhabited.

In either case, it is difficult to interpret the Spanish Colonial and Pueblo Revivals as evidence of a thoroughgoing celebration of Hispanic and indigenous cultures. The antimodernist stance that prompted those revivals depended heavily on racial and ethnic stereotypes and used them consistently to establish a privileged position for Anglo-American culture. In fact, racist attitudes lying just below the surface affected both how Anglo Americans perceived southwestern vernacular architectures and how they used these building traditions between 1890 and 1920.

For students of vernacular architecture, this historical episode has particularly chilling implications. After all, at its founding the field of vernacular architecture studies shared both information and cultural attitudes with Colonial Revival movements, both in the Southwest and in the Northeast. Although Lummis's eastern counterparts claimed an objective, scientific basis for their scholarship, they were often sustained by similar nationalistic sentiments and assumptions of cultural superiority. Until we confront the values embedded in the traditions of our field, we run the risk of reiterating the values of the 1890s and imperil an inclusive understanding of cultural landscapes in the 1990s.⁴¹

Notes

I would like to thank Chris Wilson for sharing with me his expertise on the history of Santa Fe. His comments on an early draft of this paper and our subsequent discussions have helped sharpen my thinking about the issues addressed here. My thanks also go to Paul Ivey for his careful and timely reading of this text.

1. Raymund A. Paredes, "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1831–1869," *New Mexico Historical Review* 52 (Jan. 1977): 7. For the railroad's role in southwestern revivals, see Virginia Grattan, *Mary Colter: Builder on the Red Earth* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1980; reprint, Grand Canyon, Ariz.: Grand Canyon Natural History Association, 1992).
2. David Gebhard, "The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895–1930)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26 (May 1967): 131–47.
3. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). *The Journal of the Southwest* recently devoted an entire issue (32 [4] [Winter 1990]) to "Inventing the Southwest," with contributions by Barbara Babcock, Marta Wiegler, Sylvia Rodríguez, and others.
4. Christopher Wilson, "The Santa Fe, New Mexico Plaza: An Architectural and Cultural History, 1610–1921," (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1981); Wilson, "New Mexico in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction," in *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, ed. Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, and Fred G. Sturm (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), 175–94; Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Tourism, Ethnic Identity and the Creation of a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming).
5. For a discussion of antimodernism, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).
6. The relationship of these revivals to the Romantic movement is discussed in Wilson, "New Mexico in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction"; for English Colonial Revivals on the East Coast, see Karal Ann Marling, *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876–1986* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); Alan Axelrod, ed., *The Colonial Revival in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985); William Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival*, 2 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977).
7. Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival*, 1: 434–41, 535.
8. For information on Lummis's multifaceted career, see Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1986); Daniela P. Moneta, ed., *Charles F. Lummis: The Centennial Exhibition Commemorating his Tramp Across the Continent* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1985); Robert E. Fleming, *Charles F. Lummis* (Boise, Idaho: Boise State University, 1981); Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis, Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955).
9. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis*, 16–19.
10. Charles F. Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893; reprint, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 3.
11. Lummis, *Poco Tiempo*, 5, 10.
12. A notable example of Lummis's Biblical comparisons is his *A New Mexico David and Other Stories and Sketches of the Southwest* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891).
13. Quoted in Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis*, 22.
14. Charles F. Lummis, Letter to Edgar L. Hewett, Jan. 7, 1927, quoted in Edgar L. Hewett, "Lummis the Inimitable," *Papers of the School of American Research* 35 (1944): 11.
15. Lummis is quoted in Hewett, "Lummis the Inimitable," 3. For Lummis's concern with virility, see Susan Reyner Kenneson, "Through the Looking-Glass: A History of Anglo-American Attitudes Toward the Spanish Americans

