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Front Cover: Tumacácori National Monument, an example of authentic Spanish mission architecture, is preserved as a ruin by the National Park Service, 2005. Photograph by Eric Steiger.

The Commodification of Contested Images:
Packaging and Selling the American Southwest
A Collective Approach to Practicing History

Barry Alan Joyce

For five weeks during the summer of 2005, Cristina Turdean, Andrew Bozanic, and Eric Steiger from the University of Delaware's Hagley and Museum Studies graduate programs in history journeyed across the American Southwest as part of a field research project designed and directed by myself. This program, conducted in conjunction with the university's study abroad program, enabled them, over the course of five weeks, to interact with and study more than fifty widely varied historical and cultural sites relevant to their areas of study. Contained in this issue of the Nevada Historical Society Quarterly are three articles that describe the results of their research, plus commentary by Professor Leah Dilworth, author of *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*.

The American Southwest is the ideal place for such a project; it is a defined region where the harsh contrasts of the physical landscape sustain a unique historical consciousness born of thousands of years of continuous habitation. Such a combination conjures the past as present and vice versa. It is a richly spiced region with a unique savor that has enticed a steady stream of artists, academics, tourists, and other myth seekers hungry for the taste of the authentic and the exotic.

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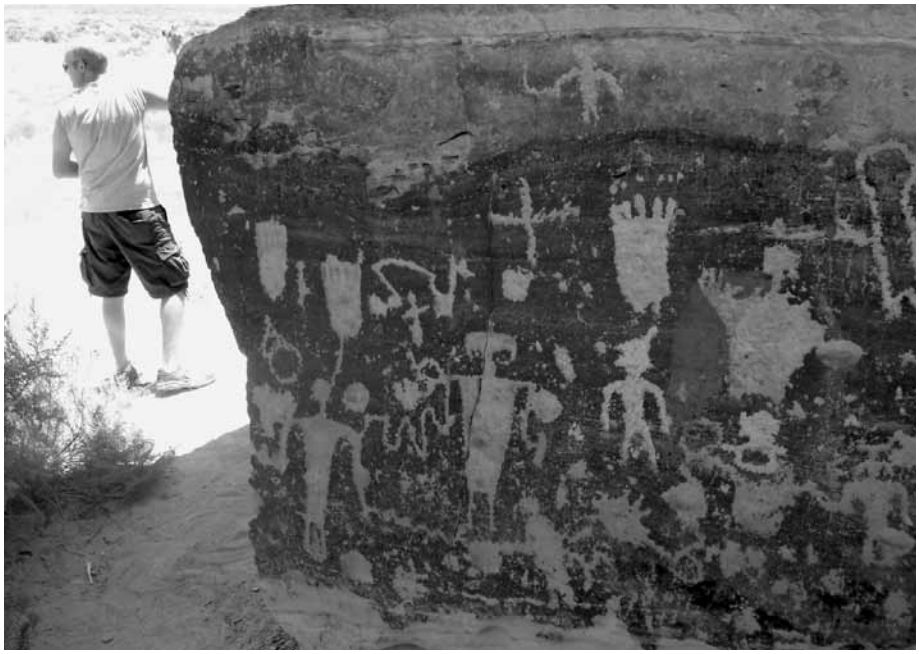
Introduction

The unique design of this project blurred, challenged, and occasionally transgressed traditional modes of historical research. Best of all: We were nearly three thousand miles from a seminar room, department office, or any other institutionalized edifice that would distract from the experiential nature of this project. And that was the point. The hierarchical boundaries separating the role of detached researcher from those of gazing tourist and cultural participant became permeable. This process encouraged a novel approach to practicing history, enabling participants to collect an unusual array of data and evidence otherwise partitioned off and quarantined by academic conventions. It resulted in richly textured interactions with the diverse people who inhabit the Southwest: From national and state park rangers fulfilling their charge to protect, preserve, and interpret, to vendors hawking their personal pieces of the Southwest; from old cowboys intent upon remembering the Southwest "as it really was," to museum specialists spinning their own yarns about their importance in the region's hierarchy; from preservationists and archeologists assembling snapshots from the past for display, to Hopi clowns reversing the ethnographic gaze during a Niman Kachina ceremony. This experience also opened up the possibilities for fascinating juxtapositions, as expressed in these papers: The Colonial Baroque splendor of Mission San Xavier del Bac versus the Najavo Code Talker exhibit at Kayenta's Burger King; or "ephemeral, ahistorical" Las Vegas versus an "authentic and traditional" Badger Dance Kachina ceremony.

My role as "tour guide" and van driver was to evoke a learning environment that positioned students for a deeply rich and transforming learning experience. Ideally, this positioning should be intellectual, pedagogical, psychological, and geographic. I wanted participants to confront and grapple on site with terms tossed about back in their seminar conference rooms: notions such as *tradition, authenticity, commodification, sacredness, stewardship, ethnicity, preservation*. But first, I asked them to set aside the Urim and Thummin of theory in order to witness the "acting out" of these concepts with their own eyes, and only then join in the fray to wrestle with and momentarily pin these ideas down at the very spot where they are lived and experienced. Searching for knowledge and understanding solely through the lenses of theory is analogous to hiring the notorious tour guides who insist upon interposing themselves between clients and the people and places encountered. The journey disintegrates into an endeavor mostly experienced by gazing through the tinted, smudged windows of the company tour bus.

Acute observers from Herman Melville to Barre Toelken have long cautioned us about our propensity to fashion definitive conclusions about culture—and reshape reality—with tools alien and incongruous to the people and places we set out to explain.[1] No apparatus may be as guilty of this transgression as post-colonial theory. Obviously, not everyone in

Andy Bozanic interviews National Park Service historic preservation workers at Bandelier National Monument, 2005. Photograph by author.



Eric Steiger ponders the plethora of rock inscriptions at a site on the Hopi Reservation, 2005. Photograph by author.

the academic world would agree with this assessment, as Leah Dilworth's commentary suggests. It is hoped that discussions such as those presented in this issues will encourage researchers to continually and critically reflect upon their choices of theoretical tools. This field research project has striven to reintroduce the experiential moment into the quest for understanding, if for no other reason than to ground our shifting theoretical ruminations with real places and real people.

It was not my intent to play the role of academic anarchist. Instead, I strove to move each student off center just a bit, to open up a bit of space between their received knowledge and what they were experiencing, and to encourage them to compare what they learned "back at the ranch" to what they experienced during our travels in the Southwest—all in the hope that they would be better equipped to sift out the rhetorical chaff and posturing from what is truly useful, insightful, and enlightening in their graduate school experience.

This research project contained four stages: (1) preplanning, (2) the journey itself, (3) reflections and struggles upon returning, and (4) articulating and sharing the results of stages one through three. Formative assessments were stressed throughout the project, with each stage representing a key benchmark in the learning process. Stage One involved meetings of the participants to decide upon a focus for the project. Drawing upon their collective fields of study, which included history, historic preservation, museum studies, and tourism, we mapped out our plan to gather and marshal visual, ethnographic, and artifact evidence in an attempt to expose the historical and cultural processes that promote *The Packaging and Selling of the American Southwest*. Together we chose the nine books that made up the core reading material. We also composed a shared set of essential questions pertaining to our focus topic that all of the participants would address through the lenses of their particular fields of study:

> What impact has the packaging and selling of the American Southwest had on the history and culture of this region?
>
> Why has the American Southwest historically been the subject of such intense commodification?

How has this process contributed to the allure of the Southwest as a "unique and authentic" region?

In addition to our essential questions, each participant developed a set of discipline-specific research questions that helped to structure their individual field research projects.

Stage Two was the trip itself, a fast-paced, intense five-week journey traversing the American Southwest in a rented van, sharing food, lodging, and

Cristina Turdean surveys Frijoles Canyon from the vantage point of Alcove House, a kiva reconstructed in 1910 by Jesse Nusbaum, 2005. Photograph by author.

insights. This method of skimming along the Southwest invariably produced frustration for all, as each site that we visited was ripe with possibilities for extended study. However, digging deeply into just one site was not the objective. The multiplicity—indeed the rapidity—of sites visited kept us focused upon the essential questions and the regionalized processes that we were seeking to understand. It also forced us to be at once researchers, tourists, and participants in the very processes that we were investigating, and to continually share our experiences and insights. We incessantly reflected upon our progress in journal entries and reports, formal meetings, and especially during those long van rides across the magnificent landscape of the Southwest. We kept the pot stirred; questions—and answers—were never

allowed to congeal too rigidly. They were constantly revisited, reevaluated, elevated and demoted as the journey unfolded. Over the course of the trip, two other key questions surfaced:

> Just who is doing the packaging and selling of this region?
>
> How has this commodification shaped the self-identity of those who reside in the Southwest?

We returned to Delaware tanned and inspired, but alas, with few solid answers to our essential questions. Thus, Stage Three turned out to be the most difficult and challenging aspect of the project, albeit the most important in terms of meeting our learning goals and objectives. Participants now had to assemble evidence and insights gained from the trip in order to make an argument that would help the group address the questions they had deemed "essential" to understanding the American Southwest. But where was the evidence? Where were the texts to reference what they had experienced as "Bahana [white people] dancers" during a Kachina Badger ceremony? How to footnote a Navajo elder's fireside solo performance of "Heartbreak Hotel?" Or analyze exactly why you bought that vase, even though you knew it was not really "authentic?" Or capture in an academic paper the sullen glares directed toward your Tombstone State Park ranger guide by the good shop-owners along Main Street's "town too tough to die?"

Eventually Eric, Cristina and Andy found a way to do so successfully, as evidenced by their accomplishments in Stage Four. We first presented our results at an international conference in January 2006. After a year of discussion and refining, we next shared our conclusions at the 2007 conference of the American Historical Association. Being featured in their "experimental" category allowed us the liberty to incorporate artifacts, visuals, and Bozanic's trusty disposable camera into our presentation. We were thrilled to have Leah Dilworth join us at the AHA as session discussant. The articles that follow in this issue reflect yet another phase in this collective learning process—publication and a return of sorts to a more traditional mode of presentation.

I have often pondered upon my role in this project. Was I just The Tour Guide? A savvy van driver? The ubiquitous facilitator? No…well, yes, sort of… but actually, something else. The footprints of my own conceptual framework for this project are evident. I chose the sites that we visited, set up many of the contacts, and determined the order in which each site was visited. We were not wandering aimlessly in the desert! I contributed significantly to the trip's narrative by erecting various guideposts and scaffolds that we encountered along the way. But I would hesitate to call this experience programmed. Happily, I returned to the Southwest with a second group of graduate students

in 2006, and a third in 2008. Although the itinerary was nearly the same, the experiences, reactions, insights, and eventual conclusions of each group have turned out to be markedly different from the 2005 participants.

The following three articles are the product of four individuals who congealed into a learning cohort. We have spent three years ruminating and reflecting upon those five weeks in the desert. Our ideas, perspectives, and subsequent research continue to reflect this continuing, collective process. Read collectively, they offer insights into the contradictions that make the American Southwest such a compelling region to experience—contradictions that we never quite resolved. And yes, that was also a crucial element of this learning project. Too often, the graduate school experience degenerates into an initiation rite akin to academic hazing, where the sole purpose is to pass muster through the memorization and recitation of the prevailing disciplinary mantra. Graduate school *should* be an organic experience in which students are continually engaged in reflecting and revising, adding to and deleting concepts, transferring and applying knowledge to address each new experience encountered. As teachers, we should be collaborating with our students to nurture personal discovery, original thought, and the informed, formative construction of a personal perspective. Instead of beating creativity and imagination out of graduate students (or professors, for that matter) with the big stick of dogma, we should allow them, in the words of Herbert Butterfield, to "pick up the end of the stick" in order to investigate the world upwards, backwards, sideways, and down.[2]

And for that, there's nothing better than a road trip!

Notes

[1]Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life during a Four Month's Residence in a Valley of the Marquesas* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846); Barre Toelken, *The Anguish of Snails: Native American Folklore in the West* (Logan: University of Utah Press, 2003).

[2]Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science* (London: Bell Press, 1950).

Contested Images and Historical Authenticity:
History Museums and Historic Sites in the American Southwest

Cristina Turdean

The idea that history museums are going through an era of intense transformation has become a cliché in the discourse of both museum staff and the public at large. A plethora of recent books, scholarly articles, and newspaper columns shed light on the complex dynamics of the process that pundits call "the reinvention" of the modern museum.[1] Whether they refer to the repositioning of visitors at the center of the museum's mission, the growing role of education, or the pervasiveness of the corporate-style management, analysts depict these changes as being born from conflict and struggle. Growing tensions between the internal capabilities of an institution and the needs and expectations of the larger community push museums to redraw and negotiate their missions and roles. While these challenges describe the broad context in which most museums exist and function today, regional and local particularities individualize the agenda of each institution. This article reviews some of the factors that influence the discourse of history museums and historic sites in the American Southwest, in particular their approach of the concepts of "myth" and "historical authenticity."

The prospect of learning in an unconventional way about the history of the Southwest, as well as the opportunity to examine museums in the region, was

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the reason I joined the project back in May of 2005. At that time I expected that my vision of the topic would develop in a neat and easy way, almost by itself, from my daily observations in the field. Impressions of each visited place, interviewed person, and studied artifact were supposed to come together, like little jigsaw pieces, in a coherent picture, as we were heading towards the end of the trip. The very first days on the road were to prove my expectations wrong, if not naïve. We were three graduate students looking at the same geographical territory through the lenses of different topics: historic preservation, tourism, religious material culture, and museums. While our areas of interest kept our explorations on fairly separate paths, the interpretation of our findings tied us back together as a group. Our daily reports turned the exchange of information into animated debates over the validity of one perspective or another, as we were each illuminating various (and often times conflicting) facets of the same site, event, individual, or group. My conclusions were thus continually being refined and adjusted in order to reflect, and be reflected in, those of my colleagues.

Intriguing and inspiring in this group dynamic was our ability to discern and peel off different layers of meanings that reflected the multitude of facets of the American Southwest. Gradually I began referring to the region by using a complex vocabulary of nuances, contrasts, and disparities, in stark contrast with the first entries in my travel journal for the class. Prior to the trip, my imaginary Southwest consisted of a sum of pristine scenes and landscapes denuded from modern and "corrupting" components. As we were progressing to the geographical heart of the region, the portrait of the "real Southwest" in my journal was being established as a mix of modern and traditional, old and new, as well as mundane and unique elements. Bracketing my own journey of discovery were in fact the concepts of "myth," clinging to an apocryphal, idealized, and emotional view of the region and its history,[2] and of "historical authenticity," stressing a perspective rooted in real and provable historical facts. These two concepts articulated the broader questions that guided my research: What is the image of the Southwest perpetuated by the history museums and historic sites in the region? How does their discourse incorporate the concepts of "myth" and "historical authenticity"?

The popular view of the American Southwest has changed little during the last century. Back then, as it is today, the "legend trope" was at the center of a pervasive rhetoric cherishing the unique character of the region. This discourse rested on the idea that in the Southwest, unlike the case in the rest of the country, an idealized and romanticized past, as well as traditional ways of life, has miraculously managed to survive the passage of time. Numerous historical studies have traced the origins of this mythical image back to the time when the railroads first placed New Mexico and Arizona on the tourism map.[3] At that time, the joint efforts by painters and photographers, ethnographers and collectors, museum curators and entrepreneurs established the reputation of the Southwest as a "land of enchantment."

