Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis accompanies the exhibition Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest at the Kennedy Museum of Art in Athens, Ohio. Gallery 66 explores the specific historical and cultural climate in which the museum’s Southwest Native American Art collections were acquired. It demonstrates the way in which tourist traffic along Route 66 affected the perception of Native Americans in the Southwest and led to a national desire for their art forms. Many of these forms resulted from interactions between Native American artists, the trading post system, and the tourist. The thesis elaborates upon these interrelationships by referring to images and objects within the exhibition. It also discusses Route 66 as an ongoing performance in relation to the concept of Manifest Destiny, calling into question the recent enthusiasm surrounding the road by exploring the notions of narrative, nostalgia, and identity that seem to be at the root of the Route 66 “revival.”

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Introduction

Route 66 is not just a road; it is the setting of a narrative, of a specific theatrical experience that is performed to this day, not only by Americans but also by an increasing number of international participants. The beginning of the pageant, the pilgrimage, the journey, or the story is Chicago, Illinois and the final destination is Los Angeles, California. The American Southwest holds an essential, climactic position along this trajectory. The natural landscape of this region is suddenly and dramatically different from all that leads up to it, but this could be said about most of the transcontinental routes as they traverse the Great Plains into the Rockies. Although the desert scenery of the Southwest is unique, it is the strategic coupling of its landscape with those who inhabit the region, and their cultural production, that distinguishes the Southwest from the rest of the West. The Southwest represents the pinnacle of the Route 66 epic. The Native American is a character, whether a willing participant or not, in this narrative. Native American cultural production in the Southwest has been profoundly affected by the tourist traffic along Route 66. The Kennedy Museum of Art in Athens, Ohio, with its collection of Southwest Native American art, can serve as an example of the strength of this argument. Although it is nowhere near the Southwest, or even close to Chicago, the starting point of Route 66, the museum’s collections and the way in which they have been acquired are evidence of interactions that happened literally on the ‘mother road,’ as John Steinbeck called it. Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest explores the specific historical and
cultural climate within which Edwin Kennedy methodically built his collection. This thesis will examine the relationships between objects and images within the exhibition to demonstrate the way in which the tourist traffic along Route 66 in the early to mid-twentieth century affected the perception of Native Americans in the Southwest and led to a national desire for their art forms. Many of these forms resulted from interactions between the Native American artists, the trading post system, and the tourist, or protagonist, of the open road. I also suggest that these connections are now more relevant and apparent than ever, in light of the Route 66 revival movement that is currently sweeping through this country and beyond.
Part I: The Physical and Cultural Mapping of Route 66

The first thing that visitors see walking into Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest is a large, three-dimensional wall map of the Route 66 states with images mounted and raised so that they pop off of the map itself (Figure 1). These images are mainly photographs of Route 66 landmarks, but also include representations from the “cultural mapping” of Route 66; representations that enable the visitor to go mentally beyond the gallery wall and into the collective history and nostalgia that is typically associated with Route 66.

Most of the recent popular books published on Route 66 use a similar type of picture-map to visually summarize the road. Take for example the cover of a book by Michael Wallis, one of the most revered historians, enthusiasts, and even ‘hero’ of the Mother Road. Wallis has become the unofficial voice of the Route 66 movement. His book, Route 66: The Mother Road, uses a vintage postcard-map as its cover art (Figure 2). This combination, of a geographic representation of space overlaid with pictorial views and symbols, is particularly strategic in ‘fixing’ Route 66 in time and space.

In the discipline of Cartography, the emergence of social theory has given rise to a general rethinking about the nature of maps and mapping, and this is particularly relevant when discussing a topic like Route 66 and regional identity politics. J. B. Harley, the well-known map historian and theorist, advocates for a shift in the way we think about maps. Very basically, a map is a representation of space. Often, however, it is confused, by cartographers and map-users alike, as an objective, scientific reflection of the world – or as Harley says, as a ‘mirror’ of reality. Harley uses methods from social
Figure 1. Wall map of Route 66 from *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.
Figure 2. Historic Route 66 postcard, c. 1950s.
theory, such as semiotic and discourse analysis, to construct a new way of thinking about maps. His writings reflect his belief that a map is a type of rhetorical text that is both artefact and operative, simultaneously a vehicle, or framework, through which discourse moves through, and an active site or discursive agent, in its own right. I believe this concept of the map is indispensable when recounting the mapping history of Route 66. Maps, like other texts, are products of the society from which they are authored or constructed. There is an agenda behind the map-wall in *Gallery 66*, from the colors that were chosen as the ‘background’ to the thickness of the paint used for the state lines, to which cities were selected to have a labeled position along the route in this particular map. Similarly, there was an agenda behind the mapping of Route 66 itself and certainly, today, there is an agenda behind the resurrection of Route 66, which ceases to exist on contemporary road maps but continues to grow as an idea.

Arthur Krim, in his book *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway*, discloses the mapping history of the Mother Road. Although Krim’s book discusses Route 66 as a sort of teleological phenomenon - as if it has been inscribing itself actively since prehistoric time - it is a wonderful source for understanding the evolution of the road from an idea to a fact and finally to an icon, illuminating the entire framework within which we can place the marketing of the Southwest as a destination with a specific, and exotic, regional identity.

Krim first became intrigued with Route 66 after listening to the Rolling Stones’ version of the song, “*(Get Your Kicks On) Route 66,*” in 1964. His book began when he was asked to give a mapping history of the highway at the Henry Ford Museum in 1988
through his connections with the Society of Commercial Archeology (of which he was a founding board member). His “cultural cartography” received national attention in the *New York Times* and on this basis, he wrote his “fully illustrated iconography of Route 66” Very important is the way in which Krim exposes the interdependency between the physical and cultural aspects of the mapping of Route 66.

**Before Route 66: Trails to Rails**

Krim begins his mapping history long before Route 66 was officially commissioned in 1926. He starts by discussing the geography of the Southern High Plains, the terrain of what is now Southern Missouri, Oklahoma, and the Texas panhandle, a region the Spanish referred to as the “*llano estacado*” (staked plains), as being a sort of prehistoric void. Most of Route 66 followed already established railroad lines, which followed explorers’ and settlers’ wagon trails, many of which had their roots in Indian trails used before the time of European contact. There is evidence of habitation of this void during the Ice Age, but the warmer climates brought by the post-glacial period cut off trade between the prehistoric cultures in the Southwest and the Midwest cultures east of present-day St. Louis, even though there were large, sedentary civilizations in either region (Chaco in northern New Mexico and Cahokia in Illinois). During the period of European exploration of what would become the United States, the Spanish and the French explorers did not connect across this region, either. Rather, they used preexisting trails or waterways that went either north or south of the Route 66 alignment through Oklahoma. The railroad lines built in the nineteenth century followed
this same pattern, and it was not until the development of the automobile in the twentieth century that the highway closed the gap, creating a passageway through Oklahoma for the first time.

One reason for this delay was the fact that the Southern High Plains, named by explorers as “The Great American Desert,” was known as Indian Territory. Indian Territory was established in 1830 when it was filled with displaced tribes from the East, some of whom were forced there on the Trail of Tears. Explorers noted the danger of this region, and so the Santa Fe Trail, which went directly over the Ozarks along a diagonal through Kansas Territory (thereby taking a substantial detour around Indian Territory), was considered safer, therefore becoming more popular. The area that is now Oklahoma, or Indian Territory, became even more isolated and feared.

The railroads that came in the nineteenth century basically followed these trails. The Atlantic and Pacific line went from Chicago to Oklahoma City. The Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe line went from western Missouri, through Kansas, the Southeastern part of Colorado, and down to Santa Fe, New Mexico. In Santa Fe, it met up with the Southern Pacific and continued west through Arizona, California, and into Los Angeles. The Southern Pacific line ran through El Paso, Texas, southern New Mexico, and Arizona. The Indian lands of the Oklahoma Territory were opened to white settlement in 1889, and before a railroad along the 35th parallel route (the alignment of the western half of Route 66) had been completed, motor bus routes were established in the Texas panhandle to serve the cattle towns that the railroad had yet to reach.1

1 Arthur Krim, Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway. (Santa Fe: Center for American Places, 2005), 43.
The Birth of Route 66: Railway to Highway

With the statehood of Oklahoma in 1907, boosters began to organize to create a transcontinental highway for automobiles along the 35th parallel railroad route from Tulsa to Albuquerque. Early motor routes began as auto trails that were privately sponsored, as most early automobile owners were part of the leisure class. These routes were named, not numbered, and each had regional advocates and promoters for local attractions. Following is a brief history of the actual formation of Route 66, or U. S. Highway 66. From its very inception, the mapping of Route 66 itself was bound up in the economic demands of local tourism, state identity, and a national desire for transcontinental highways.