- and Indians of New Mexico," (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1978), 265–66. For a discussion of the general cultural trend, see Lears, *No Place of Grace*; see also Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Gender and Space in American Public Libraries, 1890–1920," *SIROW Working Paper 27* (1992).
16. The idea of identifying a social structure of space that is independent of a formally consistent plan type was developed in Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," in *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986), 315–35.
 17. There was such a clear distinction between public and private rooms at El Alisal that when Lummis deeded the house to the Southwest Museum in 1910, he was able to stipulate that the three museum rooms (presumably, *zaguan*, *museo*, and dining room) were to be open to the public during certain hours each week, while his family and descendents were to have tenure of the remaining rooms forever. Dudley Gordon, "El Alisal: the House that Lummis Built," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 35 (Mar. 1953): 26.
 18. *Ibid.*, 25–26.
 19. At Bohemian Grove, the elite members of the all-male Bohemian Club still begin their annual two-week retreat with an elaborate ritual that culminates in burning the body of Dull Care. The ritualized aspect of the Bohemian Club's activities first manifested itself in the late 1880s and was in full flower by around 1900. John van der Zee, *The Greatest Men's Party on Earth: Inside the Bohemian Grove* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1974), 28–30.
 20. Despite its name (and in contrast to El Alisal), the Hearst house owes less to the forms of the Spanish colonial hacienda than it does to Spanish colonial military outposts. Richard Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World: Four Architects in San Francisco at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1983), 283.
 21. A. C. Schweinfurth, Letter to Edward H. Clark, Dec. 20, 189[5], Phoebe Apperson Hearst Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
 22. While this phenomenon is well documented for New Mexico, the Arizona component of the story has been largely ignored. The Arizona work of Henry Trost has been touched on in Lloyd C. Engelbrecht and June-Marie F. Engelbrecht, *Henry C. Trost: Architect of the Southwest* (El Paso: El Paso Public Library Association, 1981). The architects associated with the office of Henry O. Jaastad (including Prentice Duell, Annie G. Rockfellow, and Eleazar D. ["Ed"] Herreras) deserve further investigation.
 23. Wilson, "The Santa Fe, New Mexico Plaza"; Wilson, "New Mexico in the Tradition of Romantic Reaction"; Nicholas C. Markovich, "Santa Fe Renaissance: City Planning and Stylistic Preservation, 1912," in *Pueblo Style and Regional Architecture*, ed. Nicholas C. Markovich, Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, and Fred G. Sturm (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), 197–212.
 24. Indeed, Lummis's interest in the Museum of New Mexico was interpreted by the curator of the Southwest Museum as "promoting a rival museum" and was one of the causes of his 1915 break with the Los Angeles institution that he had founded. Daniela P. Moneta and Patricia A. Butz, "Lummis in California Life," in Moneta, *Charles F. Lummis*, 59.
 25. The tone of the Lummis-Hewett correspondence is clear from the lengthy excerpts that Hewett published in 1944. Hewett, "Lummis the Inimitable," 6–13.
 26. Sylvanus Griswold Morley, "Santa Fe Architecture," *Old Santa Fe* 2 (Jan. 1915): 279.
 27. Edgar L. Hewett, "On Opening the New Museum," *Art and Archaeology* 7 (Jan.–Feb. 1918): 13.
 28. Carlos Vierra, "New Mexico Architecture," *Art and Archaeology* 7 (Jan.–Feb. 1918): 40.
 29. For a discussion of the relationship between Indianism and anti-Mexicanism in the early twentieth century, see Sylvia Rodríguez, "Art, Tourism, and Race Relations in Taos: Toward a Sociology of the Art Colony," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45 (Spring 1989): 77–99. For the historical context of anti-Mexican sentiments in 1910s and 1920s, see Joseph V. Metzgar, "The Ethnic Sensitivity of Spanish New Mexicans: A Survey and Analysis," *New Mexico Historical Review* 49 (Jan. 1974): 49–73.

30. Wilson, "The Santa Fe, New Mexico Plaza," 127–42.
31. Longstreth, *On the Edge of the World*, 265.
32. For an extended discussion of the cultural meaning of the World's Fair phenomenon, see Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (London and Berkeley: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983).
33. Morley, "Santa Fe Architecture," 298.
34. The tendency to improve on the original by combining motifs derived from many different buildings is also a dominant theme in English Colonial Revival movements on the East Coast. Bridget A. May, "Progressivism and the Colonial Revival: The Modern Colonial House, 1900–1920," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26 (Summer/Autumn 1991): 107–22; *The American Renaissance, 1876–1917* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1979), 57–61; Marling, *Washington Slept Here*, 156–59.
35. Carlos Vierra, "Our Native Architecture in its Relation to Santa Fe," *Papers of the School of American Archaeology* 39 (1917): 2. Vierra was a Californian who had received his artistic training in New York before moving to New Mexico as a treatment for tuberculosis. Wilson, "The Santa Fe, New Mexico Plaza," 141.
36. The details of the Vierra-Morley debate are well documented in Wilson, "The Santa Fe, New Mexico Plaza," 140–41, and Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*.
37. These include the Federal Building, the La Fonda Hotel, and the Cassell Building (also known as the Onate Theater). Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe*.
38. Lillian Gunter Diary, entry of Sept. 7, 1924, Lillian Gunter Papers, Archives Division, Texas State Library.
39. For detailed information on St. Francis Hall and its decorations, see J. K. Shishkin, *An Early History of the Museum of New Mexico Fine Arts Building* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1968).
40. Lillian Gunter Diary, entries of Sept. 20, 1924, Oct. 6, 1924, Lillian Gunter Papers, Archives Division, Texas State Library.
41. For a more detailed discussion of the social attitudes of Norman Morrison Isham, Irving Whitall Lyon, and Henry Chapman Mercer, see Dell Upton, "Outside the Academy: A Century of Vernacular Architecture Studies, 1890–1990," in *The Architectural Historian in America*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 199–213. In a similar vein, Catherine Bishir has demonstrated the extent to which we service professionals bring a class bias to our study of vernacular architecture. Catherine W. Bishir, "Yuppies, Bubbas, and the Politics of Culture," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, III*, ed. Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 8–15.