As the purveyors of this vision proliferated and diversified with regard to the nature of their pursuits and the means of accomplishing their goals, their

interests united on a common and very pragmatic ground. Various economic and cultural institutions came to promote those images of the Southwest that promised to best fulfill their goals such as financial profits, quality of services, visitation, and a good reputation in the market. In their search for accomplishing such clearly formulated ends, many cultural institutions and tourism enterprises seem to care less for presenting a version of the past supported by historical evidence and more for providing visitors with highly entertaining experiences. Frequently, the expectations of travelers to the Southwest—and my own journal entries prior to the trip confirm this view—resonate with the mythical image of the region as cultivated by scholars, popular culture, and the tourism industry. Hence, within the bipolar economic system of consumers and providers of public history, demand and offer have become the driving forces that perpetuate the "myth of the Southwest."

In this diverse and highly competitive environment, the history of the American Southwest is presented in a package that combines, in various proportions, elements of both "myth" and "historical authenticity." At one end of the spectrum, there are the museums and Native American sites that educate the public about the past through exhibits and other museum-type activities built on professionally researched and thoroughly documented historical topics. Other historic sites such as ghost towns and theme parks rely on shows, performances, and demonstrations that engage visitors in experiences having a prevailing entertainment rather than an educational component. However, more frequently, cultural venues choose to combine the two ingredients so as to reach an ever-increasing audience.

Regardless of this package choice the mix of myth and historical authenticity raises further intriguing questions to both visitors and administrators of historic sites. The myth of the Southwest has wrapped Native Americans, cowboys, and the natural landscape in a cloak of exoticism and rendered them into the position of cultural markers for the region. But a myth may have a core of truth as it is often rooted in real human experiences. Many of the southwestern mythical characters belong to the relatively recent history of the region, and their deeds and profiles can be, at least to a certain extent, traced and documented. And here is where a dilemma begins, at the point where an oft-repeated story has come to signify society's beliefs and is accepted as "the history," thus shadowing the version supported by historical evidence of the same narrative. The dilemma is both for visitors, who may question where the border between legend and reality lies, and for the providers of history to the public, who have to choose where exactly to draw this line.

Within the constellation of local cultural institutions, history museums seem to walk the thinnest line. As they rely more heavily than ever on revenues from visitation, museums have to accomplish their civic and educational goals while also fulfilling their visitors' fascination with the myth of the Southwest. The major challenge faced by a museum is that of remaining faithful to its

mission while struggling with both external (the social, economic, and political context of the region) and internal (budget, staff, regulations) challenges. Such diverse factors as public criticism, funding and ownership limitations, political issues, and forces of the marketplace often affect the museum discourse, which is far from having a monolithic structure within the region as a whole. Debates and controversies over the ownership and mastery of "the true history" of individuals, events, and places engage numerous voices and translate themselves into a variety of interpretations that are presented to the public. While some might argue that these hot issues characterize the current state of museums nationwide, there are several factors that single out museums in the Southwest as far as their efforts to balance elements of myth and historical authenticity in their discourse.

The Question of Authority

The American Southwest has been promoted as the matrix of a tri-cultural history that blends strong Anglo-American, Native-American, and Mexican elements. This multicultural tapestry of the region is reflected in the patrimony of museums as well as in their visitors' demographics and expectations. A plethora of smaller ethnic museums and historic sites join with larger cultural institutions that cover a more general "American perspective" in catering to an audience consisting of multiethnic local communities and tourists. These pluralistic interests turn museums into arenas of struggle over issues of authority, power, and privilege in telling "the true history" of the Southwest.

Most vocal in these disputes are museums of ethnic history and traditions. Because the ethnic cultural heritage acts as their raison d'étre, these institutions take a leading role in the public debate over the ethnic traditions of the region. Ethnic museums rely on a symbiotic relationship with the communities they represent—a connection that endorses and strengthens the "truthfulness" of their discourse. The adage "Nobody knows my story better than myself" reflects the approach and mission of these sites.

Typical examples are the Taos Pueblo in New Mexico and the Acoma Pueblo in Arizona that are managed by the tribal councils of each of these Native American nations. Shaped within the local communities, their interpretation claims to be the most profound and accurate understanding of Native American history. The authority conferred by the ownership of these sites is reflected in the strict visitation rules, which regulate the access, photography rights, and general conduct on the site. Tours are provided by indigenous guides and their narratives, depending upon the site, stress or avoid sensitive issues in the history and culture of the group. Acoma and Taos pueblos are characterized by strict control over what information is shared and limited by access to their cultural knowledge by the public. Non-Native American

Figure 1. Credit panel, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

Figure 2. Display case, Fort Union National Monument, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

tourists might easily feel being kept at arm's length from the host community. Sometimes tour guides themselves enhance this sense of alienation through their divisive rhetoric that places their nation's experiences in juxtaposition with those of "the Americans" and divorces the Native American identity from the American one. There is also a sense of strong ethnic pride and identity on display everywhere, from the stories told by Native American artists who demonstrate traditional crafts under the gaze of tourists, to the promotional brochures sold along with the admission tickets.[4]

No wonder that, very often, local ethnic groups are the most critical about the interpretation provided by general (non-Native American) museums. Therefore, to restore the wholeness in the southwestern communities, some of these general museums involve ethnic individuals and institutions in the process of designing their interpretations. An example of such direct ethnic participation is the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe, where the significance of objects on permanent display is explained through labels conceived exclusively by members of the indigenous Native American communities (Figure 1). At Casa Grande Ruins in Arizona the current interpretation of the remains of an ancient Hohokam farming village has been shaped in cooperation with the tribes claiming direct descent from Hohokam.

Challenges by Funds and Ownership

The casual observer who takes a tour of some southwestern museums today could learn about both the substance of American history and the development of museum interpretation during the last half of the twentieth century. Few of these observers though are aware that the way in which history is presented at some museums reflects the availability, or lack thereof, of funds as well as various group interests.

Museum narratives driven by 1960s and 1970s methods and designs, a style of discourse now nearly a half century old, are very common in the Southwest today. Ancient-looking panels, glass cases, and labels at the Tumacácori National Historical Park, Fort Union National Monument, and Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park (Figure 2). immerse their visitors into narratives written decades ago. They chronicle a progressive timeline marked by watershed dates of battles, politics, and illustrious leaders. The nationalist language (specific to the consensus era in American historiography) emphasizes the region's unique identity and understates or even ignores conflict or dissent. Those museum representatives who acknowledge this sensitive situation suggest that the problems lie in the lack of funds. At National Park Service (NPS) sites, the redesign of a small-scale exhibit can take years of bureaucratic work. Funding comes from the federal budget, NPS priorities are set at the national level, and, therefore, the waiting list for funding (beyond

Figure 3. Interior of the Kit Carson House and Museum, Taos, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

Figure 4. Shakespeare Ghost Town, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

merely keeping the doors open) is long and slow. Some museum guides talk openly about the difficulties encountered by the NPS in satisfying the basic needs for all of the subordinated sites.

The criticism runs higher at the sites that are planned to be closed down soon, primarily because of funding issues. At stake, we were told, is the very existence of unique and irreplaceable material remnants of the American past. This context looks even more unfortunate when seen from the perspective of the trust that the public at large places in museums as treasurers of our history. A national survey conducted in 1992 by a group of historians concerned about the rift between the professional way of making history and that conducted by individuals in their daily lives revealed that the majority of the interviewees indicated that history museums and historic sites are the most reliable sources for exploring the past.[5] For the public, the knowledge presented in museums has more weight and legitimacy than any other source, including schools and the mass media. The results of this survey projected a new light of enhanced civic responsibility over the role that museums play or should play in stimulating Americans' interest in history. However, one might wonder about the long-term consequences of funding constraints upon public confidence in the capacity of museums to accomplish the very essence of their mission.

When private interests offer a way out from such financial difficulties, a different set of problems may arise. A major risk is the partisanship of the museum interpretation: An illustrative example can be found in historic downtown Taos, New Mexico. The Kit Carson House and Museum is located in a building owned and operated by the local Masonic Lodge, of which Kit Carson was a member (Figure 3). In their tours, the museum's docents give Kit Carson the aura of a mythical southwestern hero. He is presented as a skilled trapper, a brave mountain man, and a perfect husband and father. Very little, if any at all, suggests Carson's involvement with the local "Indian problem," as if "the long walk" of the Navajos never existed.[6] Along these lines of inquiry, the question of how do museums (particularly the small, privately operated ones) make history becomes thornier. Does the ownership of objects related to an individual or group give their current owner the right to simplify or distort history in a way that satisfies that owner, at the expense of sharing multiple perspectives with the visiting public?

A similar challenge faces Shakespeare Ghost Town in New Mexico. A cluster of original nineteenth century buildings furnished with the appropriate inventory has survived the vicissitudes of the harsh southwestern climate through the efforts of the Hill family, who have owned and managed the site for decades (Figure 4).While it is difficult for the visitor to guess whether the decaying aspect of the site is the result of an orchestrated effort by the owners or is the implacable result of the passage of time, the question of what the future reserves for this place rises naturally. Although Manny Hough, the current owner, would like to sell the property to the state park, an agreement has not

been settled because the two parties diverge over a major interpretation issue—the crucial role that the Hills have played in the history of the place. Because the state park wants to focus on the sensational (unlawful and rowdy) past, Manny Hough worries that his family may be given a secondary importance or even left out of the narrative presented to visitors in the future. Although both sides claim an "historically authentic" interpretation, the standoff looks hard to break. On the other hand, with Hough admitting his own financial limitations in preserving the remaining structures, the major risk and irony seem to be the possibility that this place will disappear for good from the New Mexico map. In the long run, would the ownership by the state park change or eliminate such a perspective, given their problems with their own budget?

CHALLENGES BY OBJECTS

Arising from the physical and cultural particularities of the southwestern environment, there is a set of collection-related problems on the agenda of local museums. Specific natural environmental factors yield challenging responsibilities for the historic sites in the Southwest related to the conservation and preservation of their patrimonies. For many institutions—i.e., Canyon de Chelly National Monument—education and interpretation hold a position secondary to the preservation of historic structures, which is the top priority.

Additional challenges come from interpretive items that are not museum objects in a traditional sense but have become "historic" because of their age and, therefore, are eligible to be accessioned by a collection. At Tumacácori National Historical Park, Arizona, dioramas were built in the 1930s for the permanent exhibit hall in order to help visitors place the site in a broader social and historical context (Figure 5). Ever since, these display techniques have been considered an exquisite craft and their creation treated with the same respect as the "original" items in the exhibit. The artistic features, dramatic realism, and age of these dioramas are reasons for curators to recommend that they become museum artifacts and subject to preservation, accessioning, and display. Therefore, the new Tumacácori exhibit space, planned to be designed soon, will incorporate these dioramas at the exact locations they currently have within the museum. A similar example is the roof that covers the monument at Casa Grande, Arizona. Built in the 1930s, with the intention to protect the ruins from direct sun radiation and precipitation, the roof has also become part of the collection and a feature that gives aesthetic distinctiveness to the site. Items such as the dioramas and the roof represent another layer of interpretation of the site/exhibit. They require that the narrative be built around them and, in the process, arguably dilute the over-all authenticity of the place.

Bosque Redondo State Monument in New Mexico adds another perspective to the challenges that objects raise for museum interpretations in the Southwest.

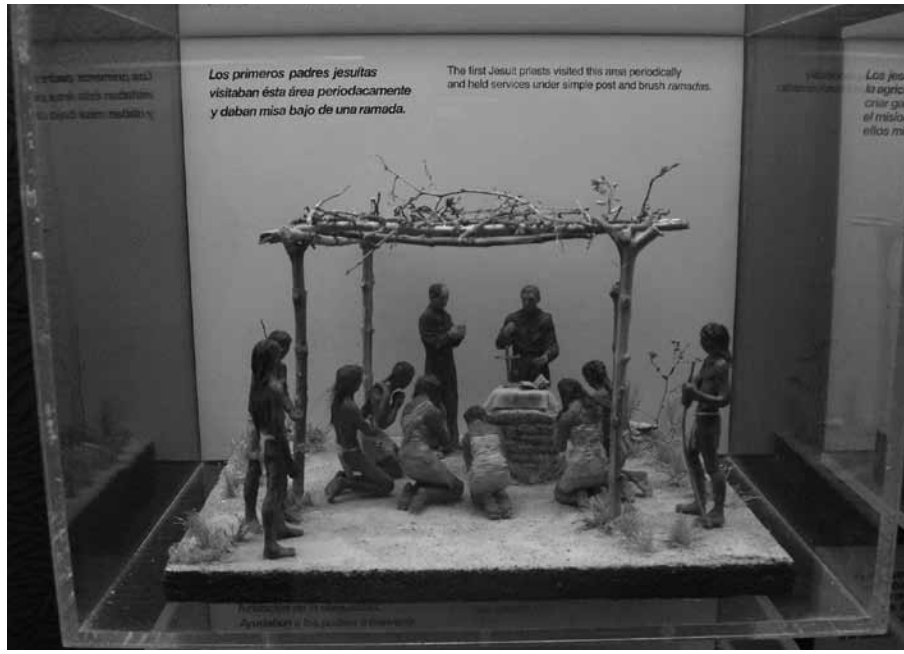

Figure 5. Diorama, Tumacácori National Historical Park, Arizona, 2005. Photograph by Eric Steiger.

Figure 6. Bosque Redondo State Monument, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

A modern building dedicated in 2005 houses the permanent exhibits, conference rooms, and a gift shop. The physical remains of old Fort Sumner and the Indian encampments, where the United States government interned Navajos and Apaches following "the long walk," have been erased by time. There is nothing left of the original structures other than the foundations of the fort buildings, encased in brick (Figure 6). The landscape itself changed a great deal during the last century, with shrubs and trees spotting the once rocky plateau. Today only a few labels scattered in the field, a rock shrine, and a memorial boulder with a Navajo-language inscription evoke the historical significance of the site. At the very heart of the visiting experience lay the history of and the recollections associated with this modern space rather than the site itself. Solely the viewers' knowledge and acceptance of this history enable the understanding of this memorial. Several times a year, with the help of Navajo and Mescalero Apache communities, the New Mexico State Parks hosts traditional ceremonies employing storytelling, dances, and songs. These oral practices seem to take on the role and functions that were traditionally held by tangible museum items, thus allowing the memorial to go beyond the materiality of objects and come to life in an intangible form. This interesting repositioning of meaning raises the legitimate question of how it affects the issues of "historical authenticity" and "myth." Does the lack of objects weaken a museum's ability to formulate compelling arguments over a specific historical issue? For the same reason, do visitors have more freedom to decide by themselves what is "myth" and what is "historically authentic" in the Southwest?

POLITICS AT PLAY

As cultural institutions in the service of the public, museums sometimes find themselves under the influence of the political interests that drive a particular society's agenda. Especially in the case of museums and historic sites of symbolic national significance, cultural entrepreneurship overlaps with politics.

An example is the Grand Canyon, a park with a unique historical narrative, quite different from that of other historic sites. Known mostly as a natural reservation under federal protection since 1893, the Grand Canyon came under the jurisdiction of the federal government in 1919, just three years after the creation of the National Park Service. From an historical standpoint, the administrative history of the park sheds light on the motivations, perceptions, and pursuits of the political class vis-à-vis those related to the conservation and preservation of the natural environment. Although small-scale displays documenting representative figures and events associated with the Grand Canyon are scattered at various locations along the South Rim, the park lacks a permanent and comprehensive exhibit on its own history. Only recently has the National Park Service developed an interpretive plan that envisions the transformation of the historic Grand Canyon Village into an area for geology, history, and natural science exhibits. It has already taken a long

Figure 7. Display case, Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park, Tombstone, Arizona, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

time for this interpretive project to arrive at its current concrete phase and, for sure, it will take years to be fully implemented. This lingering situation is the direct effect of the nomination of park superintendents based on political criteria. As different superintendents are placed at the helm of the park with almost every presidential election, and each new appointee brings a new personal and political perspective as to the future exploitation of the Grand Canyon, keeping the priorities of one mandate secure in another proves to be a difficult endeavor.