Though automobile ownership was initially limited to the upper, leisure class, the production of the Model T Ford in 1908 offered an affordable, mass-produced automobile to the middle class. This brought about an increased demand for roads, leading to the creation of the American Automobile Association (AAA) and the Good Roads Movement in 1915, when a diverse group of automobile and bicycle owners began to campaign for better roads. Highway associations formed, usually in support of specific transcontinental highways, such as the Lincoln Highway Association, begun in 1915. Most roads at this time were either dirt or gravel. The Route 66 alignment began as several different auto trails. Among these was the “Trail to Sunset,” from 1911, which went from New York City through Chicago to Los Angeles, but through Kansas along

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2 Ibid., 44.
3 Peter Brigham Dedek, "Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66." (PhD diss., Middle Tennessee University, 2002), 85.
the Santa Fe Railroad (and the Santa Fe trail), not through Oklahoma. The “National Old Trails Road,” mapped in 1913, was intended as another ocean-to-ocean highway. It also went from New York to Los Angeles, but from New York City it headed south to Washington, D.C. and then west through St. Louis and Kansas City, from which point it followed the Santa Fe line through Kansas, Colorado, and down into Santa Fe. This trail is particularly significant to the mapping of Route 66 in that it set the northern alignment that Route 66 would take through the Southwest (from Santa Fe, it continued west through Flagstaff, Arizona). Complete road maps for tourists were published of the National Old Trails Road, as were strip maps of smaller portions, such as this example from the 1913 *Arizona Illustrated Route Book* (Figure 3).⁴

Here we see one of the first photomaps, published in celebration of Arizona statehood. It shows the route that would later become Route 66 from Kingman, Arizona, to Needles, California, complete with photo inserts advertising a “deserted locomotive,” a view showing a road labeled “easiest grade,” and an old Western saloon, probably from the gold mining town of Oatman, Arizona. Special attention was paid early on to promote the road as the “Grand Canyon Route,” and the portion of the route nearest to the famous attraction was the first to be improved.⁵

A National Highway Association formed in 1912, prompted by the increase in regional auto organizations. The major transcontinental auto travel corridors of the United States had already been laid out. The Lincoln Highway followed the Union Pacific Railroad from New York through Utah to San Francisco, and the National Old

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⁵ Ibid.
Figure 3. Strip map of the National Old Trails road from Kingman, Arizona to Needles, California from the *Arizona Illustrated Route Book*, 1913.
Trails Road followed the Santa Fe Railroad to Los Angeles. The final system of auto trails that would pave the way for Route 66 was the Ozark Trails, which served the ‘prehistoric void’ of the Oklahoma Indian Territory and the Ozarks of Missouri and Arkansas. The promotion of this system first served the private interests of William Harvey, who desired an auto road to his remote Ozark estate in Arkansas. Harvey expanded his proposal into a regional network of roads with the establishment of the National Highway Association. This network linked St. Louis with Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Amarillo, finally etching the path of Route 66 through the once dreaded llano estacado.

An Ozark Trails Association was formally organized in 1913. It held a convention in Tulsa that was sponsored by the Tulsa County Commissioner, Cyrus S. Avery, who has been referred to by Michael Wallis among others as the “father of Route 66.” Avery was responsible for the proposal to join the Ozark Trails with the National Old Trails Road at Santa Fe. In 1917, he was quoted in the Ozark Trails Association’s publication Better Roads, as saying, “The Ozark Trail will not only be constructed, but it will be the ‘mother’ of other great roads feeding or intersecting this road that will span the state in continued mileage in every direction.”6 As Arthur Krim notes, this promotional phrase of the “mother” road was reinvented by John Steinbeck only two decades later in The Grapes of Wrath. Avery’s efforts were stalled during World War I, but were resurrected

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6 Ibid., 55.
and refined after the war in promotion of a signed, paved highway that would link the Great Lakes with the Pacific Coast.7

Named auto trails, such as the “Trail to Sunset” and the “Ozark Trails” carried with them specific, regional associations that catered to tourist traffic. Arthur Krim recounts the intense politicized campaigns that arose during the transformation of these private auto trails into a comprehensive network of nationally designated, numbered routes. In 1916, Congress passed the Federal Aid Road Act, which appropriated $75 million for road building, to be distributed among the states over a 5-year period.8 This act was followed by the Federal Highway Act of 1921, which became the basis for the actual mapping of a network of national roads with a national highway signage system. The American Association of State Highway Officials (AASHO) grappled with the problem of giving order to the preexisting network of over 250 private trails and state road projects. Oklahoma’s Cyrus Avery, a board member for the AASHO, was the most insistent when it came to granting a national numbered highway through his home state. The concerns he voiced during this period once again point to the relationship between what would be Highway 66 and tourism: “The fact that trans-continental railways have for the most part missed the state, because it was so long Indian Territory, has also helped turn travel to other states. But with the shortest route, the best improved route, and a route marked coast to coast, Oklahoma will experience a wonderful increase in tourist traffic.”9

7 Ibid., 57.
8 Peter Brigham Dedek, “Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66,” 92.
A system was finally devised for which to number the transcontinental highways. East-west highways were assigned even numbers while odd numbers were assigned to the north-south routes. There were eight major east-west routes recommended by the board, and these were assigned numbers that ended in zeros. For example, U.S. 20 went from Atlantic City, New Jersey to Astoria, Oregon, and U.S. 40 went from Wilmington, Delaware, to San Francisco, California. Not all of these major routes were true transcontinental highways, but only one of them was diagonal in form – the primary trunk route linking the Midwest to California – Avery’s pet project.

Originally assigned the number “60” in 1925, “66” was chosen a year later after a long dispute between Oklahoma and Kentucky highway boosters. Both states wanted the solid “zero” number. Avery and the other advocates refused to share the number by having their route link up with the highway through Kentucky, and for political reasons, Avery lost “60” to Kentucky, sacrificing the number for the more important goal of keeping a single-signed route through his home state from Chicago to Los Angeles. A number between 60 and 70 had to replace the former U.S. 60. 64 had already been assigned, while 62 was objectionable since it was the former number of the route through Kentucky. The double-sixes were most-likely chosen simply out of preference for a double number over the other remaining option, 68.\(^\text{10}\) Ironically, the number that has achieved an iconic status had quite an arbitrary origination. However, with its unusual diagonal alignment and the alliterative double sixes, the road in its map and sign form stood out from the beginning.

\(^{10}\) Ibid, 69.
Selling 66: Promoting the Route

Congress approved the new highway numbering system on November 11, 1926, making U.S. Highway 66 an official, cohesive reality. It was not at this time, however, completely paved or known to the tourists whom Avery had envisioned using it. Now that it had been given its form, the highway’s function was of the utmost importance. Highway boosters immediately began exploring ways to sell “66” to the nation. In 1927, the National Highway 66 Association was formed, with Cyrus Avery behind the wheel and John T. Woodruff of Missouri as president. Woodruff promised to pave the entire route, and invented the highway’s first nickname, “America’s Main Street,” or, “the Main Street of America.” This slogan reflected the desires of highway promoters to link small town America with the larger cities along the route. More than anything, this vision was commercial in nature. To advertise the route, a long-distance footrace was planned that would begin in Los Angeles and end in New York City, via Chicago. Midwest Sports Promoter C. C. Pyle was hired to promote America’s “First International Transcontinental Footrace.”

The maps that were published to advertise the Highway 66 portion of the race that would become known as the “Bunion Derby” utilized the “Main Street of America” slogan and were among the first representations of the diagonal route intended for a national audience (Figure 4).\textsuperscript{11} In fact, among the 300 people registered in the race were several well-known, European runners, indicative of the Highway 66 Association’s desire for far-reaching recognition. The winner of the 1928 race, Andy Payne, a Cherokee

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 75.
Indian from Oklahoma, took a victory lap around Madison Square Garden in New York City before collecting his $25,000 prize. With poems written in honor of the race, the lore of Highway 66 had just begun to accumulate.

1930 saw the first appropriation of the highway’s double-sixes in advertisement. Phillips Petroleum, an Oklahoma oil company, used the numbers to promote gasoline from its new wells located at Borger near Amarillo, Texas, right along Highway 66. The slogan, “Phil-Up and Fly with Phillips 66” reflected the growing fascination in America not just with auto-mobility, but also with speed. With the double-sixes, Phillips also borrowed the shape of the highway-sign shield to sell its product (Figure 5).12

Krim summarizes the impact of this symbolic combination: “Whether because of the appealing graphics of the paired sixes or their liquid, alliterative sound, Phillips and 66 became entwined, a new part of the roadside landscape, transforming 66 from a federal highway number into travelers’ beacons from Illinois to California.”13

The promotion of Highway 66 continued throughout the 1930s despite the decline in economic prosperity brought about by the stock market crash in 1929. The tenth Olympic Games, held in Los Angeles in 1932, gave the Highway 66 Association another event for which to publicize the most direct route to Southern California, as did the building of the Hoover Dam. This tourist map from 1932 used the “Main Street of America” slogan that had been coined for the Bunion Derby map (Figure 6). More

12 Ibid., 78.
13 Ibid., 80.
importantly, it uses language that depicts the highway as a road through a scenic wonderland of national landmarks.14

By examining this map, we can see the density of signage surrounding western portion of the route. While the Bunion Derby map from 1928 had a bi-directional emphasis (given that the footrace proceeded from west to east), the 1932 map, a project of the Arizona chapter of the Highway 66 Association, clearly presents an east-west journey. This is made explicit by the text in the upper right hand corner, which reads, “The Most Improved – Shortest and Most Scenic Route From Chicago To The Grand Canyon – The Hoover Dam And Los Angeles – The Olympic Games.” The map also lists important tourist attractions throughout New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Not only do we begin to see an emphasis on the west in this map, but the beginnings of a regional, Southwestern association with the entire highway.

An advertisement placed in the Saturday Evening Post by the Highway 66 Association to promote the premiere route to the Los Angeles Olympics further fixes Chicago as the starting point of the route: “One of America’s few great diagonal highways, U.S. 66 is the shortest, best and most scenic route from Chicago through St. Louis to Los Angeles. From the bustling middle west it is a high speed carry-all into the historic and romantic west, the land of limitless panorama and the home of ageless antiquity.”15

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14 Ibid., 79.
15 Ibid., 81.
Figure 4. *Main Street of America, Official Route.* Map of the Bunion Derby from Chicago to Los Angeles route along U. S. 66 with list of runners, 1928.

Figure 5. Evolution of the Phillips Petroleum “66” logo, 1927-30.
Figure 6. Main Street of America, U. S. Highway No. 66. Map of route to the tenth Olympic Games in Los Angeles, 1932.
This quote also illuminates a paradox that I consider to be a defining feature of the Route 66 experience – the simultaneous consumption of space and scenery achieved by the assertion of speed. Why take the shortest, fastest route while at the same time pausing repeatedly to experience the sights along the way? This paradox is reflective of a specifically American desire to have everything at once and to be the first to do so. The packaging of the Route 66 road trip experience is born in these early tourist maps. The performance of the map suggests a delicate balance of escapism – running away from the hands of time, thus transcending time and space – and conformity – tourists must follow a particular agenda to have a full experience, and this requires compliance to the rules of the road, to the map which represents the road, to the constructs of latitude and longitude, and finally to the whole notion of time as a linear experience and space as having a definitive beginning and end.

**Representing the Route: The Dust Bowl’s Westward Exodus**

With the impact of the Great Depression, the inscription of Highway 66 into the national psyche shifted from the promotional activity of the highway boosters to the representation of the Dust Bowl exodus. Although not optimistic in spirit, writers, artists, and musicians of this era certainly contributed to the establishment of Route 66 as an east to west passageway. The representation of the plight of the migrants inevitably added to the romanticism now associated with Route 66, as well as to its international immortalization. With the Dust Bowl, work in California provided a vision of opportunity and hope for the families displaced from their homes by the massive droughts and dust
storms on the High Plains. Ironically, it was through the New Deal relief projects of this time that Highway 66 was fully paved through the Southwest. Improvements were also made to its basic alignment through these efforts. In 1935, the route was extended from downtown Los Angeles to Santa Monica, finally linking the Great Lakes with the waters of the Pacific, and in 1937, Santa Fe was bypassed, linking Albuquerque with Santa Rosa, New Mexico. Also during this time, Route 66 received another nickname in honor of the cowboy humorist from Oklahoma, Will Rogers, who had raised $90,000 in his home state for drought relief. This designation came shortly after Rogers was killed in a plane crash in 1935. Today, a plaque at the Santa Monica pier designates the Main Street of America as the “Will Rogers Highway”.

Beginning in 1935, the Resettlement Administration, an agency established by the Department of Agriculture, fostered the representation of the Dust Bowl migration. The RA sponsored a number of projects to document the national disaster. One of these was the photo-essay book by Paul Taylor and Dorothea Lange, *An American Exodus, A Record of Human Erosion*, published in 1940. Lange had become known as a documentary photographer for portraits she had taken at the migrant camps of California’s Central Valley. One portrait in particular, now known as the “Migrant Mother,” an “iconic Madonna of the Great Depression,”16 brought her national recognition. *An American Exodus* included a photograph from a series that Lange had shot of a Missouri family hitchhiking along U.S. 66 near Weatherford, Oklahoma (Figure

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16 Ibid., 86.
The series is now thought to be the only set of dated photographs taken by a documentary photographer employed by the Farm Security Administration, or the former RA, that represent the Route 66 of the Dust Bowl period. Also in the book, Taylor included a map showing the “Origins of Migrants to California,” from 1935-37 (Figure 8). The broadest stream of migrants, as the map shows, came through the Southwest along the Route 66 corridor. These images helped to secure Highway 66 as the main migrant route to California. Other works from this period, such as Taylor and Lange’s article from *Survey Graphic*, “Again the Covered Wagon” (1935), the Pare Lorentz film *The Plow That Broke the Plains* (1936), and Archibald MacLeish’s photo-essay book (which also utilized Lange’s photography), *Land of the Free* (1938), collectively helped to align the Dust Bowl exodus with the earlier westward migrations. The migrants became the pioneers of the frontier, once again enacting the east to west pilgrimage that has come to identify Route 66 as a patriotic passage. None of these works, though, had the effect of putting Highway 66 on the map as did John Steinbeck’s novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*.

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17 Ibid., 88.
18 Ibid., 91.
Figure 7. “On Highway 66 near Weatherford, Oklahoma,” by Dorothea Lange, August, 1938.

The Grapes of Wrath was first published in 1939. In the book, Steinbeck created the story of the fictional Joad Family of Sallisaw, Oklahoma, from his experience in the migrant camps of California’s Central Valley during the 1930s. By making the trip himself, he saw first-hand the Dust Bowl migration along U. S. Highway 66, which he immortalized as the “Mother Road” in Chapter Twelve:

“Highway 66 is the main migrant road. 66 – the long concrete path across the country, waving gently up and down on the map, from the Mississippi to Bakersfield – over the red lands and the gray lands, twisting up into the mountains, crossing the Divide and down into the bright and terrible desert, and across the desert to the mountains again, and into the rich California valleys. 66 is the path of a people in flight, refugees from dust and shrinking land, from the thunder of tractors and shrinking ownership, from the desert’s slow northward invasion, from the twisting winds that howl up out of Texas, from the floods that bring no richness to the land and steal what little richness is there. From all of these the people are in flight, and they come into 66 from the tributary side roads, from the wagon tracks and the rutted country roads. 66 is the mother road, the road of flight.”19

The Grapes of Wrath plotted the procession of the Joad family west, using actual place names lifted directly from a road map. Arthur Krim describes the impact of Steinbeck’s use of the double-sixes as a graphic representation, or symbol, to personify the road. The number became a signifier for the entire narrative of the exodus itself. When Viking Press published the book in New York, U. S. 66 was brought to the attention of Easterners who were unfamiliar with the Western road. The design for the book’s cover, by Elmer Hader, depicts a Southwestern landscape with migrants in the foreground gazing out upon caravans of jalopies (Figure 9). It is strikingly similar to many nineteenth century views of wagon trains moving west (Krim, 103). As Krim’s iconography shows,

the translation of the book into various foreign languages even as the war engulfed Europe and Asia “inscribed the exodus route of Highway 66 into the imagination of a wartime world that sought escape through the Joad family and its trek from the devastations of the Dust Bowl. The mobility of destitute Americans traveling national highways across a continent in their own cars fascinated Europeans and Asians confined within their borders and restricted by passports and political oppression.”

A German translation of *The Grapes of Wrath* from 1943 even included a full-color map of the route taken by the Joad family (Figure 10). Other translations from the years 1939-42 include Japanese, Chinese, and Russian. Krim discusses an illustration that proceeds Chapter 12 of the Russian edition from 1940 as having a particularly poignant position within Route 66 iconography. He writes, “Above the text is an evocative drawing of an open road dwindling toward a horizon closed by distant mountains. It is all but a graphic equation: 66 = open road, where open road = America.” (Figure 11).

The release of Steinbeck’s book was immediately followed by a bid for its film rights by Twentieth Century Fox producer Darryl Zanuck. Zanuck had become known for his production of Western films in the late 1930s, two of which were directed by John Ford and starred actor Henry Fonda. Following this “frontier formula,” Zanuck enlisted Ford as director for the adaptation and Fonda to play the lead, Tom Joad. He insisted on

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21 Ibid., 105.

22 Ibid., 106.

23 Ibid., 108.
Figure 9. Jacket design for Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*, by Elmer Hader, 1939.
Figure 10. *Fruchte des Zornes*, endmap, 1943.

Figure 11. *Grozdya Gnjeva*, first page of Chapter 12, 1940.
filming scenes of the migrant camps and the Highway 66 trek on location to authenticate the documentary style of the narrative. Three hours of footage shot along the road was edited down to three minutes in the final cut, but this did not lessen the visual impact created by the repeated framing of the U. S. 66 highway shields marking the passage from state to state (Figure 12). The filming also included a detour to the Navajo Reservation, to shoot a scene where the Joads come upon a herd of sheep and several Navajos weaving. This scene can is included in the clip selected for Gallery 66.

As highway boosters had done a decade before, Twentieth Century Fox used a picture-map to promote the authentic highway setting. A press packet was distributed that included lobby cards featuring a “Blow Up Map of the Joad Family Trek,” (Figure 13) giving the film a “cartographic credence… as a scenic highway film across the Southwest.”24 The film won two Academy Awards in 1940. It also inspired Oklahoman folk singer Woody Guthrie to write the two-part ballad of Tom Joad, featured on his 1940 album, Dust Bowl Ballads. As Krim writes, “The Joad family saga found a deep well of sympathy in the American public, which came to see the picture as a modern Western, one in which the wagon train had been turned into the auto caravan and the Oregon Trail into U.S. 66.” 25

Strategic 66: The Route and World War II Military Movement

Although the representation of Dust Bowl exodus of the Great Depression era undoubtedly immortalized Highway 66 on an international level, its lesser-known role in

24 Ibid., 110
25 Ibid.
Figure 12. Film still from The Grapes of Wrath showing U. S. 66 location shot, 1940.

Figure 13. Lobby card for The Grapes of Wrath, 1940.
World War II had a greater effect upon the road’s actual usage. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the port of Los Angeles became a major war production center. U. S. 66, at this point, served the strategic purpose of being the most efficient, all-weather route for the rapid mobilization of manpower and military supplies from the industrial Midwest to California. The War Department had also expropriated the nation’s railways, creating a transportation vacuum that was filled by the trucking industry, which had become a more efficient way for keeping pace with the demands of the war. This called for improved highways. During this period, the government also invested $70 billion in capital projects in the West, a large portion of these being in Southern California. This created thousands of civilian jobs intended to meet the production demands brought about by global war. The desert climate of the Southwest also became an ideal location for training bases and military facilities, many of which stretched along U. S. 66. Much larger than the Depression era’s exodus, the war period brought about a mass migration of over 1 million people from the Northeast to California.26

Although tourist traffic was greatly reduced during this time due to the rationing of rubber tires, gasoline, and a halt in automobile production, the military activity indirectly contributed to Post-war tourism along the Mother Road. Along U. S. 66, or Central Avenue, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, a large tourist complex was developed for military personnel and scientists from Los Alamos who were working on the Manhattan Project. Many highway motels and cafes were built to accommodate this

influx. In the period following the war, thousands of military men who had received their training in the Southwest and the West realized that they actually preferred the culture and climate of these regions and decided to permanently relocate from the East, reflecting the optimism of the Post-war period ‘American Dream’. Among these soldiers was a man who has become a crucial figure in the cultural mapping of Route 66, Captain Robert, or “Bobby,” Troup (Figure 14).