At Tombstone Arizona, local politics affect museums in a different way. The entire community thrives mostly off the mercantile exploitation of the famous O.K. Corral incident. The competition for the tourist dollar is fierce, and the streets in the downtown area abound with places that promise passers-by "the most accurate" re-enactment of the fight. Echoes of gunshots, impersonators of legendary characters dressed in period costumes, and western-style buildings all reminding onlookers of John Wayne's movies and signify the quintessential elements of the "myth of the Wild West" that are perpetuated year-round at Tombstone. Visitors have plenty to choose from; there are gunfight shows, horse rides, stagecoach and wagon tours as well as a couple of museums. The Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park and its permanent exhibit—a staple of the 1960s curatorial techniques—hardly keep pace with visitors willing to experience a rush of adrenaline in Wyatt Earp's town (Figure 7). A fair balance between "the true" and "the manufactured"

Figure 8. Display at the Visitor Center, Glen Canyon Dam, Arizona, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

history of Tombstone is hard to strike. According to the state park rangers, the permissive local legislation bears the entire responsibility, as it sets no specific rules for the business development of the town. Although an old western look of the downtown buildings has been preserved, over recent years entertainment venues of questionable quality have proliferated. Obviously, the local authorities seem to be more sensitive to the needs of the local budget than to weaving historical authenticity into the fabric of local life.

Other times, political interferences dictate the complete exclusion of controversial topics from the agenda of an exhibit. At Glen Canyon Dam, Arizona tourists can take the tour of the facilities, which begins with the exhibit at the visitors' center (Figure 8). Photographs and explanatory labels on display pay homage to the builders of the structure, its impressive construction features, and the economic benefits it generates in the area. This perspective is noticeably unilateral, as it carefully avoids the environmental, social, and cultural impact upon Navajo Indians caused by damming the Colorado River. Although Navajo opposition to the project began long before civil engineers sketched the first plans, the federal government ruled that national strategic economic matters prevailed over the interests of local Native Americans. Despite the awareness and actuality of this controversy, the United States Department of Interior, as the administrator of the dam, decided that

the subject was not appropriate for the exhibit. Guides also steer away from formulating clear official opinions on this sensitive topic. This case questions the very principles of an institution, which, by omitting a meaningful and impartial analysis of a subject, can make itself guilty of misrepresentation and distortion of facts. Should not history exhibits, particularly those funded from the federal budget, act as forums of discussion that are equally sensitive to the opinions of all groups in the community and the entire audience?

Unconventional Allies

Examples discussed thus far have referred to the approach of history in "conventional spaces"—history museums and historic sites. A similar interest in preserving and promoting the spirit of the Southwest underlies the mission of other business or civic entities that are not otherwise directed toward educating the public on the history of the region. By taking advantage of their high visitation, these community venues integrate the dissemination of historical information to the public within their core activities, thus indirectly supporting the mission of the local museums.

An interesting case is that of a Burger King restaurant in Kayenta, Arizona. Located in the heart of the Navajo reservation, with few alternative dining options around, the fast-food establishment draws in large crowds of locals and tourists. The walls in the dining area display numerous photographs, records, and 3-D artifacts documenting the history of the Navajo Code Talkers during World War II. Examining the items while eating next to such an exhibit case or walking from the serving counter to the dining area engages customers in an informal learning experience in which a "history class" becomes included in the cost of the meal (Figure 9). For the corporation, the exhibit may be a part of the community giving strategy, which cultivates and encourages the community spirit of employees and stakeholders. The local franchise owner may also benefit from the exhibit by enhancing the collaboration with community members—schools, charities, not-for-profits. However, the initiative might offend museum purists in that it pushes the commodification of museum activities to the last commercial frontier. On the other hand, however, the restaurant functions as a museum substitute in an impoverished area where, for many locals, the admission fee would certainly prohibit access to an exhibit.

Mission San Xavier del Bac, Arizona, strikes a similar public chord. This fully functioning Catholic church welcomes both parishioners and visitors. Fundamental to this position is the enlightened philosophy that an active religious site cannot discriminate against people who do not visit the sanctuary for worship purposes. Therefore, the space accommodates both needs; it offers a sacred space and full religious services to its members (mostly the

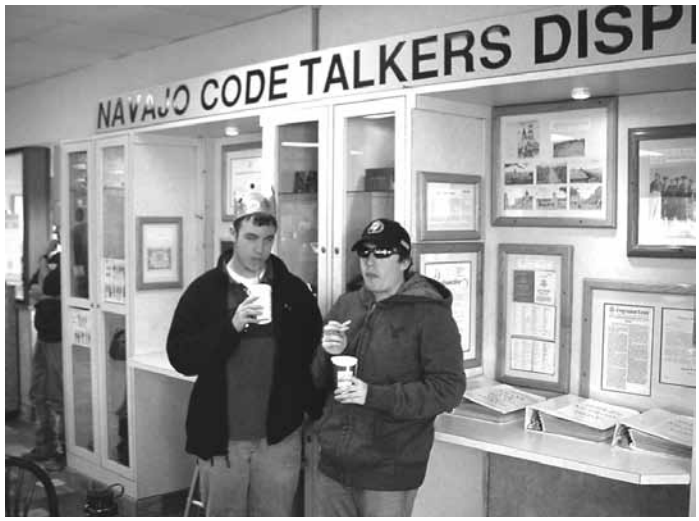

Figure 9. Students enjoying a repast while browsing the exhibit at the Burger King restaurant in Kayenta, Arizona, 2005. Photograph by Andy Bozanic.

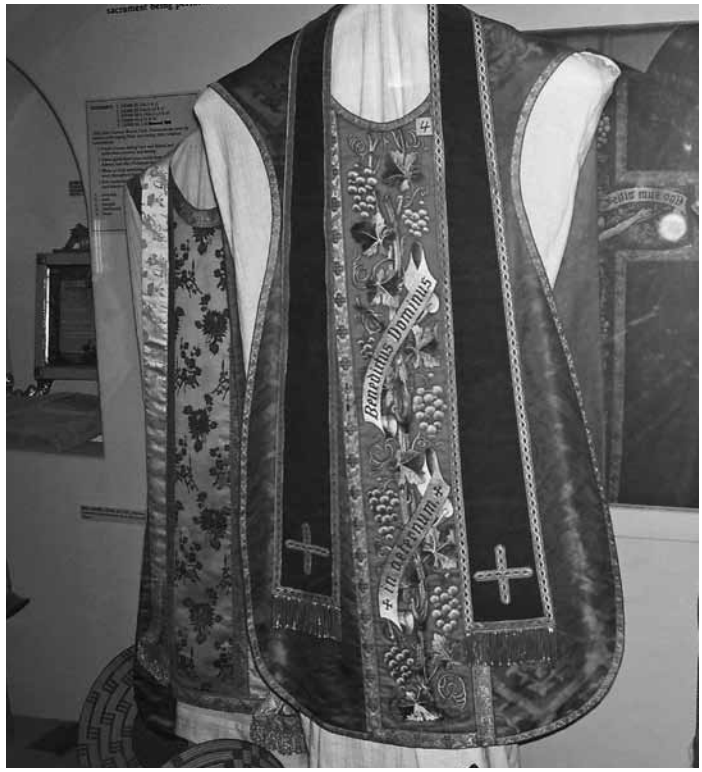

Figure 10. Artifacts on display, Mission San Xavier del Bac, Arizona., 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

Tohono O'odham nation) and pilgrims from around the region and the world.[7] Occasional visitors can take a tour of the mission, assisted by printed self-guiding brochures and interpretive labels scattered around the property. Prepared by professional researchers, the interpretation places the site within the broader historical context of the region. There are no visitation fees and the building is accessible to the handicapped. Because it preserves the patrimony, interprets the past, and educates the public, the church fulfills the goals of a museum (Figure 10). The learning experience is intimately connected to the unmediated contact between locals and tourists within a space that encourages dialogue as well as reflective introspection. These encounters benefit the managers of the site in that the huge popularity of the San Xavier mission helps in their effort to secure federal and private funds for the maintenance and restoration of the facilities.

The examples of Burger King and San Xavier del Bac shed light on the diversity of experiences meant to disseminate historical knowledge in the Southwest. Part of the larger movement called ethnic tourism, these sites promote informal and uninstitutionalized learning and benefit from the broader concept of "historical authenticity." As visitors learn about the history of the region, they are also given the means to consider the context in which this information is packaged and to judge its validity for themselves.

In conclusion, we see a region in which tourism functions as one of the most significant sources of revenue, and in which the competition for the tourists' time and money has engaged an increasing number of cultural institutions. History museums and historic sites are involved in a delicate mission of accommodating both the tourists in search for the mythical space that has nourished their imaginations, and the permanent residents of the area, who are looking for their own true history. In perhaps no other American region has the myth been as powerful as in the American Southwest, and it is exactly this struggle for balancing between the myth and historical authenticity that is unique to the challenges that local museums have to face. Under the pressure of external (local and federal politics, forces of the tourist market) and internal (budget, administrative structure, type of patrimony, mission) factors, museums and historic sites negotiate the porous boundaries between myth and historical authenticity so as to fulfill the needs and expectations of their audiences. During the course of my trip to the Southwest, I discovered that various interests and challenges both within and outside of the history museums and historic sites in the Southwest have crafted a mosaic of interpretations that incorporate elements of "myth" and "historical authenticity" into a commodified image of the history of the region. In discussing issues pertaining to practices and philosophies of museum interpretation in the Southwest, this article also reveals the diversity of institutional experiences as well as the dynamism of the museum environment today. To remain socially relevant under the pressure of an ever-expanding gamut of challenges, museums' only choice is to work tirelessly on reinventing themselves.

NOTES

[1]Essays in the collection *Reinventing the Museum. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, Gail Anderson, ed. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 2004), sample, from an historiographical standpoint, a representative gamut of themes and approaches that define the modern museum.

[2]Closest to the scope of this paper is the Webster's Dictionary definition of "myth" as used by the historians Paul Schullery and Lee Whittlesey in their study *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 81: "myth" is a "real or fictional story, recurring theme, or character type that appeals to the consciousness of a people by embodying its cultural ideals or by giving expression to deep, commonly felt emotions."

[3]The syllabus for this class included two studies focused on these developments: Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996) and Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating A Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

[4]Similar aspects pertaining to the complex dynamics that characterize tribal self-representation and cultural memory are discussed in two recently published studies: Mary Lawler, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representations in Museums, Powwows, and Casino*s (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006); and Jeanette Rodriguez and Ted Fortier, *Cultural Memory: Resistance, Faith, and Identity* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).

[5]Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen, *The Presence of the Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

[6]"The long walk" was part of the United States plan of removal of Native Americans from their native lands, between 1863 and 1868. Kit Carson, at that time a military officer, supervised the forced relocation of more than ten thousand Navajos to a reservation located three hundred miles away from their lands, a distance they had to walk.

[7]For a discussion of the religious dimension of the region and the significance of San Xavier del Bac, see James S. Griffith's study Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992).

Guaranteed Authentic:
The Commodification of Culture through Tourism in the American Southwest

Eric Steiger

I bought a wedding vase at Acoma Pueblo to give to my fiancée as a wedding present. I picked it out from a tabletop filled with Acoma ceramics set up outside a pueblo home from which the family also sold cold drinks to tourists broiling under the harsh New Mexico sun. This was the second time I had visited Acoma. On my first visit, I picked out a beautiful little vase that I wanted to bring home, but ultimately decided that a souvenir with less overtly romantic symbolism seemed more appropriate. By the time I went back, five years later, what had been a brand new relationship had turned into an engagement, and a wedding vase seemed a perfect, if cliché, gift. Of course, I had not paid attention to the name of the artist during my first visit, and five years of misremembering the pot I resisted the first time meant that I was open to any vase that caught my eye. I selected a modest-sized pot that I was relatively certain I could get home in one piece, and paid what the seller asked for it. As she wrapped it for me, the seller explained that the artist was a member of her family who used only traditional methods. The little pot still sits on our shelf, a reminder for me of our wedding, of the trip, of Acoma, and even of my first trip to New Mexico.

I relate this story because there is nothing that so closely connects my personal role as tourist-visitor in the Southwest with my more official role as student-researcher. The wedding vase that I bought was deeply significant to

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me for very particular and personal reasons. As a researcher investigating the marketing of cultural tourism, however, I encountered the wedding vase as a form developed specifically and purposefully as a product to sell to tourists, a form that has since developed a significance for the groups that make and sell them. Depending on my narrative and analysis, the wedding vase can be either an authentic artifact of southwestern cultural heritage that I have integrated into my personal life narrative, or it can be a perfect example of the tourist kitsch that dominates places like Las Vegas and Tombstone. The hard part is to reconcile the apparent contradiction between these two perspectives.

It is the attempted reconciliation between contradictory truths that I have come to recognize at the heart of tourist marketing in the Southwest. Decisions about which images to maintain, which myths to celebrate, and which narratives to retell to visitors and residents alike put historians, museum directors, anthropologists, and park rangers together with tourism promoters, land developers, and craftspeople whose incomes depend on the romantic attraction of the region.

Over the course of our time in the Southwest and subsequent reflection and writing, several themes began to stand out. The first weaves throughout this article, as it is essential to the tourism process. Providing and limiting access can be a powerful tool: One place may be able to offer full and exclusive access while clearly identified boundaries at another add a sense of realism and intrigue. The second theme should come as no surprise from a marketing perspective: Packaging matters. Whether one is displaying an historical collection, selling souvenirs, or even providing access to a great view, the way it is presented can be an important part of the marketing plan. Third, educating tourists to be discerning and savvy can be both a valuable service for the visitor and a way for an institution to shape interpretation beyond its walls. Finally, I have struggled to come to terms with what may be the biggest selling point of all: The authentic experience.[1] This may be at the heart of tourist promotion in the Southwest, and yet there is no easy way to understand what it means. In the last section I will present the juxtaposition of two very different places that can be characterized as authentic for very different reasons. One is a common stop for tourists to the Southwest, the other is not. One could claim an ancient heritage, the other cannot. One showcased the cultural heritage of a village, the other, the world. Ultimately, one of the most compelling aspects of this project was that it allowed me to juxtapose seemingly contradictory experiences and analyze them both as authentically southwestern.

Site directors, advertisers, and artisans—the people responsible for the Southwest's tourism industry—work to mask the decisions and contradictions that sometimes blur the difference between fiction and fact. The boundary is remarkably porous between the preservation and promotion of the southwest's cultural and historical gems and the creation of entirely new attractions and objects to be passed off as historically authentic. Promoting cultural tourism in

Figure 1. In a region where tourist opportunities abound, museums appear in many innovative places, 2005. Photograph by author.

the Southwest has long relied on establishing and reinforcing popular tropes about the region almost as much as it relies on promoting individual sites and attractions. The Southwest is America's foreign land, home of Indians and Hispanics who are as likely to speak Spanish or one of a myriad of native languages as they are to speak English. It is the home of America's primitive past, complete with 'prehistoric' monuments, both natural and archaeological. It is the home of an imagined multicultural unity only dreamed about in the rest of the country. Individuals and businesses, as well as state-supported and private institutions, have long sought to exploit these possibilities. Superlatives are key, making it common to hear phrases such as "the longest continuous," "the oldest operating," "the first," "the most authentic," or "the best preserved." These are statements of competition, however subtle, and sometimes advertisements and narratives created by the managers of cultural attractions stand in direct contradiction to one another. A critical caveat that we must keep in mind is that they may all be telling the truth.