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Figure 14. Bobby Troup with his second wife, Julie London, late 1960s.
Selling 66 Part 2: Popular Culture and Post-war Tourism

1946 was an important year for Route 66. It brought about the resurrection of Cyrus Avery’s vision of the highway as the best tourist route to the West. The late 1940s and 50s would mark the height of auto tourism along the road. Although this was largely due to improved economic conditions that granted leisure time to the middle class (here we see the birth of the family vacation), Route 66 tourism from this point on is forever indebted to innovations within popular culture and media. In 1946, Pennsylvania native Bobby Troup, having been discharged from the Marines, made his famous road trip west. He and his wife, Cynthia, picked up Highway 66 in St. Louis and drove all the way to Los Angeles, where Bobby was hoping to make it as a songwriter. Along the way, they began to write the song that would become known as “(Get Your Kicks on) Route 66!”

Troup had visited the Hollywood jazz clubs on the Sunset Strip while on shore leave during the war. Upon arrival, he immediately returned to the Strip, seeking out the Nat King Cole Trio, one of the premier jazz groups in Los Angeles. Through connections he had, Troup arranged to meet with Cole and pitched the half-written road trip song to him. Cole found the song appealing, possibly because he had made the trip west from Chicago, where he grew up, himself, and agreed to record it.

Using his AAA highway map, Bobby completed the rest of the song. It was a sort of “lyric itinerary” of place names along the highway. Reiterating the frontier narrative of the pioneers and the Dust Bowl refugees, it once again positioned Chicago as the starting point of the journey and L.A. as the destination. The song became one of the

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28 Ibid., 122.
biggest hit singles of Cole’s career, and it forever changed the way Americans would refer to the road that had until then been known as “U. S.” or “Highway” 66. Moreover, Cole permanently fixed the pronunciation of the word, route, assuming Troup’s eastern accent by singing “rewte” as opposed to the Midwestern “rout.” Arthur Krim further elaborates upon this significance in his *Iconography*. He writes, “Calling a highway a “route” was common in the East and, like the pronunciation, revealed the song as an outsider’s description of 66 as a tourist road to California. Troup’s lyrics attuned the road to Eastern ears, and effectively dismissed the Dust Bowl “Highway 66” as a prewar Westernism,”29 (Figure 15).

Another text from 1946 that would establish the highway as a tourist route in the Post-war period came in the form of a guidebook. Jack D. Rittenhouse wrote and published *A Guidebook to Highway 66*. The first of its kind, it provided tourists with detailed maps of the entire route, listed the mileage between cities, and warned travelers about hazardous sections of the road. It also listed the best cafes, restaurants, gas stations and tourist attractions, complete with the historical commentary and insider information necessary to have a rewarding touristic experience. In this way, it began a process of standardization of the tourist’s agenda or itinerary. All this could be obtained for only one dollar in 1946 (Figure 16).30

This period also saw a proliferation of tourist postcards, many of which contained picture maps of Route 66. One example by the Curt Teich company from around 1950

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29 Ibid., 123.
Figure 15. Song sheet cover for the King Cole Trio’s version of Troup’s song, 1946.
level plain. Unless you watch sharply, you will cross it before you are aware of it. It is over 100 feet deep and several hundred feet wide, although south of here it is deeper. Early wagon-train pioneers found it difficult to cross.

72 mi. (202 ml.) TOONERVILLE. A single building providing gasoline, groceries, and lunches. West of here, the plains end, and you soon enter the COCONINO NATIONAL FOREST. The first trees are rather scrubby, but they soon give way to tall yellow pines.

74 mi. (200 ml.) US 66 here crosses PADRE CANYON, which is quite similar to Canyon Diablo.

Now US 66 winds through the pines, which present a welcome relief from the parched desert. In this region, many ancient pueblos have been found, since the early Indians undoubtedly also enjoyed the timber and shade. Filling station operators between here and Flagstaff can direct you to some of these sites.

82 mi. (192 ml.) WINONA. (Alt. 6,005') Winona Trading Post offers cafe, gas, groceries, and several cabins.

US 66 now begins to climb more steeply, although there

are no difficult grades between here and Flagstaff. The pines become taller, and the road winds a bit.

At 86 mi. (188 ml.) a road runs (L) to WALNUT CANYON STATE PARK, five miles south. This is one of the major prehistoric ruins easily reached from US 66. In a deep gorge, over 200 cliff dwellings cling to the sides of the steep rock. The village was busiest from 1000 to 1200 A.D., and the people were hunters, farmers, and traders. Open from 8 AM to 5 PM. No admission. Picnic area. Foot trails to many structures.

90 mi. (184 ml.) Gas station. Another at 91 mi. (183 ml.).

92 mi. (181 ml.) Junction of US 66 and US 89. Camp Townsends Trailer Camp here, with garage and store. You can camp here in the pines.

96 mi. (178 ml.) Camp Elden. Another camping spot, with a garage and cafe.

99 mi. (175 ml.) FLAGSTAFF. (Pop. 8,000; alt. 7,000'; hotels: Monte Vista, Weatherford, Bank, Commercial; many courts, including: Arrowhead Lodge, El Pueblo, Flagstaff Motor Village, Rock Plaza, Vandevier Lodge, Nickerson's, Mac's, Motor Inn, Cactus Gardens, Dixon, and Sunset; garages: Cheshire, Babbitt, Waldman's; curio shops; stores; cafes; all facilities.)

Flagstaff is the locale of the great All-Indian Pow-Wow each year for three or more days starting on July 4th and attended by thousands of Indians. Cowboys and Indians can be seen in their picturesque dress on Flagstaff streets
exhibits a yellow highway shield-shaped sign with black lettering placed in the top center of a map that has been cropped so that it only shows the parts of the states that the road bisects (Figure 17). The sign reads “Route 66,” demonstrating the immediate influence of Troup’s song, released by the King Cole Trio only four years earlier. The new name is paired with the “Main Street of America” slogan from the old Highway 66 Association maps. Flanking either side of the shield are two postcards within the postcard, one from Los Angeles, on the left and another from Chicago, on the right. The obstruction of some of the state lines and the elimination of the non-Route 66 states altogether serves to emphasize the diagonally waving, bright red route. Below the states are inset photographs depicting the Hoover dam, a desert landscape, an American flag, an Indian figure with a headdress, and an equestrian statue from the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma. The names of cities are written in a sky blue while the names of associated landmarks dominate in the bright red of the route. The simple, uppercase lettering has a hand-written feel to it, adding a democratizing authenticity in an appeal to the middle-class 1950s tourist. The postcard known today from the cover of Michael Wallis’s book has a very similar composition. These ‘maps’ are not intended for usage, of course, the way we typically use maps; they are poignant advertisements directed at a specific audience.

This is even more apparent in another postcard from this period, produced by the U. S. 66 National Highway Association (Figure 18). 31 In the image, the Route 66 states appear as if they have been cut out from the rest of the country, which has been excluded

31 Peter Brigham Dedek, "Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66," 147.
Figure 17. Tourist postcard produced by the Curt Teich Company, c. 1950s.

Figure 18. Tourist postcard produced by the U. S. National Highway Association, 1950s.
completely. The route itself is represented by a thick, unbroken black line that unites Chicago and Los Angeles, which are represented by a skyline and some palm trees, respectively. Place names have been sacrificed for regional pictorial icons, such as a cowboy, some canyons, and a cactus. The diagonally arched route becomes an “attractive graphic”32, a symbol for speed and modernity, anchored by the pitch in the upper left hand corner, “Travel US 66 … Will Rogers Highway … 1296 Miles Four-Lane!” The linking together of the states by this thick line, with no reference to the larger geographical framework that they are part of, visually supports their connectedness, while simultaneously suggesting that the rest of the country is unnecessary. Route 66 is America, and America is Route 66. One more element establishes the direction of travel on the road. In the right hand corner, mirroring the slope of Route 66, is an illustration of a four-lane highway with a US 66 shield marking it as a detail of the same road that appears on the map. The lines dividing the four-lane road narrow as they slope upwards, as if they will converge in the East. The lanes expand as they slope downwards and to the left, positing the West as open, vast, and above all, modern, as tiny, 1950s Cadillacs make their way west upon these lanes.

Promotional materials such as tourist postcards and the emergence of Route 66 in popular culture through the voice of Nat King Cole contributed to the overall development of the Southwest and the West as desirable regions not only to vacation in, but to live in as well. This period saw a general population shift in the United States from “Snowbelt” to “Sunbelt”. Census figures from the years between 1945 and 1960 indicate

32 Ibid.
a population growth along Route 66. New Mexico’s population grew by 40%, while Arizona’s grew 75%. California received the largest increase. Based on census figures from 1980, “California displayed the most rapid and sizable population development in the industrialized world in the forty years following World War II. Los Angeles and San Diego rivaled New York and Philadelphia as America’s most rapidly growing cities.”