The sale of cultural commodities is ubiquitous throughout today's Southwest (Figure 1). Hardly a roadside is free from tables filled with tourist trinkets. Parking lots in national parks, scenic overlooks, historic houses, museums, and even churches are sites for selling interpretations of the past, authentic experiences, and souvenirs. Advertisements must be able to attract visitors in a few words or with a key photograph or drawing, and explain

to them why a site is worthwhile. Ideally for the site directors, the visit will culminate in a purchase from the gift shop, where the tourist can either acquire a personal memento of the place or else buy a gift to take to those at home. Access to historic sites, archaeological remains, and breathtaking scenery are themselves marketable commodities. There is no question that selling goods and access to tourists is a lucrative business for those who control tourism sites and their interpretation. Who *should* control access and marketing remains an important consideration. Countless people participate in the process, from independent artisans to government officials. While white business or intellectual leaders exercised sole authority in the first decades of the twentieth century, now Native American and Hispanic communities are increasingly taking control of their own promotional efforts. Organizations with presumed credibility, including museums and state and national parks, still exercise a great deal of control. Thus even the independent artisans who sell their crafts and jewelry outside the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe acquire credibility by the fact that they receive licenses from the state as genuine New Mexico Indians.

PACKAGING THE REGION FOR TOURISTS

Tourism has a long history in the southwest. For more than a century, visitors from the urban areas of the east coast have been traveling to the Southwest, drawn by the natural landscape and cultural diversity.[2] Deciding where to visit depended upon artistic and cultural values carefully cultivated by regional promoters. For example, from the 1890s, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (ATSF) depended on teams of "ethnographers, artists, and photographers to depict Indian life in the region."[3] The Fred Harvey Company followed suit, forming an Indian Department to coordinate the production and acquisition of souvenirs, to present exhibitions of Native American art and dance, and to lead tourists into Native American communities. Both of these companies were central to the development of the region and influential in its development for tourists. Similarly, cultural mediators controlled the development of Santa Fe, selecting and cultivating the imagery that would represent the city to the rest of the world. For the ATSF, the Fred Harvey Company, and the city of Santa Fe, the products available for sale were as important as the culture they preserved and interpreted.

The question of who controls access, and thus who sells the Southwest to tourists and recent immigrants, has been bitterly contested.[4] The never ending flow of newcomers to the urban areas of the Southwest complicates the relationship between insiders and outsiders. Many in the Southwest are proud of their multiculturalism, but each of the cultures present has a distinct heritage of arrival and conquest in the region. Native American groups have stories about their emergence into the world and the region, while the arrival of the

Spanish ushered in a new era of cultural transition. When white Americans and Europeans moved into the region from the East in the nineteenth century, a new era of conflict began. In the early twentieth century, as intellectual and artistic elites sought to promote the Southwest, they made conscious choices about which heritage they would privilege for the region. Historians are quick to point out that these white elites were outsiders who had appropriated the cultural heritage of their adopted homes and selectively crafted an image that would represent the characteristic which they felt most honestly reflected the aspects of culture and landscape which they chose to celebrate.[5] In present-day Santa Fe, the result of that activity has been the establishment of an unflinching set of rules that has institutionalized the created vision, and has done so at the expense of alternatives, even alternatives offered by resident cultural leaders.

At the level of site management, the National Park Service is incredibly important, in both controlling and maintaining federal park lands, as well as overseeing the National Historic Landmark program. National parks are isolated from market pressures by federal funding, minimizing the need to consciously attract visitors. By virtue of their federal protection, national park sites enjoy an automatic credibility and significance. The National Park Service site managers, however, do not have total autonomy regarding the interpretation or marketing of their sites. Such decisions are the products of congressional mandates and park charters. Yet, the National Park Service controls many of the Southwest's cultural and natural attractions, including countless remnants of ancient dwellings, numerous Spanish missions, United States military forts, and some of the most spectacular natural attractions in the region. By maintaining and controlling all of these sites, the National Park Service regulates access to the treasures contained within them, and decides what visitors will be able to see. Within the confines of the charters, park directors and rangers can make choices about which attractions they wish to promote.

An excellent example of the significance of packaging a tourist site is Grand Canyon National Park's South Rim. The Grand Canyon is clearly one of the most stunning natural features in the world. While not usually considered a cultural heritage park, the canyon is home to numerous archaeologically significant dwellings and artifacts. The park's recent history is remarkably well preserved, as the hotels and support buildings from the first tourism boom in the region are mostly still standing and in relatively good condition. Visitors have been coming for more than a century, perhaps far longer, and today it is one of the most visited national parks in the country. What is significant, though, is that the canyon is rarely discussed for its archaeological or historical importance. As the park's visitor publication, *The Guide*, describes it, "The Grand Canyon is more than a great chasm carved over millennia through the rocks of the Colorado Plateau. It is more than an awe-inspiring view. It is more than a pleasuring ground for those who explore the roads, hike the trails, or float the currents of the turbulent Colorado River. This canyon is a gift that

transcends what we experience."[6] *The Guide* includes a brief discussion of archaeological remains in the canyon, but the authors suggest that experiencing them will happen only by accident, or careful design, and not as part of the casual tourist's visit to the canyon. In fact, most of the archaeological treasures of the park are expressly off-limits to visitors. The result is that the South Rim's cultural heritage—including its tourist past of historic hotels and signature architecture, traditional mule rides, and the restored train carrying visitors to within steps of the scenic overlook—all blend seamlessly into the scenery.

Whereas the Grand Canyon has the natural landscape to draw visitors, and the ancient dwellings can be de-emphasized, other places are important specifically for their cultural heritage. Chaco Culture National Historical Park and Canyon de Chelly National Monument are both parks whose natural landscapes, while beautiful, are less significant than their archaeological heritages. The eighty-five thousand annual visitors to Pueblo Bonito, one of the urban centers at Chaco that was mysteriously abandoned after the year 1250, have access to the inside of the complex, and are able to see with their own eyes the structures that housed a society in America's pre-European past. This is especially remarkable considering the many places whose no-touch policy prevents visitors from seeing more than the outside of structures, often from a distance or through a fence. On the other hand, only a small percentage of the archaeological remains in the canyon are available for public viewing. Just as at Grand Canyon, tourists have access to what is presumably the most spectacular attraction.

Limited access is an issue for the Fort Bowie National Monument in southern Arizona. Isolated far from urban centers or freeways, only around fifteen thousand people make the two-mile round-trip hike from the parking lot to the ruined fort. For Jeffrey Helmer, a ranger at the park, the site's isolation serves as a de facto tool of preservation: Limiting the number of visitors makes it easier to preserve what is left of the fort's structures. This preservationist priority is a direct result of the park's congressional charter, which makes maintenance of the buildings the first consideration. For those who make it past the miles of dirt roads and the hot, dry hike, the monument offers as a reward a feeling of the lonely isolation that may well have been integral to the experience of those stationed there in the nineteenth century.[7]

Tourists to the Southwest will not see billboards promising that a visit to Fort Bowie will give them this sense of historical continuity, since National Park Service sites do not practice direct marketing. At Fort Bowie, this lack of direct advertising effectively reinforces the preservationist mandate by limiting the number of visitors. Similarly, according to Anita Badertscher, a ranger at Tumacácori National Historic Park, the preserved ruin of an eighteenth-century Spanish mission, Tumacácori's current visitation of fifty-four thousand tourists per year is plenty. The standard brown NPS sign on the nearby freeway, which suggests that the site is important and that visitors

will learn the Truth there, is the only sort of marketing that they do. Since the congressional mandate for the park calls for preservation to supersede visitation, as in the case of Fort Bowie, the number of visitors must be limited to protect the structure itself. Any more visitors, Badertscher explained, would result in a more difficult preservation effort.[8] Following the signs from the highway, visitors will find themselves face to face with the dusty ruin of a Spanish church. The crumbling walls and open roof leave little doubt about the church's age, while in the Visitor's Center the antiquated museum—itself an artifact from the Depression-era—situates the ruin's historical significance. The church remains as it was when the park service acquired it, the half-decomposed adobe evoking the building's antiquity and fragility.

San Xavier del Bac serves as a useful contrast to Tumacácori. Today it remains an active, living Catholic church with a regular congregation. It is also one of the symbols of southern Arizona as depicted on the official seals for Pima County and the City of Tucson. The Patronato San Xavier, a non-profit organization, has maintained and restored San Xavier to look much as it would have three centuries ago, in stark contrast to the missions maintained by the National Park Service, including Tumacácori. It is an irony that Tumacácori is further from its original purpose, as it is no longer an active church and has been decommissioned by the Roman Catholic Church, and yet it is the one protected by a congressional mandate that prohibits reconstruction. As a living church, however, San Xavier must cater to the needs of its parishioners. But the White Dove of the Desert has doors wide open for tourists as well. The parking area is designed to accommodate the busloads of tourists who come to see the picturesque contrast of the dusty desert and the starkly white church, which benefits from tourist interest by selling souvenirs in its gift shop.

As Andy Bozanic discusses in his essay, different perspectives about preservation lead to different choices concerning the structures. Considering images of Tumacácori and San Xavier side by side (Figures 2 and 3) makes the contrast obvious. Each church is presented as an authentically preserved example of Spanish colonial-mission architecture, and each is suggested as a place to visit for its historic significance. From the particular perspectives of each, both representations are true.

The city of Tombstone, Arizona, provides an example of a place where the contradictions between preserving and promoting a specific past have been exposed to public scrutiny. For more than two years, the City Too Tough to Die has been on notice from the federal government under the auspices of the National Historic Landmark program. Without changes, Tombstone risks being dropped from the National Registry of Historic Places, to which it was added in 1961. The state of Arizona carefully preserves the Tombstone Courthouse to tell stories of the community's half century as a frontier mining town, from 1879 to 1929.[9] Because state parks are controlled by the state governments, they find themselves in a double bind. As public institutions, they must support the

Figure 2. Tumacácori National Monument, which the National Park Service preserves as a ruin, stands as one example of authentic Spanish mission architecture, 2005. Photograph by author.

Figure 3. San Xavier del Bac, maintained by a private organization and still in operation as a church, is fully accessible for tourism, and stands as an example of authentic Spanish mission architecture, 2005. Photograph by author.

larger visions of state tourism promotion, but are prohibited from competing against private organizations. On the other hand, they are more dependent on the money from visitors to remain in business than are national parks.

The manager of the Tombstone Courthouse State Historic Park, Art Austin, explained how critical these dual pressures are for the Tombstone park. When Austin first started working for the state park system in Arizona, he was a "tax supported public servant." Unfortunately for the park system, the state has cut $6 million from their operating budget in recent years, and ticket sales are now required to make up the difference. The only advertising that they can do is to send notices out to the public information network, in hopes that a news agency will give them some publicity. Austin suffers from one further disadvantage in the current environment: He fears that the recent threats to the historic preservation of the town will ultimately result in a decrease in visitor interest. Lamenting the situation, Austin makes clear his views by saying, "Great historic preservation is itself good marketing." [10] The rest of the town may disagree.

As Austin presents it, Tombstone offers a choice between two different packages—the historically authentic Courthouse on the one hand, and on the other, the kitsch of the rest of the town. Local business owners promote much of the town to celebrate just one event, the Gunfight at the O.K. Corral. According Austin, the town's business developers are "creating history that doesn't exist." [11] For local businesses, this is fine, as long as they see a return on their investment. Critical for Austin, however, is the fear that these developers are transforming Tombstone into something that it never was and demolishing what was once worth saving. He fears that tourist development is subverting what made the town unique. The Courthouse, despite its careful preservation as one of "the only authentic things left in Tombstone," only receives one quarter to one third of the town's total visitation. Austin admits, "People come to Tombstone to see the hokum."[12] In other words, for visitors who come to Tombstone to see the mock gunfights and Wild West kitsch, the O.K. Corral caricature seems to be more appealing than the carefully preserved Courthouse (Figure 4). Preservation may not be good marketing after all.

In contrast to the kitsch of Tombstone stands Shakespeare Ghost Town, New Mexico, which almost blends into its landscape. The few dusty, rickety buildings that remain in this "town" are maintained and managed by the family that has owned the town for years. The town is a national historic site, so it is preserved to national standards and advertises itself as "The West's Most Authentic Ghost Town."[13] The town almost feels as though all of the people left in the 1890s, leaving their tools and possessions behind. Structures appear to be suffering from neglect, while the historic artifacts seem to be rusting away from exposure to the harsh elements of southern New Mexico. This can all be seen as part of the packaging: Whereas Tombstone comes across as a tidy Wild West stage, Shakespeare presents the Southwest as it might look if it had been rediscovered by archaeologists (Figure 5).

Figure 4. The tourist infrastructure of Tombstone is well developed. Tourists can visit the "Old West" in a stagecoach, their experience narrated by the driver through his electronic headset, 2005. Photograph by author.

Figure 5. Shakespeare Ghost Town, "The Most Authentic Ghost Town" in the Southwest, 2005. Photograph by author.

The Hough family, who owns and manages the town, has discussed the possibility of turning control over to the state of New Mexico to be converted into a state park. Eventually, however, Manny Hough chose to retain control rather than give interpretive authority to the state. The state's position was that it would be more appropriate to preserve and interpret the town as it was during the last of the three mining booms that the town experienced in the nineteenth century. But Mr. Hough wanted to foreground the history of his late wife's family, who had long owned and maintained the town. "History is a very important thing," Mr. Hough explained. The "new generation coming up needs to know what happened."[14] By visiting Shakespeare as it is, and by hearing from the oldest living member of the Hill family the stories of those who have long worked to keep it as it is, Mr. Hough implied, today's visitors will learn the true history as it happened.

As with Tumacácori and San Xavier, the contrast between Shakespeare and Tombstone is stark. While Shakespeare appears to be in a run-down condition, Tombstone constantly reinvents itself in an idealized vision of the historic Southwest. The town's businesses have found it more profitable to offer a modern stylistic recreation of history to which visitors can relate. Wrapped up in both towns are questions of control and access for residents and visitors alike. Like Tumacácori and San Xavier, both Tombstone and Shakespeare can claim to represent history, leaving it to visitors to decide which vision they prefer.

Consumer Education

Had the Hough family decided to turn control over to the state, Shakespeare Ghost Town would have been incorporated into the diverse Museum of New Mexico system. The Museum of New Mexico comprises four museums in Santa Fe, including the Museum of Fine Arts, the Palace of the Governors on the Plaza, the International Folk Art Museum, and the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology. In addition, the Museum of New Mexico also includes six state monuments, including the Fort Sumner/Bosque Redondo State Monument and Lincoln State Monument. This collection of museums and monuments serves to preserve and interpret a very broad range of cultural and historic sites under one umbrella organization. Many of them, especially those in Santa Fe, are quite popular. As part of the state system, these museums in general support the basic idea that New Mexico is the place where three cultures blended together, each keeping its own heritage while making a unified New Mexico. The Palace of the Governors museum exemplifies this most clearly, as the collection and exhibition includes Native American art and history, the Spanish and Mexican experience, and finally the age of American annexation and incorporation. The theme carries into the museum's gift shop, where books and crafts are organized not by genre or medium, but rather by culture of origin.

This tri-cultural message echoes throughout New Mexico, and Santa Fe in particular. For example, the *Santa Fe Visitors Guide*, published by the City of Santa Fe Convention and Visitors Bureau, utilizes the theme. The mayor's message in the first pages includes the following: "It's not just our spectacular mountain views or our historic adobe architecture that sets us apart. Santa Fe is a city of unique cultures where we value our traditions deeply."[15] Two pages later begins the "Peoples & Cultures" section, which is carefully patterned in threes. There are three photos to begin the section, one of an intricate Native American garment, one of a silhouetted cowboy, and one of a dancing Latina in traditional clothing. The three subheadings are titled: "The First Americans," "The American West," and "Heart of Hispanic Culture."[16] This pattern continues throughout the guide. As such, a guide is intended to be the visitor's first introduction to the city, to help him or her plan a vacation or decide how to fill time while on a business trip, and such repetition sets a tone for the future visitor or the recent arrival. In Santa Fe, the guide and the Palace of the Governors tell us, these three cultures stand on equal footing. Such repetition of the idea reinforces the message, so that a visitor to the place will ultimately come to recognize that this multicultural unity is in fact a unique characteristic of Santa Fe and of New Mexico.

Other Museum of New Mexico institutions in Santa Fe are less explicitly multicultural in interpretation, but do claim to also serve a multicultural audience. The Museum of Indian Arts and Culture is a fascinating example. According to its website, the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, "is a premier repository of Native art and material culture and tells the stories of the people of the Southwest from pre-history through contemporary art. The museum serves a diverse, multicultural audience."[17] The museum pursues collection development and preservation, conducts public education and outreach, facilitates research, and creates interpretive exhibitions of the arts, cultures, and histories of the American Southwest. A volunteer docent suggested that one of the museum's roles is educating tourists about how to buy Indian arts and crafts. The tour began in the pottery room, where he explained the origins of some of the more easily recognizable pottery designs, and gave suggestions as to where tourists should go to buy authentic pottery. He explained that the ever-popular wedding vases were originally made for tourists, but now they have been around for so long that they are being used in pueblo weddings. For those on the tour, this was an interesting bit of trivia about the history of the wedding vase form. At a deeper level, though, the docent glossed over a contentious question about the commoditization of the Southwest: When is a souvenir a cultural artifact and when is it a tourist commodity? Many collectors prefer the former, but budget-conscious tourists may favor the latter. The transformation of the wedding vase form suggests, however, that the boundaries can be difficult to discern.

Toward the end of the tour, the docent became even more explicit about his role in advising potential art consumers. He made it clear that fewer and

fewer Indians are weaving or making baskets because they are not getting enough money out of them to pay for the labor time required. Furthermore, he cautioned, three quarters of all "Indian Made" goods are not actually Indian made. Twenty-two of Santa Fe's galleries are owned by Arabs who offer no certainty about their products' authenticity. Only after all of the cautions did the guide finally admit, "If you really love something, it doesn't matter where it's made."[18] For those tourists not convinced that consumer love could conquer all, he assured everyone that the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture's Gift Shop sold only authentic arts and crafts, as did the licensed sales people under the portico of the Palace of the Governors on the Plaza.

What is clear here is the role of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in mediating between the consumer and the goods. Recognizing that the collection of Native American art has been a central pastime for tourists to the Southwest for generations, the museum has taken up the task of educating tourists and potential collectors so that they will not be duped into spending too much for their trinkets and souvenirs, but rather will be able to use what they have learned at the museum to be careful shoppers before buying anything. And for those not willing to take the risk in the wide world beyond the museum's walls, there is always the guaranteed authentic gift shop on the way out the door. This pattern of exchange is not unique to New Mexico, but the issue of scale is important in the Southwest, where it can seem that the entire region is for sale, including its land, its culture, and its objects.

Pueblo and Acoma Pueblo are both prime destinations for tourists, and both have sought to mediate the competing pressures of cultural preservation and tourist commodification. Taos Pueblo's proximity to the city of Taos, combined with the ancient houses that surround its historic plaza, make it a convenient and worthwhile attraction. Acoma Pueblo, within easy driving distance from Albuquerque, is unique for its picturesque perch on the top of a mesa. It is an ancient dwelling, having been home to the Acoma people for centuries, and played a central role in the Spanish colonial history of New Mexico. The mesa provides a striking symbol for the community, and its silhouette serves as the icon for the Acoma people and their casino, which itself is a convenient tool for drawing tourists.

Both of these pueblos profit from tourism because all tourist access to their communities remains strictly within their control. This includes access to physical space, photography rights, and interpretation. Tourists must buy the right to enter and the right to take pictures. Tours of both pueblos are carried out only by pueblo members trained to give the standard scripted story to all visitors. There are clear barriers beyond which tourists must not pass. At Taos, tourists are kept primarily in the central plaza where they encounter shops that sell art, jewelry, and snacks. In these shops it is quite common to find artists hard at work, reinforcing the sense that anything for sale was handmade, presumably by the person sitting behind the counter. There is no

reason to doubt them. For the tourist or amateur, this is even better than the gift shop at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe. Prices are better, the artist is in the room, and you can be sure that you bought your souvenir from a real Indian.

I met an artist who was busy painting a wedding vase while I was shopping among the other crafts on the shelves in her small front room. While the pot she was working on looked strikingly similar to those available for purchase, the artist explained to me that she was finishing that one to take to the wedding of a family friend. Something which had originally been for tourists became part of the culture, and has now acquired an authenticity that makes it even more attractive to tourists. Had I bought a pot from her, I could have felt certain that it was just as real as those that she took to the weddings of her own friends and relatives. I chose not to, not because of my new knowledge about the "inauthenticity" of the form, but because I had been waiting a long time to buy a pot at Acoma.

Acoma Pueblo is, if anything, even more restrictive for tourists. Access to the mesa top is prohibited to all non-Acoma people who have not purchased a ticket. Busses shuttle tourists from the visitors' center to the historic pueblo. Once there, visitors are never left alone. Guides carefully coordinate with one another, and with Acoma security to ensure that all tourists are accounted for, nobody wanders freely on his or her own. As at Taos, the people selling the arts and jewelry are likely to be the artists themselves or relatives of the artists. Everything they sell, they tell you, is one of a kind. The collector will not find another like it.

Not all Native Americans embrace tourism to the same degree or in the same way as the Pueblo people. The Tohono O'odham, for example, are currently working out how much access they will allow tourists to have. Bernard Siquieros, a community leader who works with education and cultural affairs, explained that many of the Tohono O'odham people do not see the value of tourism. While they operate a casino, such activity keeps visitors far from the more sensitive subjects of culture and heritage. There are others who believe that tourists will come anyway, so it would be better to embrace it so that the Tohono O'odham people can control the interpretation. To satisfy both sides, the museum and cultural center that the nation is currently building (with profits from the casino) has cultural preservation and education for the Tohono O'odham children as the first priority, with tourists coming in second.[19]

The Authentic Experience

In the end, I argue, tourists are looking for authentic experiences, though that means different things for different people in different places. I will provide two very different examples of experiences that, depending on one's

perspective, could be considered authentically southwestern. They were stunningly different experiences, yet had remarkable similarities. Both were places in which we, as visitors, were encouraged to perform. In their own way, each represents something uniquely southwestern for visitors to appreciate. One cost nothing for us to attend, while the other is predicated on spending. The first was the Hopi Badger dance at Moenkopi; the other was Las Vegas.

The Hopi Badger dance that we attended was an unlikely tourist attraction, and contrasts with our experience of the controlled environments of Taos and Acoma. The community in which the dance took place was not elaborate, or even strikingly "Indian." We paid no admission, and received no interpretation of the ceremony as it took place. We were welcome guests, but it was our responsibility to observe respectfully, not to understand. While the dancers performed their ceremonies, the other residents, especially the women, filled the central plaza with food. This consisted of some traditional Hopi fare, but also included bags of chips, hot dogs, pancakes, and sweets. When the formal dancers were away from the plaza, the clowns had fun at our expense. They invited us, obvious tourists, into the center of the circle to participate. This participation, it is important to remember, was less for our entertainment than for that of the Hopis watching us. We were off-guard and uncomfortable. By constantly snapping photos of us, encouraging us to gorge ourselves with food, and changing our names, the clowns were mocking us with the very disrespect that outsiders had administered to Hopis and other Native Americans in the Southwest for centuries. It is an irony that, because this was not a designed tourist experience, it was perhaps one of the most authentic. We were guests at their ceremony. Our participation added to the experience for us, and it is hoped the community benefitted as well, but from our perspective it was not an integral part of the dance. As tourists, we could leave believing that the dance would have occurred just as it always does, even if we had not been present.

Las Vegas stands in sharp contrast to the village at Moenkopi. Long one of the fastest growing cities in the United States, the desert metropolis attracts vacationers and thrill-seekers from all over the world. Hal Rothman once called Las Vegas "a model for the culture of the world of the future, a place where authentic and inauthentic are purposefully indistinguishable."[20] Rothman's point was to emphasize that the vice capital of the United States had consciously reinvented itself as a destination for cultural tourism. Already one of the country's entertainment capitals, the city has seen recent innovations that resulted in construction of mega resorts with masterwork-lined galleries, as well as consistently sold-out performances of high culture. In this sense, Rothman identified Las Vegas as a tourist destination that collected the contemporary culture of the world, but remained unencumbered by pretensions about a deep historic tradition grounded in the particular location on which the city was built.

Rothman's essay concludes a volume about the implications of cultural tourism in the American Southwest, leading me to question whether or not Las Vegas can be considered as representative of a distinctly "southwestern" culture. Is Las Vegas, a place that thrives by constantly reinventing itself, an anomaly in the Southwest? Andy Bozanic, one of my colleagues on this project, has discussed the regional struggles to maintain an historic heritage in the face of climatic and social pressures. Can the Southwest, a region steeped in religious and cultural traditions, pieces of which can be purchased for the right price, accept Las Vegas, which implodes its heritage and sells images of Elvis like *santos*? On the other hand, as Rothman argued, is Las Vegas more authentic than other parts of the Southwest, precisely because in Las Vegas there are no pretensions toward historic or cultural authenticity? Compared with places like Santa Fe or Tombstone, where the present-day appearances suggest historic continuity irrespective of recent construction, could we consider Las Vegas to be more "authentic" simply because it does not claim to be anything more than it is?

The answer, of course, depends on which stories we choose to tell. There is no doubt that Las Vegas is a beneficiary of the mythology of the Southwest—a land of opportunity, where past failures can be forgotten and future riches await beyond the next hill. Unlike the rules at Taos and Acoma pueblos, where the boundary lines that restrain visitors are clearly visible and restrictive, the boundary lines in Las Vegas are intentionally obscured, creating the impression that anything is accessible for those with the right combination of luck and wealth. Ultimately, Las Vegas can be both authentically southwestern and deeply artificial, just as the wedding vase that I purchased can be simultaneously Acoma art and tourist commodity.

This represents the great paradox of tourism in the Southwest: Tourists are constantly seeking unique and authentic experiences, but the decision to preserve and market a particular element of culture threatens to make static those processes meant to change over time. Where the preservation, interpretation, and marketing decisions come into view, the mythology threatens to fall apart. If the Grand Canyon can be home to a remarkable cultural heritage that is rendered all but invisible for the sake of the famous view, what does this mean for a place like Santa Fe, where a reconstructed heritage is the principal attraction? What is the future for national park sites like Fort Bowie and locally motivated cultural centers like that of the Tohono O'odham in an increasingly competitive heritage tourism market, a market dominated by places like Las Vegas? Most of all, what is the future of the past in the Southwest? How can Fort Bowie, Santa Fe, and Tombstone all claim to represent the Southwest without the collapse of the region's identity? In the end, as I have said before, what matters most are the stories we choose to tell, whether we are tourists or the managers of heritage sites. There are no eternal rules or guidelines, only the narratives that weave us together with the places we visit and the things we take home with us.

Notes

[1]For a very brief introduction to the vast sociological and anthropological literature on authenticity in tourism, see Edward M. Bruner, "Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism," *American Anthropologist,* 96 (June 1994), 397-415; Kjell Olsen, "Authenticity as a Concept in Tourism Research: The Social Organization of the Experience of Authenticity," *Tourist Studies,* 2 (2002), 159-82; and Leif Selstad, "The Social Anthropology of the Tourist Experience. Exploring the 'Middle Role,'" *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism,* 7 (2007), 19-33.

[2]See, for example, Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); and Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998); Hal Rothman, ed., *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

[3]Dilworth, *Imagining Indians*, 81.

[4]See Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe,* for an excellent discussion of Santa Fe's struggles with this conflict.

[5]Chris Wilson, "The Reluctant Tourist Town," in *Myth of Santa Fe*, Wilson, ed., 80-95.

[6]"Welcome to Grand Canyon National Park," *The Guide*, 2005.

[7]Jeffrey Helmer (tour of Fort Bowie National Monument, 14 June 2005).

[8]Anita Badertscher (tour of Tumacácori National Monument, 11 June 2005).

[9]National Historic Landmarks Program, "Tombstone Historic District," National Park Service, http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=88&ResourceType=District (accessed 22 May 2007).

[10]Art Austin, (tour, Tombstone, Arizona, 16 June 2005).

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]Shakespeare Ghost Town, "Shakespeare," http://www.shakespeareghosttown.com (accessed 22 May 2007).

[14]Manny Hough (tour of Shakespeare Ghost Town, New Mexico, 17 June 2005).

[15]Larry A. Delgado, "Bienvenidos," *Santa Fe Visitors Guide* (2005), 7.

[16]*Santa Fe Visitors Guide* (2005), 9-13.

[17]Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, "About MIAC/LAB," Museum of New Mexico, http://www.miaclab.org/about/index.html (accessed 25 May 2007).

[18]Docent tour (Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 23 June 2005).

[19]Bernard Siquieros, "Faces and Places of the Tohono O'odham Nation" (presentation at Westward Look Resort, Tucson, Arizona, 12 June 2005).

[20]Hal Rothman, "Cultural Tourism and the Future: What Las Vegas Tells Us about Ourselves," in *Culture of Tourism, Tourism of Culture*, Rothman, ed., 244.

Preserving Pictures of the Past:
The Packaging and Selling of the American Southwest with an Emphasis on the Historic Preservation

ANDREW D. A. BOZANIC

"Smile!" "Say cheese," shouted the Hopi clowns as they gathered their invited lunch guests together for a series of pictures. Shouting through bullhorns, dressed in jean shorts, and sporting yellow-painted torsos and faces, the clowns brought me along with several members of my group to an impromptu banquet in the center of the square in the Hopi Indian village of Moenkopi. In a mockery of all-you-can-eat buffets, Fourth of July festivities, and, above all, the ubiquitous use of a camera, the clowns turned the tables on the voyeuristic tourists who flock to the American Southwest for its unique and authentic blend of culture and tradition. By capturing the moment with disposable cameras, the Hopis simultaneously accomplished two acts. First, they mocked one of the primary tourist impulses, obtaining a photographic memento of an authentic "Indian" encounter. Second, and more important, the Hopis carefully framed an image of the dance seemingly frozen in time, thus preserving a snapshot depiction of one facet of the American Southwest.

The peoples of the American Southwest have been placed, and in some ways place themselves, in a difficult position, moving among the spheres of tourism, education, preservation, and exploitation. For centuries indigenous societies of the Southwest have traded and sold elements of their culture to various groups including European colonizers, other Native Americans, Mexicans, and Americans. As Leah Dilworth demonstrates, ethnographers,

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anthropologists, and entrepreneurs often exploited Native Americans in the late nineteenth and early twenthieth centuries for the sake of causes ranging from scientific investigation to historic preservation to good old-fashioned monetary greed. These incidents forced the people of the Southwest to re-orient how they portrayed themselves to the outside world, and also fundamentally altered the controls they placed on visiting tourists, a process of which we became an integral part on the Hopi Reservation.[1]

The Badger Kachina dance, which we were fortunate enough both to witness and participate in, was one of the most prominent and memorable experiences that we took away from our trip. In June 2005, I embarked on a five-week-long journey with other graduate and undergraduate students to conduct field research on the history and the people of the American Southwest. Our destinations included a number of sites ranging from state monuments to museums to tribal and national parks, as well as to churches and even casinos. We sampled an array of cooking from the brittle Hopi piki bread served in the Hopi home of the Poulingyoumas, to a "Christmas" medley of chiles dished up in countless Santa Fe restaurants. Dancers performed for us and watched us perform, cowboys struggled to ride broncos on the Fourth of July, and fierce winds blew sand in our faces as we motored across Monument Valley. Many of us purchased pottery, rugs, jewelry, dolls, and other pieces of what we deemed to be "authentic" Native American and southwestern arts and crafts. Throughout the trip, we took turns being students, consumers, and even voyeurs as we explored the various facets of the culture of the region.