Whether traveling for leisure, business, or relocation, Route 66 enabled this demographic shift, and the growing demands of travel stimulated the growth of roadside commerce. The U. S. Highway 66 Association reorganized in 1947. At a meeting, Ralph Jones, a motel owner from New Mexico, spoke of the commercial profits to be gained from the promotion of the scenic highway. He argued, “We got it folks. All we have to do is go after it right. People must be sold on coming to 66 before they leave home. So let’s set aside all the sectionalism and strive for the greatest good for the greatest number. Let’s do it in the American way!” The quintessential roadside motels, Mom and Pop restaurants, cafes, and gas stations, as well as the quirky roadside attractions and landmarks of Route 66, emerged during this time. I will discuss the use of stereotypical Native American figures and themes within this type of architecture later, but in general, the imagery of the 1950s roadside was codified by businesses attempting to attract a wide range of travelers. Postcards were an effective way for businesses to advertise. Bold, elaborate signage became indispensable for these reasons, and other forms of auto-related advertisement, such as the billboard, announced businesses to travelers hundreds of miles

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34 Arthur Krim, Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway, 129.
before they reached them. Lester B. Dill, working for the Meramac Caverns in Stanton, Missouri, launched a promotional campaign so wildly successful that it became an American institution: the bumper sticker. From this point on, cars along Route 66 themselves became mobile agents, helping to sell the highway and its sites even as the motorists drove along it.

The Death of a Highway and the Birth of an Icon: From Interstate to State of Mind

The greatest irony of the Route 66 saga lies in the fact that the postwar period of prosperity along U. S. 66 foreshadowed its demise. Plans were underway for an improved system of national highways to replace the existing network when Route 66 had barely been paved. From the excessive truck use during the war and the postwar proliferation of automobile production and use, the narrow alignments and antiquated structural supports of the 1926 highway system were in need of an overhaul. Even during the war, an improved interstate system that would link all the major metropolitan centers in the country was proposed. However, it did not become a reality until the 1950s, when the War Department’s prediction of further conflict in Asia and the heightened global tension due to the Cold War triggered Congressional action.

Federal sponsorship for an interstate highway system was markedly increased by the vision of Dwight D. Eisenhower who was serving a second term in the White House. During World War II, he had seen the strategic value of Hitler’s Autobahn. He recalled, “I saw the superlative system of German national highways crossing that country and

35 The Road Wanderer, “Missouri Route 66,” http://www.theroadwanderer.net/66Missouri/route66MO.htm
offering the possibility, often lacking in the United States, to drive with speed and safety at the same time.\textsuperscript{36} Eisenhower’s commitment was met with congressional response with the passage of the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956. This act underwrote the cost of a national interstate and defense highway system, designed with 1975 traffic projections in mind. The interstate system reversed the pattern of the 1926 numbering so that the numbers descended from North to South and from West to East, to avoid using the same number for the same U. S. Route and Interstate Highway. With the new system, the single-numbered diagonal route from Chicago to Los Angeles became divided among five east-west and north-south interstates. U. S. 66 became I-55, which ran from Chicago, through St. Louis to New Orleans. I-44 made up the alignment from St. Louis to Oklahoma City. I-40 replaced a large portion of the route, running from Wilmington, North Carolina, through Oklahoma City, Amarillo, Albuquerque, Flagstaff, and into Barstow, California. I-15 and I-10 made up the final California sections. The number 66 was assigned to a new Interstate route that ran from Washington, D.C. to Strasburg, Virginia, or I-66.\textsuperscript{37}

U. S. 66 did not disappear overnight, or with willingness on the part of the Main Street Association, who recognized the historical significance of the highway’s name. For a while, portions of the interstates that made up the former U.S. 66 were marked with shields that included both designations (Figure 19). Gradually, however, the original sections of Route 66 were replaced with modern divided highways on a state-by-state basis. One by one, towns along “America’s Main Street” were bypassed, sending them

\textsuperscript{36} United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Special Resource Study: Route 66," (Denver Service Center, 1995), 17.

Figure 19. *Route 66 Travel Guide*, produced by the Main Street Association, 1965.
into an economic decline. The Southwest portion of U. S. 66, however, continued to use
the original narrow, two-lane road of the prewar alignment. It was not until 1984 that the
last section of the old road was bypassed in Williams, Arizona. This fact contributed to
the continued business along U. S. 66 in places such as Gallup, New Mexico, home to
many of the trading posts that will be discussed in Part II of this paper, throughout the
1970s.

U. S. 66 was officially decommissioned in 1985, but when the Interstate Highway
Act was passed in 1956, much of the cultural mapping of Route 66 had yet to be
completed. Arthur Krim writes in his *Iconography*, “…the physical identity of U.S. 66
was continuously eroded by widening and relocation throughout the 1960s construction
of the Interstate system. As its physical identity was erased, nostalgia for Route 66 in the
popular media grew, and the transformation of the route from physical road to national
symbol accelerated. It was almost as if the more difficult it was to find the route on land,
the easier it was to locate its sense of unlimited opportunity in the mind. As the open road
began to disappear in fact, it began to blossom as Route 66 in the mind of a youth
generation that had never known it.”38

Krim describes how the iconization of Route 66 developed from the first
recording of Bobby Troup’s “(Get Your Kicks! On) Route 66” by the King Cole Trio.
The song itself has had many resurrections, and versions by Chuck Berry (1961) and The
Rolling Stones (1964), expanded its audience to include a new generation. To the
international rock and roll youth culture, it did not matter if “the Troup place-names were

38 Ibid., 139.
now distorted beyond recognition,”³⁹ or if the road itself was physically disappearing. “Route 66” was assuming a new identity that became about going somewhere, symbolic of free-spirited rebelliousness. This spirit also became associated with the “open road” through the publication of Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* in 1958. The original, Signet jacket cover proclaims the book to be the ‘bible of the “beat generation”’ (Figure 20). It has been written that Kerouac was inspired to venture west after hearing the King Cole Trio’s version of Troup’s song in 1946, although Kerouac only mentions 66 in the book once. He wrote, “My first ride was a dynamite truck with a red flag, about thirty miles into great green Illinois, the truck driver pointing out the place where Route 6, which we were on, intersects Route 66 before they both shot west for incredible distances.”⁴⁰ Although he does not travel on 66 itself, few books on Route 66 fail to mention Kerouac’s masterpiece. The physical, psychological, and emotional picture of traveling that Kerouac painted has become synonymous with the Route 66 counter-culture experience, conflicting, at times, with the values embraced by the 1950s tourists on their family vacations.

1960 saw another appropriation of the highway in popular culture in the form of a television series. *Route 66* ran from 1960 to 1964. It was conceived of by its writer/producers Sterling Silliphant and Herbert Leonard, and was originally titled *The Searchers*. The cast included George Maharis as Buz Murdock, a young drifter from the wrong side of the tracks, and Martin Milner as Tod Stiles, a rich playboy who had inherited a Corvette convertible (Figure 21). The show, sponsored by General Motors,

³⁹ Ibid., 149.
⁴⁰ Ibid., 141.
Figure 20. *On the Road*, jacket cover, 1958.
Figure 21. Color location photo from the third season of “Route 66,” *TV Guide*, January 26, 1963.
featured the two cruising on back roads in the car, happening upon small, troubled towns (and pretty girls) that needed their help. The name of the show was changed from *The Searchers* when the pilot was offered to CBS to compete with other networks’ catchy series titles, such as *Surfside 6* and *77 Sunset Strip*. The name arose as a generic symbol of the American road. As producer Hal Leonard recalled, “It just seemed right. We shot just a couple of dozen shows along Route 66 but it was a symbolic title… It’s an expression of going somewhere… the best known American highway, cutting across America. It’s the backbone of America.”

The opening credits showed Tod and Buz driving along the road that audiences assumed to be Route 66 to a theme composed by Nelson Riddle. The producers had originally wanted to use Bobby Troup’s “Route 66!” but CBS opted for an original score to relieve them from paying royalties to Troup. The episodes of *Route 66* are set in different towns across the country, some very far away from Route 66 territory. This was irrelevant, for the association was enough to forever root the road into the minds of mainstream America. As Krim states, “the series’s concept was one of adventurous road travel, it was sponsored by Chevrolet, it featured the latest model Corvette convertible, and it cemented the connection of Route 66 to the idea of driving down the highway.”

Through the *Route 66* television series, and also through Jack Kerouac’s characters, Sal Paradise and Dean Moriarty based upon himself and Neal Cassady, Americans had definitive models and identities that they could, themselves, assume. Many from the generation who grew up with these characters enacted a similar

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41 Ibid., 142.
42 Ibid., 143.
performance westward in the same spirit of youthful rebellion. During the 1960s and 70s, artists began to examine the culture and imagery of the American highway in a more self-conscious, subversive, or ironic way. This is reflected in the artist Ed Ruscha’s photo book, *Twentysix Gasoline Stations*, and in the art collective Ant Farm’s *Cadillac Ranch*, a monument to the life and death of the Cadillac culture of the American Dream on Route 66. Today, Cadillac Ranch, owned by pop art patron Stanley Marsh who maintains it on his Hidden Art Ranch west of Amarillo, Texas, is one of the most famous attractions along Route 66, or what is now I-40. Visitors to the monument leave painted messages on the buried Cadillac Tail Fins, the palimpsest of marks attesting to the collective narrative of the open road that continues to pervade our culture (Figure 22).