Contrary to my own preconceived notions, it is clear that the American Southwest cannot be viewed as one contemporaneous, homogenous picture. Instead, the outwardly projected vision that constitutes the Southwest is made up of a series of snapshots, each one marketed and altered to fit with particular economic and cultural concerns. While a snapshot captures a recorded image, it is not necessarily the most objective method of preserving an historical moment. A snapshot does not provide context for its subjects—namely, the people or places within the focus of the lens. Instead, it only displays a piece of the large picture. What gets left out of the frame is just as important as what is contained within the image. Snapshots can be manipulated and staged without the viewer ever knowing otherwise.

Carey McWilliams uses the analogy of a play to describe the role of the Spanish in the colonization of the Americas. "Lifting the curtain on the New World, they enacted the prologue of its settlement." As he explains, "in the latter-day revisions, the prologue has been retained but the play itself has been rewritten and embellished." Similarly, the snapshots that make up the drama of the Southwest are based in some way on authentic events, places, and people of the region, yet they have been modified over time to serve various purposes. In creating these snapshots, tribal leaders, federal employees, local businesses, and private citizens have attempted to strike a balance between preserving

their culture and making it an attractive and profitable commodity. Each of these snapshots, in turn, aids in authenticating the numerous representations of the American Southwest.[2]

These unforgettable views are intended to attract tourists and preserve endangered cultural and material aspects of the region. Varying philosophies of control by private citizens, government agencies, and Native American groups, combined with changing techniques and methodologies in conservation practices, have influenced the evolution of historic and cultural preservation in the American Southwest. I begin this essay by exploring the technical and environmental challenges of historic preservation in the region. The second section delves into the positive and negative aspects of the snapshot images of the American Southwest. The third and final section addresses the delicate balance of who controls what is preserved, how it is marketed, and to whom it is sold. By examining the techniques and methods of historic preservation used at locations across Arizona and New Mexico, I will demonstrate one aspect of how these images of the American Southwest are crafted and controlled.

Throughout the course of this article, I will offer my thoughts on answering some of the essential questions that we as a group conceived before the trip began, as well as the individual questions that I composed with regard to my specific lens of historic preservation. My source material is drawn mostly from my personal experiences in the field as recorded in my notebook and captured on my camera, as well as from countless discussions with the cultural interpreters, business owners, and local residents encountered on our site visits. In addition, the various secondary sources that we read, in preparation for and during the trip, served to contextualize the vast wealth of knowledge that we uncovered first-hand in the short time we spent traveling across Arizona, New Mexico, and Nevada.

SECTION I
KEEPING THE PICTURES FROM FADING: THE FIGHT TO SAVE THE STRUCTURES OF THE SOUTHWEST

The snapshots of the American Southwest are grounded in particular places and cultural locales. From the architecture of the Roman Catholic Church to the disappearing mining towns associated with the Wild West, the physical remains of southwestern culture are vital to its packaging and promotion.

Unfortunately, due to a combination of factors, much of the region's historic architecture is rapidly returning to the land. This section will examine the continuing attempts of state and federal agencies to stem the erosion of adobe, sandstone, and other common building materials of the region. The preservation of adobe architecture in the Southwest presents an expensive, labor-intensive problem for cultural-resource managers. The material itself was

Remains of walls at Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by author.

never designed to be a permanent architectural element, but rather one that would require regular maintenance. Without constant additions of brick and mud mortar, adobe will literally melt away, returning to the soil whence it came.

The harsh sunlight, frequent winds, and low humidity of the Southwest wreak constant havoc on the fragile historic structures. The environmental conditions at several national park sites in New Mexico serve as vivid examples of the struggle between nature and the extant cultural remains. Chaco Culture National Historic Park experiences more than 130 days per year of freeze/thaw conditions that constantly eat away at the adobe mortar. Water and wind are slowly erasing the carved signatures found on the rock face of El Morro. Similarly, Ranger Emily Crews at Bandelier National Monument described erosion control as the biggest problem for the National Park Service in maintaining and preserving the sites within Frijoles Canyon.[3]

High winds, winter snows, and poor drainage continue to plague the ruins at Fort Union National Monument. Moisture becomes trapped in the countless cracks of the structures, which once frozen, further damages the extant ruins. Snow drifts in the winter months exacerbate the problem by destabilizing the

Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, Arizona, 2005.
Photograph by Eric Steiger.

foundations of the remaining walls. The United States Army constantly dealt with the same deteriorating conditions during the property's forty-year tenure as an active military base, from 1851 to 1891.

In order to combat these conditions, preservationists have adopted a variety of techniques. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, local preservationists reinforced the walls of the Big House with steel and wooden beams in addition to laying brick and mortar at the base of walls. Though not adobe, the primary component of these walls is a compound known as caliche that consists of a mixture of clay, sand, and calcium. In addition, beginning in 1903, Casa Grande's Big House has been sheltered by a roof structure. The original $1,900 roof was replaced in 1932 by a $28,000 structure. Ironically, this roof structure, visually one of the most recognizable aspects of the monument, is now in need of costly preservation work every ten to fifteen years and is itself now eligible to be protected as a National Historic Landmark because of its age. Another unexpected and potentially detrimental impact of this roof structure is that it has become an attractive nesting spot for several species of birds. Now

the National Park Service must also deal with the unfortunate side effect of damage from bird feces to the walls of the Big House.

Preservationists must also address new problems created by failed technical solutions utilized during the first half of the twentieth century. From the 1930s to the 1950s, cement was used to reinforce adobe mortar and walls. Over the years, preservationists discovered that the miracle compound they once hoped would seal and permanently preserve adobe structures fell far short of expectations. Unfortunately, the cement actually allowed water to leach into cracks in the walls,where it froze and expanded, causing further damage. In sites such as Bandelier National Monument in New Mexico, workers now must replace the concrete that was originally intended to strengthen the soft tuff stone of Frijoles Canyon or risk further damage.

Today, commercial cement binding compounds such as Durabond and Daraweld-C are mixed with local materials (lime, sand, gravel, and dirt) and water to form stronger mud mixtures. This mud slurry (or "amended mud" at Casa Grande) is regularly applied to the existing adobe by brushes or brooms on an average of every two to seven years. One unfortunate side effect of Durabond is its propensity to cause a by-product of calcium carbonate to leach out of walls to which it is applied. At Fort Bowie National Historic Site, concrete caps have been applied to some walls in the hope of preventing further damage and erosion from rainwater. Similar efforts were used at Tumacácori National Historic Park in Arizona where the remains of several outlying buildings have been capped with materials such as adobe lime plaster and cement, but the environmental conditions continue to literally melt away the adobe structures. The property necessitates the care of two National Park Service preservationists year-round. More than ten thousand man-hours per year are required to keep the building in its current condition. The most visible sign of preservation efforts is the white dome of the church that is maintained with a hydraulic lime mixture.

Most managers that I spoke with agreed that adobe mortar made of local materials applied regularly to the ruins seemed to stand the best chance of fighting adobe erosion. This boils down to a question of manpower, time, and money for the managing agency. In the case of properties controlled by the National Park Service, parks such as Fort Union and Bandelier rely heavily on part-time workers during the summer to serve as a stopgap measure to combat erosion. Unfortunately, these efforts only maintain the status quo of the existing structures instead of addressing permanent solutions. Nevertheless, the preservation of these structures offers visitors a chance to glimpse, if only for the near future, some of the snapshot images of the American Southwest.

Almost overwhelmingly, site managers throughout the region believed that maintenance of the adobe structures was fundamental to preserving the history and culture of the American Southwest. But as Park Ranger Claudette Norman conceded at Fort Union National Monument, the lack of

funding and manpower makes the fight an almost futile effort, one ensuring that only the foundations of the fort will remain in fifty years. It is doubtful that the monument will receive an increase in preservation funding, because of its low visitation numbers. Nevertheless, preservation work continues each summer on the hardest hit sections of the monument.[4]

Yet Mother Nature is not the only concern for preservationists in the American Southwest. The detrimental impact of humans in the form of tourism can be seen in a number of sites in the region. Numerous signs instruct visitors to keep off walls and structures in order to preserve their fragile existence. Constant touching of walls, paintings, and artifacts by visitors can accelerate the effects of erosion because of the oils on their fingers. Sites such as Casa Grande have restricted visitor access to architectural remains including prohibiting the once popular tours that allowed people to walk around inside the Big House.

Another solution employed at Fort Bowie and Chaco Culture National Historic Park involves limiting visitor access. Using a method that outweighs the needs of the many over the needs of the few, park managers have decided not to modernize the access roads leading to these sites. Visitors are forced to traverse almost twenty miles of dirt roads, sometimes risking the effects of washouts and flash floods, to reach the visitors' center and the most popular pueblos within the park. At Fort Bowie, visitors must hike three miles (round trip) on a footpath to reach the remains of the fort. Both of these parks discourage the large amounts of visitation that could potentially accelerate deterioration of the already scarce remains at both sites. Contrast this practice to that at other prominent national parks such as Yellowstone and the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, both bringing visitors in by the busload. The print literature for Chaco sums it up best: "We believe that traveling 15 or 22 miles on a dirt road is a small price to pay for the kind of park experience that is fast disappearing from our American scene."[5]

In a similar vein, some scholars advocate burial of sites in the Southwest as the only viable option for stabilizing, protecting , and thus saving them. In Lynn Neal's assessment of the efforts at Homolovi Ruins State Park, she outlines an alternative path to dealing with a lack of adequate resources for preservation: "Generally, sites that we as archaeologists and resource managers are not prepared to protect, manage, and properly mitigate and interpret, should not be developed for the public."[6]

A variety of novel interior preservation techniques are also at work in the Southwest. Mission San Xavier del Bac, located southwest of Tucson, Arizona, hired a team of international conservators to clean and restore the interior walls and artwork of the still-functioning Catholic church. Beginning in 1992, conservators worked for three months a year for five years in order to correct past restoration attempts (oil paints had been applied on top of existing paintings in the 1950s) as well as to clean damage from candle soot and moisture. The church now employs beeswax candles in order to cut down on damage from soot. One novel solution to interior preservation recently used at Tumacácori involved

the use of an adhesive made from prickly pear cactus to re-secure plaster inside the church. The exterior renovation efforts of San Xavier del Bac also use a mixture of lime and prickly pear cactus juice to restore the bricks of the structure. It is a striking comparison to view the scant efforts of preserving the ruin of Tumacácori with the $1,000 per-day restoration efforts on the exterior of San Xavier—the White Dove of the Desert. The Mission's need for almost constant care is caused by the fact that the church has become a well-known symbol of southern Arizona. It is a snapshot that is closely tied to the identity of the region and its inhabitants.[7]

In addition, the charters governing several National Park Service properties stipulate that the sites must be maintained as ruins. One example of this is the deteriorating remains of Tumacácori, a site that offers an alternative notion of the snapshot image. The park preserves and interprets an eighteenth century Spanish mission that served the O'odham Indians of the area. The mission was looted heavily during the period between its decommissioning by the Catholic Church in 1848 and its designation as a national monument in 1908. The roof was replaced at that time, but most of the structure remains in a state of ruin, walls peppered with holes dug by foolhardy adventurers in search of mythical Jesuit gold. Despite its appearance, the church hosts special events including weddings and masses several times a year.

In order to educate visitors and give them a sense of how the church once appeared, the National Park Service employs a combination of visual and aural technological aids to preserve the structure's original mission. Since the church cannot be rebuilt or renovated, waysides utilize full-color paintings to show the former appearance of the church to visitors, while well-hidden speakers emit the subtle, almost imperceptible sound of Christian religious chanting. Herein, the site simultaneously presents two snapshots: one of the church in ruin when it became part of the National Park Service in the early twentieth century and one conveying fleeting glimpses (and sounds) of what the mission once resembled at its height.

Once the structures are gone, sites will be forced to use alternative means such as waysides and interactive models, as in the case of Tumacácori, in order to educate tourists and visitors. It should be noted that some professionals and cultural groups would rather see sites remain as ruins, in that "a ruin invites visitors to populate and rebuild the past in their own minds." When asked what might happen if one day the Casa Grande Ruins had eroded away and only the protective roof structure remained, one park ranger remarked, "We'll just change the name to the 'Big Roof National Monument'…and life goes on. We could mention that it once covered an ancient ruin…here's a photograph of what it looked like." Despite this reliance on the creativity of visitors' imaginations, the lack of extant structures or ruins may ultimately strain the ability of sites to portray themselves as tangible historic remnants of the Southwest.[8]

SECTION II
RETOOLING THE SNAPSHOTS: THE DILEMMA OF RESTORATION VS. PRESERVATION VS. RECONSTRUCTION

Preservationists have utilized a number of approaches in tackling the challenges facing historic sites in the American Southwest. According to the architect and planner Norman Tyler, "Some see their role primarily as saving old buildings, some as preserving a cultural heritage, some as urban revitalization, and some as an alternative approach to current development practices." Other scholars have argued that the native inhabitants of the Southwest have been "orientalized" by the hegemonic or colonial motives of anthropologists, archaeologists, artists, collectors, and other visitors to the region who assumed that Native Americans "were not capable of using the land appropriately or of governing themselves." From the colonial hegemonic viewpoint, one dominant social group can literally control the presentation of the past through technology by erasing the indigenous people or repositioning their status in the historical record while still preserving the built environment.[9]

These methodologies of historic preservation that in some cases conflict with one another also factor into the overall packaging of the region. It is impossible to describe and articulate the vision of the American Southwest as one uniform image of the past, but rather it is a slide show of historic snapshots of the region. The images depict some elements of the Southwest that remain in ruin, while others have been carefully reconstructed (and virtually re-forged) in order to serve a purpose, be it education or commodification.

The snapshots of many sites and towns in the Southwest, seemingly moments frozen in time, are in actuality not frozen at all. When placed in their proper historical contexts, the different elements of these pictures can be pulled apart to reveal how and by whom these images were crafted and framed. The architectural style of Santa Fe, New Mexico, preserves a myth based on a mix of reality and an imagined past. Under the guise of restoration, city officials, beginning in 1912, instituted new architectural ordinances in the hopes of breaking the city's thirty-year economic decline. Incorporating the themes of the nationwide City Beautiful movement, planners constructed a romanticized design style that blended Spanish colonial and Pueblo elements and unified the façade of the city's buildings. This practice mirrored the beliefs of Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who was considered the first restoration architect. His philosophy centered on the idea that "To restore a building is not only to preserve it, to repair it, or to rebuild, but to bring it back to a state of completion such as may never have existed at any given moment."[10]

One of the most revealing aspects of the blended preservation/restoration/reconstruction in Santa Fe can be found in the Palace of the Governors. The building, formerly the seat of government under Spanish, Mexican, and American rule, and which now houses a museum, offers a lens through which

Institute of American Indian Arts Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Eric Steiger.

Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by author.

Contrasting architectural styles in Bisbee, Arizona, 2005. Photograph by author.