One more work that has contributed greatly to the linking of the American identity with the open road, and most importantly, to the Southwest, is the film *Easy Rider*. Considered one of the first “road movies,” *Easy Rider* (1969), starring Peter Fonda, Dennis Hopper, and Jack Nicholson, has become a cult classic in American film. Written by Fonda and Hopper along with Terry Southern, it was produced by Fonda and directed by Hopper (Figure 23). Fonda plays Wyatt, also known as “Captain America,” and Hopper plays “Buffalo Billie,” evoking Western outlaws such as Wyatt Earp and Billy the Kid. Fonda’s character wears an American flag stitched to his leather jacket, while Hopper’s wears buckskin style clothing. In the film, the bikers are riding from Los Angeles to New Orleans for Mardi Gras. Though it is never named, much of the film was shot along Route 66, including a part directed by Laszlo Kovacs in which the older, two-lane section of 66 between Kingman and Flagstaff, Arizona was used as a location. The
Figure 22. *Cadillac Ranch*, west of Amarillo, Texas, by Ant Farm, 1974.
Figure 23. Photographic still from *Easy Rider*, 1968.
film was overlaid with a rock and roll soundtrack that Hopper chose from his own record collection, forever uniting rock music with Route 66. Arthur Krim writes, “The endless highway imagery, backed by psychedelic rock music, captured the existential search that Jack Kerouac had pioneered in On the Road, now presented as a rainbow-colored landscape of escape.” The landscape Krim refers to here is surely that of Arizona’s Painted Desert. The theme of escape harkens back to the “unrest” voiced by George Maharis in the Route 66 television show episode, Black November, featured in Gallery 66. The Easy Rider desert scene presents an epic, panoramic unfolding of a familiar and desirable narrative. However, the film’s outcome is not one of heroism, and at its core, it questions the very reality of the American Dream of the Open Road. This is no more apparent than in the film’s promotional tag, “A Man Went Looking for America, and Couldn’t Find it Anywhere.” The reversal of the east-west precedent for transcontinental pilgrimages, as the characters proceed eastwards, or backwards, across the Colorado River bridge, (where Peter Fonda’s father, Henry, had crossed into California in the 1940 The Grapes of Wrath), is symbolic as well. The film inverts the directional model that it structures itself upon, replacing Los Angeles with the old world, more European, New Orleans as its destination. Moreover, the promise fulfilled by reaching one’s destination in the traditional westward narrative is made obsolete, and the infinite vastness symbolized by timeless panoramas and the theme of heroic (or anti-heroic) escapism, is defined by death and an irreconcilable clash of identity.

43 Ibid., 153.
Although such counter-cultural commentaries make up a large part of the Route 66 repertoire, they, too, have become submerged within the larger narrative framework of its trajectory. For example, in a 2001 Times Square billboard, Kmart appropriated the Route 66 shield, along with a Southwest diner scene showing two youths about to lock lips, to advertise its line of jeans (Figure 24). Playing upon historical and popular conventions such as those discussed above, Route 66 has been packaged once again. Commenting on this appropriation, Arthur Krim writes, “To see Route 66 projected across Times Square as an image of escape to the open spaces of the West from the urban realities of Manhattan is to understand just how abstract the highway has become, and what an icon it has become, reformed, reshaped, and recolored, as here, to promote consumption of a popular commercial product.”

Thematic marketing such as this of the Route 66 experience can be traced back to a long tradition of promotional imagery and literature that, over time has established the Southwest not only as a region, but as a specific part of a narrative that itself stems from a much older tradition in America. It is to this material that I now turn in an attempt to situate the role of the Native American within Route 66 tourism in the Southwest, and then to the development of Native American art forms in relation to tourism and popular culture over the course of the twentieth century.

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44 Ibid., 5.
Figure 24. K-Mart billboard in Times Square, New York, 2001.
Part II: Selling the Southwest

The east to west framework or trajectory that defines the Route 66 experience described in Part I has its roots in an older epic or narrative that is European in origin and American in outcome. This epic, or theme, most commonly known as “Manifest Destiny,” stems from the era of exploration and discovery but was fully formed in the nineteenth century, owing much to the theory of Social Darwinism. The term, ‘Manifest Destiny’ can be traced to its first use in 1845 by John L. O’Sullivan, an editor for the Democratic Review. O’Sullivan was writing in defense of the annexation of Texas to the United States, which he claimed was part of “the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.”

Roger Cushing Aikin defines the concept as ‘the belief that Americans were destined by Divine Providence to expand their national domain to the Pacific Ocean.’ This concept, which is a vague and loosely defined idea and was by no means an official doctrine used in the westward expansion of the United States, can be found in many forms of political, literary, and visual rhetoric since the country’s ‘discovery’. It is viewed by most writers addressing the subject today as a way in which Americans justified westward expansion, which was seen as a ‘natural right’ of the ‘superior’ Anglo-Saxon race, in respect to the contradiction inherent in the concept of a geographical prepossession of lands that were already inhabited by others, in this case the


46 Ibid.
American Indians. These ‘others’ were cast as either savages to be conquered or a less evolved race to be saved and assimilated. In other words, the concept of Manifest Destiny was founded upon the myth of the racial superiority of whites, specifically Christian Anglo-Saxons. It cleared a pathway from east to west, as the American wilderness was seen as a sort of geographical canvas, filled to the brim with natural resources to be harnessed by those who had a divinely ordained and predestined right to them. The European dream of a northwest passage through the American continent, enacted by a myriad of expeditions, land surveys, and the trek of the pioneers, is founded upon the notion of Manifest Destiny. The mapping of Route 66 described in Part I can be thought of as an extension of this earlier narrative.

The route through the Southwest inscribed first by explorers and pioneers and later by the railroad and highway builders was the most practical and efficient of east-west transcontinental passageways, being the shortest all-weather route to California; within the framework of Manifest Destiny, it became the quickest way to carry out the demands of that philosophy. Before it became popular, however, the route was feared. The Southwest was thought to be desolate and dangerous. The same fear that early explorers had harbored toward the “wild” Indians of the Plains and the dreaded region of the Oklahoma Indian Territory existed in the settlement of the American Southwest. Until the 1880s, the Santa Fe Railroad had equipped its trains with rifles for protection against Indian raids. The surrender of Geronimo and his Apache warriors in 1886 marked the end

of the final chapter of the Indian wars in the Southwest.\textsuperscript{48} This allowed for settlement and tourism in the region to finally flourish, and the responsibility for advertising the region as a desirable one to visit or live in rested largely upon the railroad. Much of the visual material used to advertise the Southwest during the heyday of Route 66 auto tourism can be traced iconographically to the earlier era of railroad tourism that it overlapped with in the first part of the twentieth century. It is here that the strategic coupling, of the Southwestern landscape with the region’s Native American inhabitants and their cultural production, has its roots. The most powerful and influential marketing of this combination came out of a partnership between the Atchinson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (popularly known as the Santa Fe) and the Fred Harvey Company.

\textbf{Santa Fe Southwest: Regional Promotion by the Santa Fe/Harvey Partnership}

In order to attract more tourists to its line, the Santa Fe Railroad launched an aggressive advertising campaign using the promotional slogan, “Santa Fe Southwest.” The company set about commissioning artists, photographers, writers, and ethnographers to depict the region’s peoples and places.\textsuperscript{49} The close association between the Santa Fe Railroad and Frederick Henry Harvey, an English immigrant, began in 1876 when Harvey leased and renovated the lunchroom of the train depot in Topeka, Kansas. From there, Harvey went on to create the first large-scale chain restaurant organization in the

\textsuperscript{48} Peter Brigham Dedek, "Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66," 39.

\textsuperscript{49} University of Arizona. “Southwestern Wonderland,” University of Arizona Special Collections, \url{http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/pams/welcome.html}. 
Before Harvey came along, the food and lodging situation along America’s railways was very poor. Appalled by this state of affairs, Harvey developed his “Harvey Houses,” a system of restaurants and hotels in which he employed “Harvey Girls,” single, young, attractive women of high standards dressed in starched white aprons, made famous by Judy Garland in the MGM film, *Harvey Girls*. The Harvey Houses offered excellent food and service to railroad passengers. Harvey’s efforts were later extended into the trains themselves in his dining car service for the Santa Fe Railway. Eulogized as a “miracle”: “a civilizer and benefactor … [who] added to the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of millions … [and] served the patrons of the Santa Fe so faithfully and well, that dying, he yet lives, his name a symbol of all that is honest, hygienic, beautiful and useful,”

Harvey died in 1901 leaving his businesses to his sons who continued to expand them during the boom in Southwest tourism from 1895-1940.

The “Detour In,” or dining area, in *Gallery 66* allows visitors to explore some of the promotional material published by the Santa Fe railway and the Fred Harvey Company (Figures 25 and 26). This material depicts Southwestern scenery as majestic, unique, and sublime. Artists such as the landscape painter Thomas Moran were part of the Santa Fe’s promotional campaign. They would provide the railroad with paintings in exchange for travel, lodging, and, of course, personal publicity. The images these artists

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51 Ibid.

52 Arizona Board of Regents, “Fred Harvey Company Collection, 1900-1996,” Cline Library. Special Collections and Archives Department, Northern Arizona University. (Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University, 2001).
created were then reproduced in guidebooks, posters, and calendars that were published by the railroad. They were also hung in train stations and Harvey Houses. Original dining car menus have been reprinted and are set out on the table in Gallery 66. One of these includes a panoramic view of the Grand Canyon (Figure 27) and another shows the San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, Arizona, the closest large city to the Grand Canyon.

By 1910, the Santa Fe Railroad had established an exclusive connection to the Grand Canyon. The Railway’s subsidiary, the 64 mile Grand Canyon Railway line, was built in 1901 to provide train passengers access to the canyon from Williams, Arizona. At the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, the Santa Fe built a “six-acre exhibit in the midway or Joy Zone and included a fifteen-minute Grand Canyon ride,”53 to advertise the attraction over which they, along with the Harvey Company, had a monopoly over. Through promotional schemes such as this and through the proliferation of landscape painting and photography, Americans began to identify with and desire the Southwestern landscape. As its scenery became packaged and grew in reputation, so did the landscapes inhabitants, the Native Americans, who quickly became a major selling point for tourists.

Figure 25. View of the wall map and the ‘Detour In,’ Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 26. The ‘Detour In,’ Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.
Figure 27. Artwork from a Santa Fe Dining Car Service Menu, Tammany Special Train No. 1, 1908.
Representing Native Americans in Early Southwest Tourism: The Grand Canyon and the Indian Detours

Before I go into detail about how the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey used the Native American as a character in the tourists’ western pilgrimage, I will first summarize the position and representation of the Native American within the Manifest Destiny paradigm. At first it was common for American Indians to be represented by Europeans as primitive, crude, and hostile savages. This grew into the figure of the “wild” Indian, fighting the classic American cowboy. This image, based primarily upon the Plains Indian tribes, was made famous in the nineteenth century by Buffalo Bill’s Wild West shows that toured around the world. Dime novels and motion picture Westerns that arose in the twentieth century also contributed to this perception of the American Indian. Still prominent today, the Cowboy and Indian characters can be found in the Gallery 66 “Trading Post” in the form of two wind-up toys shooting at each other from either side of a sand-filled ceramic bowl (Figure 28). The continuing domination, destruction, and assimilation of the Native Americans as the United States grew in size and American citizens grew in number, however, made room for a new type of representation of the Indian, that of the pacified, “noble savage,” a figure that played a tremendous role in the promotional material for the Southwest beginning with the railroad and continuing into the Route 66 era.

The idea of the “noble savage” has its roots in the Romantic movement that originated in western Europe in the mid-eighteenth century. Romanticism emphasized emotion over the scientific reasoning of the Enlightenment. Its proponents criticized the
Figure 28. Wind-up toys in the ‘Trading Post,’ *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.
The concept of the noble savage was also founded upon a general belief that the Native American was a vanishing race that must be witnessed and documented. This also assumed that their cultures were timeless and unchanging, when in reality, as evidenced in the art forms I will describe later, they adapted and appropriated systems and ideas from western culture itself, creating innovative, hybridized forms. Representations by Euro-Americans, however, downplayed any notion of change because the idea of a

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54 Peter Brigham Dedek, "Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66," 31.
55 Ibid., 32.
people carrying out ancient traditions formed a counterpoint that helped to legitimize the conquest of the modern world and the idea of a superior Anglo race.

The painter, George Catlin, traveled the American West to “capture,” in Dedek’s words, images of Plains Indians. Catlin compared the Indian and the buffalo, describing them as being “joint and original tenants of the soil, and fugitives together from the epoch of civilized man.” These tenants were “under an equal doom,” having “taken up their last abode, where their race will expire, and their bones will bleach together.” His paintings portray the stoic, noble savage figure painted in a realistic style that lent authenticity to them when viewed by Easterners (Figures 29, 30, and 31). Catlin wrote a series of books on the Indians and took his paintings, along with living “specimens,” on tour in the United States and Europe.⁵⁶

Another artist who documented western tribes was Edward S. Curtis. Curtis published his work in a twenty volume series of books titled The North American Indian between 1907 and 1930. It was comprised of narrative text with photogravure images of tribal peoples organized by geographic region. Although exhibited as documentary evidence, the photographs were rather contrived reconstructions. Curtis’s work received a nostalgic revival in the 1970s when many of the photographs were reprinted.⁵⁷ Gallery 66 exhibits one of Curtis’s prints from the Kennedy Collection (Figure 32). Titled “Plateau Indians,” it is undated. The Plateau Indians of Curtis’s series are from the Plateau region

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⁵⁶ Ibid., 33.
Figure 29. *Buffalo Bull’s Back Fat Head Chief, Blood Tribe* by George Catlin, 1832.

Figure 30. *White Cloud, Head Chief of the Iowas* by George Catlin, 1845.

Figure 31. *Dying Buffalo, Shot with an Arrow* by George Catlin, 1832-33.
Figure 32. *Plateau Indians* by Edward S. Curtis, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, n.d.
in Western Canada rather than the Southwest. The only Curtis print in the Kennedy collection, it was included in the exhibition because it suggests the same type of authenticity on the part of its subjects as the Fred Harvey Company promoted in Southwest tourism.

A good example of this was at Fred Harvey’s “Hopi House.” The Hopi House was next to “El Tovar,” the famous Harvey hotel at the Grand Canyon that is depicted in the Santa Fe dining car menu mentioned above. The two buildings were part of a larger tourist complex designed by the Harvey Company architect, Mary Colter. El Tovar, which opened in 1905, was described by William Haskell Simpson who wrote a 34 page brochure to advertise the hotel, as “more than a hotel; it is a village devoted to the entertainment of travelers.” Part of this entertainment was the Hopi House, which functioned as a museum, demonstration center, sales venue, and dormitory for its Hopi inhabitants. Gallery 66 presents a photograph of some Hopi artisans at work in the Hopi House (Figure 33). Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard, in an essay from The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway, provide a quotation from the 1914 edition of Harvey’s publication, The Great Southwest Along the Santa Fe, that emphasizes the “living” aspect of the Hopi House structure: “A short distance east of El Tovar and a stone’s throw from the sheer canyon wall is the Hopi House, an irregular stone structure, plastered with adobe … Here are Hopi men, women, and children – some decorating and burning exquisite pottery; others spinning yarn and weaving squaw

58 Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard. “‘To experience the real Grand Canyon’: Santa Fe/Harvey Panopticism, 1901-1935,’ in The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway, 13.
dresses, scarfs, and blankets. Go inside and see how these gentle folk live.”59 Another Harvey publication from 1909 instructs tourists: “After dinner [in El Tovar] there is the Hopi House to visit. A native dance is scheduled, and an opportunity is offered to those who wish to invest in Indian relics and works of art. The house itself is built in imitation of a genuine Arizona Indian village – entirely of mud and poles – and full of gaily colored rugs of geometric Indian designs.”60 Weigle and Howard, drawing upon the theories of Dean MacCannell, discuss the activities at the Hopi House and nearby Navajo ‘hogans’ as having a “staged authenticity,” very much similar to that of the Curtis photograph. The writing in the Harvey publication reflects the concept of the “noble savage,” as the Hopi are discussed as traditional, unchanged and naturalized in their rustic adobe “home” (Figure 34).

Another brochure displayed in Gallery 66 that positions the Native American as a natural part of the landscape itself is the ‘Grand Canyon Line Timetables,’ from 1928 (Figure 35). The cover shows two Indian figures, decked in head scarves and concha belts, gazing out over the Grand Canyon at a caravan of tourists riding mules down into the canyon. This juxtaposition, of the ‘primitive man’ and the ‘civilized,’ or the ancient and the modern, within a narrative landscape, was a common one in many of the nineteenth century American landscape paintings illustrating the epic of Manifest Destiny. Other ways in which the Native American was objectified in the name of progress consist of the naming of the trains themselves, for example, the ‘Chief,’ (Figure 36). But more than any other of Harvey’s promotional schemes that literally put Native

59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
Americans on display as an object of the ‘tourist gaze,’ in the name of authenticity, were the Harvey car ‘Indian Detours,’ from which the Gallery 66 ‘Detour In’ area draws its name.

What the Grand Canyon tourist complex did for Arizona, the Harvey car Indian Detours did for New Mexico. The Indian Detours, which ran from 1925-1931, were motor cruises offered as side trips that would take tourists to out-of-the-way places like the Indian pueblos and popular sites such as the Rainbow Arch, the Petrified Forest, and the Painted Desert. As the Grand Canyon grew in popularity and could not accommodate the number of visitors it was receiving, the Harvey Company shifted their focus to the old Spanish capital of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Indian Detours began during the very years that saw the birth of Route 66. Automobile travel was becoming more popular and affordable and the Harvey Company jumped on the bandwagon by offering the Detours to less accessible places. The tours left and arrived back in Santa Fe at scheduled times to accommodate train passengers as well.61 The “detourists” were met by guides known as “couriers,” women dressed in Southwestern attire and adorned with Native American jewelry, and then chauffeured by cowboy-driven Harveycars to the destinations that were included on their specific tour.62 The headquarters for the Indian Detours was the hotel, La Fonda, known as ‘The Inn at the End of the Trail’ in Santa Fe. La Fonda, which continues to function as a hotel today, is an immense building complex that takes up an

61 Marta Weigle, “‘Insisted on authenticity”: Harvey Car Indian Detours, 1925-1931,’ in The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway, (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 47.

Figure 33. Artists working at the Fred Harvey Company’s Hopi House, Grand Canyon, Arizona.

Figure 34. Exterior of the Hopi House, Grand Canyon, Arizona.
Figure 35. Artwork for the Santa Fe Grand Canyon Line Time Tables, Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway System, 1928.