Interior of a room at Chaco Culture National Historic Park, Nageezi, New Mexico, 2005. Photograph by Lindsey Baker.

to view the efforts of early twentieth century preservationists. In order to showcase the evolution of the Palace, the museum presents one room that contains a wall featuring a cross-section of adobe brick structure, white plaster, and a cutaway of a post-1850 fireplace. Samples of wallpaper and woodwork demonstrate the previous decorative incarnations found in the room. The 1909-13 renovations conducted by Jesse Nusbaum are portrayed as removing the Victorian styling and returning to the Palace its colonial furnishings and appearance. Yet, in reality, Nusbaum advocated a liberal scrape policy that altered the museum to conform to the emerging Santa Fe style. To the uninformed visitor, the renovations appear more like a carefully orchestrated effort at historic preservation than a completely new stylistic remodeling of the Palace.[11]

Similar transformations took place across the country during the twentieth century. From Providence, Rhode Island, to Santa Barbara, California, newly established architectural review boards and preservation societies adopted standards aimed at guaranteeing uniformity in the houses and buildings of neighborhoods. Perhaps one of the most prominent examples is the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. By demolishing modern additions, rebuilding Colonial architecture, re-routing traffic, and relocating residents, the twentieth century restoration architects transformed the city into an idealized vision of a previous era. It has been called "the ultimate in preservation, an attempt made to freeze time at some particularly favourable moment." As Chris Wilson has argued, the changes enacted by the "City Different" movement in Santa Fe, including the "infusion of Pueblo forms," evoked a "more fascinating, non-European form of the exotic." As with the case of Williamsburg, historical elements are indeed preserved in these efforts, but present-day Santa Fe depicts a blended, romanticized image that privileges certain cultural heritages over others.[12]

A counterpoint to the Disneyland-like creation of the Santa Fe architectural style are the preservation efforts of the town of Bisbee, Arizona. During the 1970s, as artists moved into the former copper mining town, the residents created a downtown historic district. Rather than a blended, unified form as in Santa Fe, the Bisbee buildings reflect a pastiche of changing architectural styles that span from the mining boom era of the 1880s to the Art Deco construction of the 1930s. In some ways this approach mirrors the "scrapbook" idea of preserving historic structures as seen in Henry Ford's Greenfield Village and William Randolph Hearst's San Simeon.[13]

Perhaps the best example of a Southwestern site that exhibits a mixture of ruins, preservation and reconstruction is Chaco Culture National Historic Park. Unearthed by anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the sandstone ruins provide a glimpse into the lives of ancestral Puebloans. The crown jewel of Chaco's Pueblo Bonito is the restoration/ reconstruction of an interior room that is virtually intact, with the original vigas and latillas visible in the ceiling that date back to the eleventh century. The only

modern addition to the room is the mud plaster on the walls. Nevertheless it is yet another snapshot image created to give visitors an experience in which they can step back in time to see a seemingly frozen and preserved historical moment. By combining original architectural elements with carefully reconstructed modern components, the room offers the visitor what appears to be an authentic piece of the ancestral Puebloan culture. Yet, in reality, the snapshot offered by the room mixes the old with the new in a twentieth century creation that offers a possible glimpse of its eleventh century incarnation.

Several sites in the Southwest create a seemingly paradoxical dilemma that blurs the line between preservation and restoration. At El Morro National Monument in New Mexico, rangers erased graffiti by smoothing and sanding portions of the rock. To an outside observer, this practice at El Morro appears contrary to the nature of its existence because the site contains a large collection of historic signatures carved on its rock face. These signatures are essentially historic graffiti. How then can the National Park Service justify the removal of modern graffiti and how does it differentiate between historic and contemporary graffiti? Understandably, the park service must deter visitors from mimicking the exploits of Spanish and American explorers who inscribed "I was here" on the monument. Visitors are encouraged to save their carvings for a large rock placed at the entrance to the park's visitors' center. But the moment that the monument came into existence on December 8, 1906, the government literally drew a line in time defining which signatures would be treated as historical (pre-1906) and those that would be seen as modern graffiti (post-1906).

Another viewpoint on historical graffiti exists at Navajo National Monument where petroglyphs are prominent features of the ancestral Puebloan remains at Betatakin. Yet rangers have chosen to leave modern graffiti on the walls adjacent to hiking trails. In a matter of a few decades, if left untouched, these signatures will take their place alongside the carvings of the ancestral Puebloans in the historical record of Navajo National Monument.

One particular site on our journey, Shakespeare Ghost Town, an apparently abandoned, dusty town in western New Mexico, captured the attention of all of us, as my colleagues Eric Steiger and Cristina Turdean elaborate on in their essays. Despite five and a half years of negotiation, Manny Hough, the longtime owner of Shakespeare Ghost Town, recently decided not to turn the town over to the state of New Mexico to be made into a state monument. Hough's late wife Janaloo, and her family, the Hills, had worked tirelessly since 1935 to document and preserve the history of Shakespeare, yet the state's interpretive plan for the town significantly diminished their role in the story. This situation raises a fundamental question in determining what constitutes the correct way to preserve historic structures. The trained archaeologists and anthropologists who crafted the Santa Fe style were all educated professionals. Can we consider their renovations of the Palace of the Governors as indicative of "proper" techniques of preservation? I argue that they did a fair amount

of irreversible damage to the existing structures. Who is to say that similar things would not happen if the state were to take control of Shakespeare?[14]

The truth is that one correct method of historic preservation that is suitable for every site may not exist. The best example of this comes from the town of Old Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona. Our guide for the site, Jane Poulingyouma, did not possess the accreditation of the National Park Service, or even the Hopi Tribal Council. Instead she carried the distinct experience of being born and raised in the community.

To an outsider such as myself, the village appears to be on the verge of ruin, with almost all of the buildings in various states of disrepair. There is no electricity to the village, and its residents rely on water that is brought to them by truck. Yet despite the bleak landscape surrounding it, the most striking aspect of the tour for me was the collection of wooden beams sitting out in the open, exposed to elements, roughly piled together near the entrance to the town. According to Poulingyouma, these beams represent all that is left of the Spanish mission that once stood in the town. Its destruction in 1680 during the Pueblo Revolt is an important symbol to the Hopis. Though the wood may be slowly wasting away to the elements, they are being preserved, though perhaps not in the traditional sense. To disturb those timbers would be to disregard and disgrace the Hopi tradition.

Leigh Kuwanwisiwma, director of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, echoed this notion of preservation in reference to Chaco's Pueblo Bonito. "Pueblo people still pay spiritual homage to this 'footprint' for no archaeological site is ever considered 'abandoned.' Pueblo Bonito is still a living legacy to us and to other pueblos." The pile of rotting beams in Old Oraibi serves as a similar "living legacy," a stark reminder of a pivotal moment in the history of the Hopi tribe.[15]

This case best demonstrates that each site presents a unique situation in which to apply the principles of historic preservation. With so many different parties vying for control of the extant structures and the over all preservation and packaging of the American Southwest, a balance must be struck among groups with regard to techniques of preservation.

Section III
Who's Behind the Camera: The Control of the Preservation and Packaging of the American Southwest

Perhaps one of the most intricate and complex aspects of my field research centers on the question of who is behind the camera taking these snapshots: In other words, who controls what gets promoted, preserved, restored, and even reconstructed.

Only a handful of the sites falls under the control of a single entity. Acoma and Taos pueblos, which have become the snapshot models of an archetypal Indian pueblo, exercise meticulous control over their visitors in order to shape

their outward appearances and attract tourists/consumers. The members of these pueblos control almost every detail involved in the packaging and selling of their particular cultural experiences. Eric Steiger and Cristina Turdean's essays further discuss the carefully crafted tourist experience at these particular pueblos.[16]

Numerous locations in the Southwest represent sites of contestation, as in the case of tug-of-wars between the federal government (often in the form of the National Park Service) and a Native American tribal council. At Bandelier National Monument, ranger crews made a point to refer to the people who lived at the Tyuonyi pueblo as "ancestral Puebloans," not as "Anasazi," a Navajo word that translates to "ancient ones" or "ancient enemy." Yet during our visits to national and tribal parks on the Navajo Reservation, the term Anasazi was widely used by the rangers and guides when referring to "ancestral Puebloan" artifacts and ruins. The Alcove House, at Bandelier, which contains a reconstructed kiva done by Jesse Nusbaum, was formerly called the Ceremonial Cave. However, park interpreters now agree that its purpose did not revolve solely around religious activities. Physically, the snapshot image is still present for visitors to experience, but in this case, the caption has been modified to reflect the latest scholarly research. Part of this policy at the park could also be a result of the check on the National Park Service control by six of the nineteen pueblos that claim ancestry with those who built Alcove House. Contests over control of historic sites have led to changes in how the park service interprets and educates visitors on the historic importance of a particular place.[17]

One of the best examples of these interpretive changes can be found at New Mexico's Bosque Redondo Memorial at Fort Sumner State Monument. The site commemorates the end point of the forced march of the Navajos and Mescalero Apaches in 1863, attributed to Colonel Kit Carson, and infamously known as the Long Walk. The reservation created at the fort was named Bosque Redondo or Round Woods in Spanish.

Established as a state monument in 1968 on the one-hundredth anniversary of the treaty, signed June 1, 1868, that ended the Navajos' detention at the reservation, the site features the remaining capped foundations of the old fort. In June 2005, the New Mexico state government dedicated a new visitors center and renamed the site Bosque Redondo Memorial at Fort Sumner State Monument. The structure attempts to represent the combined vision of both Dine and Apache. The teepee-shaped building, along with walking trails around what little remains of Fort Sumner, recalls the story of the Long Walk, and the obstacles that the Navajos and Apaches faced at the site.

Yet one of the most striking aspects of Bosque Redondo is how the snapshot image presented to the public has literally been reframed. Fort Sumner is well known in southwestern lore as the site where the infamous outlaw Billy the Kid was killed. Though the material remains of the site have not changed, the

interpretation has shifted to focus on the Native American experience there, rather than on the violent death of a notorious figure of the Wild West. While visitors are still drawn to Billy the Kid's gravesite and the numerous museums and shops featuring his likeness in the nearby town of Fort Sumner, the public image of the State monument now rests solely on the tragic story of the Native American reservation.

The struggle for control of preservation does not always involve contests between Native American groups and government agencies. In Tombstone, Arizona, philosophies of preservation and packaging differ between business owners and local and state preservationists. In order to cater to the idealized past of the bloody gunfight at the O.K. Corral as representing Tombstone's main claim to fame, many local business owners have altered the façades of their buildings in the district without consulting the historic preservation guidelines laid out by the National Register of Historic Places.

While officials at the Tombstone Courthouse State Monument acknowledge the role of the gunfight in the town's history, they would prefer that the town attempt to preserve its architectural heritage as a late nineteenth century frontier mining town. Art Austin, manager of the Tombstone Courthouse State Monument, argued that the original impetus for its 1961 designation as a National Historic Landmark was the town's significance as a boomtown known for its silver mining in the late nineteenth century.[18]

Yet the original nomination's Statement of Significance contradicts Austin's statement:

> "Tombstone is one of the best preserved specimens of the rugged frontier town of the 1870s and '80s. Site of one of the West's richest silver strikes and the "gunfight at the OK Corral," Tombstone epitomizes the legendary reputation of the "Wild West" and lawlessness of the 19th century mining camps."[19]

Why does this contradiction matter? Because the manipulated snapshot image of Tombstone sold to tourists and consumers privileges the heritage of the gunfight and the Wild West over other historically significant aspects of the town's history. Whether or not the original buildings or the true location of the gunfight remain is irrelevant for many of the businesses as long as the town continues to evoke images of Wyatt Earp and Doc Holliday engaged in the infamous shootout.

At present the town is still in danger of losing its National Historic Landmark designation. According to Austin, the residents of Tombstone would like to keep the designation, but the business owners do not feel it is essential in order to continue to attract tourists. The state monument officials are currently working with the Tombstone Restoration Commission (founded in 1948) so as to bring the town back up to the standards laid out by the federal

government. Unfortunately, the National Park Service estimates that at the moment it will take a minimum of $25 million to bring this historic landmark up to "satisfactory condition."[20]

The contest for control among governmental, tribal, and private managers of properties in the Southwest leads to wide variations in commodification and preservation practices. The snapshots take on different shades of color and light, depending on who is taking the picture. What gets packaged and preserved in the lens and what gets left out of the frame depends entirely on the group (or groups) who hold control of the site. As Marguerite S. Shaffer has demonstrated in her research on the tourist scrapbooks of Mildred Baker, "they reveal not only the tourist landscape, but also the cultural ideals and expectations that shaped [the tourist's] romantic image of the Southwest."[21]

Conclusion: Compiling a Scrapbook of the Southwest

The residents of the American Southwest are constantly engaging in a process of cultural commodification. Preservation is a vital aspect of this equation. In order for the marketers of the Southwest to attract tourists to the region, the cultural and material remains of the past must be preserved. Because of the harsh environmental conditions, the ubiquitous use of adobe, and the lack of funding and manpower, large portions of these remains face the possibility of being lost forever. Some sites such as Tumacácori are already preparing for this possible outcome by employing new methods of interpretation that engage the fertile and creative imaginations of visitors and ask them to picture in their minds how a building or landscape may have appeared in the past.

Yet as I found out along the way, one correct method or technique of historic preservation does not exist. Shakespeare, while it will surely benefit from increased monetary and resource support, is not automatically better off under the control of the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe's unique architectural style, while successful in maintaining popularity, does not represent the most accurate portrayal of the city's rich cultural history. The beams in the center of Old Oraibi stand as a testament to an alternative way of viewing historic preservation. All of these cases beg the question whether or not we can preserve the past without ossifying it? Nevertheless, each of these examples offers insights into the complicated issues associated with preservation in the region.

The American Southwest is made up of a multitude of snapshots that feature architecture, clothing, dances, music, stories, and above all people. Seen juxtaposed to one another, as if carefully arranged on the pages of a scrapbook, they allow us to begin to ascertain the complexity inherent in the snapshot representations of the American Southwest. In order to understand the larger collection of these snapshots, one must keep in mind that many

of these are contested images. Some have been staged, while others neglect to show important elements outside of the frame. Each one is attached to a purpose, be it an economic lure or an educational tool.

Visitors are drawn to the region to experience first-hand this collage of images that preserves a spectrum of people and places, some vibrant, others decaying, and many struggling to survive in the face of cultural, social, and environmental obstacles. Yet those who travel to the Southwest also play a role in the manufacture of these representations. Shaffer asserts that, "tourists, in buying, embracing, one might even say, collaborating with the staged authority of tourism, shared in the production of the tourist experience." This point brings me back to the encounter that I began with: my participation in the Hopi dance at Moenkopi. [22]

Though cameras are not allowed on the Hopi reservation, I would like to imagine that a collection of pictures from the various dances exists somewhere on the mesas. In the images, tourists, like myself, pose with the clowns, the traditional subjects and the photographers reversed. Regardless, these images represent both an outward projection of Hopi culture and a carefully crafted image of the American Southwest preserved for posterity.

NOTES

[1]Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).

[2]Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 30.

[3]Emily Crews, National Park Service ranger, interview with author, Bandelier National Monument,, Los Alamos, New Mexico, 21 June 2005.

[4]Claudette Norman, National Park Service ranger, interview with author, Fort Union National Monument, Watrous, New Mexico, 24 June 2005.

[5]Recent developments toward paving the roads leading to Chaco may change this preservation scenario; National Park Service, *What About That Road?* (pamphlet, 2005).

[6]Lynn N. Neal, "Emergency Ruins Preservation and Restoration at Homolovi Ruins State Park," in *The Reconstructed Past: Reconstructions in the Public Interpretation of Archaeology and History*, John H. Jameson Jr., ed. (New York: Altamira Press, 2004), 243.

[7]Bernard Fontana, anthropologist and guide, interview with author, Mission San Xavier del Bac, Tucson, Arizona, 13 June 2005; for further reading on the popularity of San Xavier, see James S. Griffith, *Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992).

[8]Eric Gable and Richard Handler, "Deep Dirt: Messing Up the Past at Colonial Williamsburg," in *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past,* Yorke Rowan and Uzi Baram, eds. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Altamira Press, 2004), 168, 171-72; Dave Winchester, park ranger, interview with author, Casa Grande Ruins National Monument, Coolidge, Arizona, 2007.

[9]Dilworth, 6-7. For further reading on hegemony and historic preservation, see Diane Barthel, "Historic Preservation: A Comparative Analysis," *Sociological Forum,* 4 (March 1989), 87-105.

[10]Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 121-25; quoted in Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000), 18-19.

[11]Briann Greenfield "Marketing the Past: Historic Preservation in Providence, Rhode Island," in *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States,* Max Page and Randall Mason, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 163-84; Tyler, *Historic Preservation,* 20; Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 125-28.

[12]E. R. Chamberlin, *Preserving the Past* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1979), 159; Tyler, *Historic Preservation,* 18; Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe,*145, 252.

[13]Chris Caple, *Conservation Skills: Judgement, Method and Decision Making* (London: Psychology Press, 2000), 67; also Chamberlin, *Preserving the Past,* 159-77.

[14]Manny Hough, owner, Shakespeare Ghost Town, interview with author, Shakespeare, New Mexico, 17 June 2005.

[15]*Here, Now and Always*. Current exhibit, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe.

[16]For further reading on the stereotypical Indian pueblo displays at expositions and world's fairs, see Dilworth, *Imagining Indians,* 91; Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

[17]Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe,* 95. For further reading on the preservation relationship between the federal government and American Indian tribes in the Southwest, see Roger Anyon, T. J. Ferguson, and John R. Welch, "Heritage Management by American Indian Tribes in the Southwestern United States," in *Cultural Resource Management in Contemporary Society: Perspectives on Managing and Presenting the Past*, Francis P. McManamon and Alf Hatton, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 120-41.

[18]Art Austin, manager, Tombstone Courthouse State Monument, interview with author, Tombstone, Arizona, 15 June 2005.

[19]National Historic Landmark Program, National Park Service: Tombstone Historic District; see http://tps.cr.NationalParkService.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=88&ResourceType=District (accessed 2005).

[20]*Ibid.*

[21]Marguerite S. Shaffer, "Playing American: The Southwest Scrapbooks of Mildred E. Baker," in *The Culture of Tourism, the Tourism of Culture: Selling the Past to the Present in the American Southwest,* Hal K. Rothman, ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 74.

[22]*Ibid.*, 94.

COMMENTARY

Magical History Tour:
On the Beaten Track in the Land of Enchantment

Leah Dilworth

Telling people you're studying tourism in the Southwest can elicit much eye rolling and comments that suggest you might as well be conducting "research" during Spring Break in Fort Lauderdale. I imagine Professor Barry Joyce and his band of graduate students encountered some of that response as they prepared for their five-week, fifty-attraction tour by van of Arizona and New Mexico. This road trip may have promised more excitement than a classroom seminar, but the students were in for an experience of a completely different order. They were traveling not only as tourists but also as historians. As historians, they prepared for the trip by reading scholarly books about the history of the region, and they formulated questions they hoped to answer by collecting and recording data in the field. The students left Delaware armed with three essential questions: What impact has the packaging and selling of the American Southwest had on the history and culture of this region? Why has the American Southwest historically been the subject of such intense commodification? How has this process contributed to the allure of the Southwest as a "unique" and "authentic" region? As they continued on their journey, two additional important questions emerged: Just who is doing the

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packaging and selling of this region? How has this commodification shaped the self-identity of those who reside in the Southwest?[1] They hoped that the answers to these questions would delineate the many, often conflicted, "uses of the past" in the American Southwest.

But Joyce's pedagogical goals aimed at something more than practice in cultural and historical research. As he stated in his introduction, he wanted to reposition these students as learners, "to move each student off center just a bit" and ask them to question received notions such as "*tradition, authenticity, commodification, sacredness, stewardship, ethnicity, preservation*,"[2] In other words, the students would be encouraged to reflect on their positions as observers, participants, and interpreters; they would be conscious of their role as tourists, calling into question the very nature of the meaning and practice of history. In my comments on the three resulting papers, I will consider the project's methodology, how well the writers met the goals of their inquiries, and how they handled the self-reflexivity asked of them. Finally, I'd like to look at what the project might suggest in terms of new directions in the study of history, tourism, and identity in the Southwest.

Unlike much historic and anthropological research, in which scholars tend to dig deeply into one locale or archive, the work of Bozanic, Turdean, and Steiger resulted from a whirlwind tour. Their essays present quick renditions of many sights, several of which are mentioned by at least two of the authors. San Xavier del Bac, Taos Pueblo, Acoma Pueblo, and Tombstone, Arizona are mentioned, at least in passing, by all three writers. These four sites are indeed fascinating, and we get multiple perspectives on each and how interpretations are being formed and contested. The down side to the whirlwind tour is that one wishes sometimes for the writers to stop and linger, to reflect in more depth on what they saw. I felt this way particularly about the Mission San Xavier del Bac, one of the most intriguing historical sites in the region, since the various functions of the church (religious, social, touristic) are all clearly on view. There are very few of what Dean MacCannell has called "back regions," off limits to tourists.[3] It's a functioning church, and it's being preserved as an historic site, but the site's role as a marketplace is also starkly evident in the church gift shop and in the parking lot dotted with food vendors. San Xavier is very different from a place like Acoma or Taos, where the tourist experience is tightly controlled. Cristina Turdean gives a thoughtful analysis when she compares the mission to the Burger King on the Navajo reservation, which displays an exhibit about the Navajo Code Talkers, during World War II. She claims that at these sites, "The learning experience is intimately connected to the unmediated contact between locals and tourists within a space that encourages the dialogue as well as reflective introspection"[4] While I might take issue with the idea that the spaces offer interactions that are "unmediated," she goes on to make a good point about the two sites: "As visitors learn about the history of the region they are also given the means to consider the context in

which this information is packaged and to judge its validity for themselves."[5] In other words, interpretations are presented within a context that exposes the cultural and institutional apparatuses that are usually off limits in more highly controlled sites, which opens up new interpretive possibilities.

Another invaluable aspect of the project is its collaborative methodology. The benefits of collaboration in teaching and training are well known, but rarely in the humanities do scholars truly attempt to work together on research projects. These three articles clearly show how the writers' research and analysis were enriched by this shared experience. To evoke Bozanic's metaphor, the articles present albums of snapshots assembled by three individuals observing from their own particular perspectives, aware of their "lenses," from the personal to the professional. The effect is somewhat kaleidoscopic, but that is appropriate, because the articles demonstrate that no narrative of history in the Southwest is seamless; they show us the fractures, dissonances, and conflicts present at every turn, but also the beauty and truths that arise in certain juxtapositions.

Professor Joyce's goal of repositioning these scholars was one of the most important successes of the project. All the authors are acutely aware that they are engaging in many roles that are intertwined and overlapping: student, researcher, tourist, shopper. Their articles are refreshingly self-reflexive; it's a pleasure to hear the writers' individual voices as they describe their experiences and candidly struggle with what they are doing and seeing. Bozanic and Steiger take the opportunity to mine this problem at the dance at Moenkopi. As the Hopi clowns turn the cameras on the tourists, the historians feel embarrassed and uncomfortable, each acutely aware that he can't simply watch the spectacle without being noticed. Something about this moment, when the touristic gaze is turned back on the tourist, makes Steiger think that he may be experiencing something authentic. Every site the historians visit, whether it's a Hopi ritual dance, the Kit Carson House in Taos, or the Burger King on the Navajo Reservation, provokes questions about the nature and politics of historical narratives. They discover that being historians does not give them an out; that the role of "objective" observer is just not possible; and that there just is not a viable position "outside" the tourist economy of the region. They are all deeply implicated in the powerful economic, political, and historical processes at work in the region.

Which brings up the issue of agency and who controls historical narratives. Who is "selling" or even telling the Southwest? Who controls the narratives? When confronted by myriad interpretations of the region's past, the writers saw very clearly how the narratives were controlled by stakeholders with all kinds of conflicting claims on the past's meanings. All of these stakeholders, however, recognized that the region's history is a commodity, that maintaining control over the narrative could have real economic effects. For example, in Tombstone, Arizona, we learn that the showdown at the O. K. Corral has been

fetishized and packaged to seemingly no end, and desire for this commodity appears to be endless. On the other hand, there is the narrative of the town's past as presented by the state at the courthouse. Here we have "just the facts," and they are virtually ignored by the visiting public. Steiger makes the point that the state and the National Park Service do not "market" their narratives and sites as well as do the commercial entrepreneurs, and so they get many fewer visitors, and their historical narrative does not sell. While Steiger and the other writers see over and over how the marketplace comes to bear on various historical narratives, they never quite address the question of their own "stake" in the region's history.

I think this blind spot arises in part because the writers don't really analyze the notions of authenticity and commodification. To one degree or another, they all hold onto a scale that runs from the authentic to the kitsch or purely commercial. They would like to see themselves on the "authentic" end of the scale, but it troubles them to see that in the tourist economy, when history goes head to head with the "true story," history loses. "Commodification" and "packaging" suggest an economy at work, but the writers never give a full analysis of it. Furthermore, there is an implicit assumption that commodification and packaging are inauthentic activities; real history shouldn't have to sell itself, even though the writers realize the irony inherent in the fact that the product for sale is "authenticity" or "the past."

Joyce wanted his students to "set aside the Urim and Thummim of theory" and "wrestle with and momentarily pin these ideas down at the spot where they are lived and experienced"[6] I totally agree that the experiential aspect of the project was crucial to the students' education as historians. After all, the road trip usually provides the plot for the American bildungsroman. As scholars, Bozanic, Steiger, and Turdean were able to see for themselves all the various "uses of the past" and even to participate as "users." And I'm always glad to see scholars take tourism seriously. However, in order to interpret these experiences and observations more fully, I think some theory might have helped. In each article, there is some event that unsettles the writer. Bozanic feels self-conscious when the Hopi dancers take his picture, but upon reflection he can't really explain why. Steiger sees a kind of irony in the way the wedding vase from Acoma has been transformed from a tourist item into a significant object in Acoma weddings. He can question his motives and reflect on his feelings, but he doesn't look at the larger economy of the transaction. In both instances, the writers might have built more coherent and compelling arguments if they had had access to more analytical tools. Bozanic's experience at Moenkopi could be understood in terms of the "gaze" and the politics of representation. Reading Marx or Baudrillard on commodity fetishism or Appadurai on the social life of things might have helped Steiger understand the various meanings of the wedding vase and its production and exchange within the cultural economy of the region. To understand the flux and

significance of cultural traditions, the writers might have consulted the works of Werner Sollors and Richard Handler. Turdean seems to be more familiar with current theory in museum studies and does a great job of exposing the complex dilemmas facing historic sites and museums in the region: the pitfalls of public versus private funding, the problems of interpreting a site like Bosque Redondo where there is little or no historical material evidence left, and how much of the past needs preserving at sites like Casa Grande, where both the ruins and the 1930s protective roof are being preserved.

All three writers would have benefited from a thoughtful reading of some post-colonial theory. Conquest and colonialism are crucial elements in the region's history, and their legacy continues to influence every aspect of daily life there. For colonized people, like the Native Americans and Hispanic people of the region, history is often about loss, which may pertain to the ways in which history is represented and told at Bosque Redondo. The issues of identity and self-representation arise in the context of ongoing political and economic struggles, and the tourist economy thrives on extremely narrow racial and ethnic identities, which might help explain why tourists must pay for the privilege of taking photographs at most pueblos. Joyce was probably right not to send the students out on the road packing a dogmatic theoretical paradigm, but I think the careful application of theory to knotty questions can actually provoke thoughtful analysis.

The elephant in the room that no one is discussing in this otherwise wonderful project is the appearance of the tribal casinos that began in the New Mexico pueblos in the 1990s. Steiger actually discusses Las Vegas as a cultural attraction and considers it alongside the Hopi Badger dance at Moenkopi. He notes that the two sites might seem contradictory but he comes to understand both as "authentically southwestern"[3] in that they tap into mythologies of the Southwest as a place where the past lives on *and* as a "land of opportunity, where past failures can be forgotten and future riches await beyond the next hill."[8] The casinos may have seemed somehow outside the historical narratives the writers were looking for, but they are crucial to understanding the tourist economy, tribal sovereignty and identity, and the cultural history of the region. In her wonderful book, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representation in Museums, Powwows, and Casinos*, Mary Lawlor takes as a case study the Acoma Pueblo and its engagement with the tourist industry, including the role of its Sky City Casino. The result is a nuanced analysis of how "the Acoma Pueblo has stepped outside the somber walls of its ancient redoubt to make a strategic entry into the marketplace of America for the sake of restoring tribal economic strength and political sovereignty"[9] Much of the effectiveness of her argument rests on theories of loss and mourning. While the University of Delaware group noted the tightly controlled tour of Acoma Pueblo, Lawlor remarked as well on its emptiness:

> "If, in its remoteness, the pueblo looks disconnected from the evidence of historical and cultural change that surrounds it, the silent emptiness speaks to the losses which that history has meant as well as to a refusal to fill in the erosions with cultural forms and styles of the dominant society. The empty lanes and walls of Acoma Pueblo display the very experience of loss as a continuous, lived consciousness and as an acted-out memory that counters the forces of assimilation."[10]

The essays by Bozanic, Steiger, and Turdean, along with Lawlor's work, represent a new and significant direction for Native American and southwestern studies, in which disciplinary boundaries become more permeable and scholars will continue to open up important aspects of the discourse of history in the region. Undoubtedly the conversations will involve more participants and be much more complicated. Concerns about "authenticity" may recede as our understanding of the region's history grows deeper and broader. In the mean time, Professor Joyce tells me that in his subsequent Southwestern summer seminars, the itineraries have included tribal casinos. I eagerly await what this next generation of scholars will have to say.

Notes

[1]Barry Alan Joyce, "The Commodification of Contested Images; Packaging and Selling the American Southwest; A Collective Approach to Practicing History," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, this issue.
[2]*Ibid.*
[3]Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken, 1976).
[4]Christina Turdean, "Contested Images and Historical Authenticity: History Museums and Historic Sites in the American Southwest," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, this issue.
[5]*Ibid.*
[6]Joyce, "Commodification," Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, this issue.
[7]Eric Steiger, "Guaranteed Authentic: The Commodification of Culture Through Tourism in the American Southwest," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, this issue.
[8]*Ibid.*
[9]Mary Lawlor, *Public Native America: Tribal Self-Representation in Museums, Powwows, and Casinos,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006).
[10]*Ibid.*

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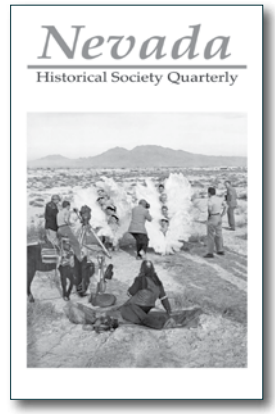

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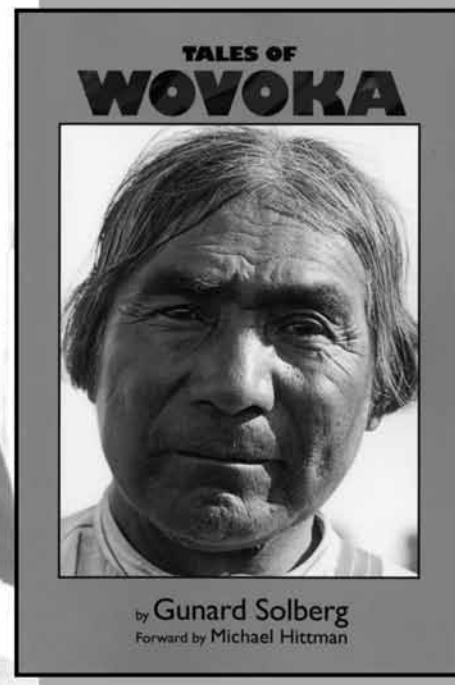

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