Figure 36. Advertisements for the Santa Fe Chief by Hernando Villa, c. 1950.
entire block (Figures 37 and 38). At La Fonda, guests could attend talks and slide lectures on the Indian pueblos they were going to visit in the ‘Indian Lecture Lounge.’

Marta Weigle, quoting William E. Tydeman, discusses the nature of these lectures in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*. Tydeman writes, “In a swirl of color, completely removed from their original ethnographic context, the slides of the Indian Detours reinforced the cultural stereotypes of Pueblo peoples. They glossed over the differences among Pueblo groups and concentrated on aspects of their domestic life that highlighted the differences between middle-class European Americans and Pueblo families…The slides reinforce a timeless vision of the Pueblo Indians centered on craft production in a civil but primitive environment. The overall effect is to suggest that, although Indians are different from them, tourists have nothing to fear from them. While producing goods for a European American economy, Pueblo people are gracious, smiling, trusting, civil, nonthreatening, and family centered.”

The Indian Detours were extremely popular, and famous figures such as Albert Einstein and Will Rogers are listed among their participants. This popularity came from tourists’ perception that they were getting an authentic, inside glance as to how the Pueblo people really lived, and had been living, for centuries. The very names of specific tours played upon these preconceptions, such as “Off the Beaten Path,” and “Roads to Yesterday.” As part of the Detours, many of the events and performances that tourists

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63 Marta Weigle, “‘Insisted on authenticity’: Harveycar Indian Detours, 1925-1931,” in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, 52.
Figure 37. *La Fonda Hotel*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, c. 1926.

Figure 38. *La Fonda Hotel*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 2007.
saw were actually staged productions, arranged through the Harvey Company in cooperation with specific individuals at specific pueblos. Marta Weigle discusses the Detours as “producing authenticity.” In Diane Thomas’s book, *The Southwestern Indian Detours*, she makes a comparison between a photograph taken of detourists watching an eagle dance at Santa Clara Pueblo and a satirical etching of an Indian Detour by the artist, John Sloan (Figures 39 and 40). These images illustrate the extent to which the Detours impacted the pueblos by the sheer number of tourists that visited them.

In many instances, however, by attending sacred dances at the pueblos themselves, an activity that tourists saw no problem with since it was promoted by the Harvey Company, they were disrupting very specific cultural dynamics and codes of conduct that were in place. Tourists assumed that what was acceptable in some pueblos was acceptable in all of them, whether sanctioned by an organization like the Harvey Company or not. (It is also important to note that the acceptance of the Detours was never unanimous within the pueblos themselves – like any community, they were and are made up of individuals with differing views on subjects such as tourism and the sharing of cultural information.) In an interview conducted by the Kennedy Museum at Zuni Pueblo in 2007, Norman Cooeyate, the current governor, discusses issues of tourism at Zuni, shedding some light on how the “hosts” really felt about their “guests” in tourist activities such as those promoted by the Harvey Company:

“As far as the tourism is concerned, we've actually encountered negative tourism in our history, and that's where we had to actually put restrictions on who's allowed to come onto the Zuni Reservation. We've been used before where tour buses would come during our sacred

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64 Ibid., 49.
ceremonials without our knowledge and without our input, and these people would get off the bus and they'd go straight to where the ceremonials are happening and expect to be right in the front and expect to be given all the information of what all the intricate details of the ceremonial encompasses. To us, that was an invasion again by an outside entity. And so, at that point, the previous administrations put a stop to it. Now we have more control of what we allow tourists to see in this community. We sort of spoon feed them information, albeit, you know, on a limited basis. We control it. It's us who dictate where they go. It's us who dictate what they hear…

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65 Norman Cooeyate, interviewed by Jennifer McLerran and Sally Delgado from the Kennedy Museum of Art, from an interview conducted at Zuni Pueblo, March, 2007.
Figure 39. *Eagle Dance at Santa Clara*, c. 1926

Figure 40. *Indian Detour*, by John Sloan, 1927.
Early Southwest Tourism and the Marketing of Native American Art

Harvey’s Indian Detours and tourist facilities also promoted a desire for Native American craft arts. This had both positive and negative effects upon the tribes. An Indian Detour brochure displayed at the ‘Detour In’ shows a Southwestern landscape with a Harvey car driving through it. The scene includes two Native American figures on the side of the road, awaiting the tourists’ arrival. The standing, male figure holds a ceramic vessel (Figure 41). A hand-tinted photograph from an exhibition catalogue for a show at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona titled, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, shows women selling pottery to Santa Fe Railway passengers through the train windows (Figure 42). The catalogue comments, “And here are the Pueblo people, residents of ancient and long-isolated farming communities, coming now into daily contact with the cash economy of urban-industrial America.”66 The tourism strategies of the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey partnership had a profound effect upon the evolution of Native American art forms in the Southwest. *Gallery 66* provides visitors with a chance to understand this impact.

The courier’s uniforms, for one, became advertisements for Native American jewelry (Figure 43). “Each courier was requested to wear a silver concho belt and either a squash blossom necklace or other Indian jewelry…[which] not only intrigued the Eastern tourists and gave the couriers a conversational spring board, but tempted the Detourists to

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Figure 41. *Indian-detours* brochure, Atchinson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company, 1930.
Figure 42. Women selling pottery to passengers on the Santa Fe Railway at Isleta Pueblo, early 1900s.

Figure 43. Harveycar Indian-detour Couriers, c. 1926.
buy from the Indians when touring through their pueblos. In response to the demands of tourists, Native Americans began to alter their traditional craft arts to create commodities that would be desirable to them. This often meant making smaller, lighter, and more portable versions of traditional art forms such as pottery and jewelry. The designs they used for tourist jewelry or for the Western market in general were influenced by the ones made popular in publications such as those the Harvey Company produced. Two examples in the ‘Detour In’ display include pamphlets titled, “Indian Symbols,” and “Indian Designs,” (Figures 44 and 45). As with the people themselves, brochures and pamphlets tended to emphasize the traditional, unchanging aspects of designs, ignoring the specific cultural contexts they were used in.

At one of the Harvey hotels, The Alvarado, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, the company opened up a museum for the purpose of displaying Native American crafts and ethnographic materials. The company had built up a large collection of Southwestern Indian craft arts which became, along with the museum that housed it, a precedent for collectors of Native American art. The company established an Indian Department in 1902. This coincided with the opening of the Alvarado and its adjacent Indian Building which tourists saw immediately as they stepped off the train in Albuquerque. A 1904 brochure advertising the “Indian and Mexican Building and Museum” described the visitor experience: “At Albuquerque, visitors will enjoy the unique Indian and Mexican Building and the Indian Museum. For five years the Harvey experts have been engaged in

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67 Marta Weigle, “‘Insisted on authenticity’: Harveycar Indian Detours, 1925-1931,” in The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway, 54.

68 Kathleen Howard and Diana F. Pardue in Cooperation with the Heard Museum, Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art, 19.
Figure 44. *Indian Symbols*, c. 1950s.

Figure 45. *Indian Designs*, Pamphlet by the Cedar Ridge Trading Post Company, Cameron, Arizona, c. 1950s.
making the collections here displayed. Indian villages, buried cities, remote cliff
dwellings, and isolated hogans have been searched for the rarest exponents of Indian
life… The Navajo Room, with its blanketed walls and decorations of pottery and basketry,
furnishes an admirable idea for a luxurious home “den.”… In another room a summer
Hogan of the Navahos has been cunningly wrought, and there may be seen patient
Navaho squaws weaving blankets; their men engaged in fashioning showy bracelets,
rings and trinkets; Indians from Acoma, Laguna making pottery; skillful Pueblos plaiting
baskets… Undisturbed by the eager gaze of the tourist, the stoic works on as
unconcernedly as though in his reservation home.”

Gallery 66 presents a photograph of
the Indian Building that was used as a postcard around 1910 (Figure 46). The motifs of
the knifewing and rainbow gods shown on the circular sign on the pueblo-revival style
building were popular insignias, used regularly in Fred Harvey’s promotional material.

Another hotel in Albuquerque that helped to popularize Native American art
forms was El Navajo in Gallup, New Mexico. While Santa Fe was bypassed during the
1937 Route 66 realignment, Gallup remained a thriving Route 66 city, earning the
nickname of the “Indian capital of the world.” Designed by Mary Colter, the same
architect responsible for El Tovar and the Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, the hotel
utilized Navajo motifs to decorate nearly every inch of its surface. Of particular
importance to the Kennedy Museum’s collection is Colter’s use of Navajo sand paintings
in her interior design. A 1923 article from the Museum of New Mexico’s publication, “El
Palacio,” states, “It was not until Miss M. E. J. Colter, in charge of the designating of

69 Ibid., 18.
Figure 46. Postcard of the Fred Harvey Company’s Indian Building showing Elle and Tom Ganado. Albuquerque, New Mexico, c. 1910.
hotels for the Harvey system, had the inspiration which led her to demand authentic copies of sand paintings as wall decorations for El Navajo, the Santa Fe hotel at Gallup, that these profoundly interesting examples of Indian art, tradition and religious faith were brought out of the inaccessible byways of the Navajo country into the highway of tourist travel.” As Diane Thomas notes, the Navajos originally objected to this use of their sacred imagery but an arrangement was made for the them to formally dedicate the sand painting imagery with a proper ‘sing’ by medicine men, an event that the El Palacio article describes as well. This apparently removed the stigma from the decoration.

Spending much time in Gallup, where he worked with several traders along Route 66, it is possible the Edwin Kennedy was exposed to sand paintings at El Navajo. He went on to commission an extensive collection of sand painting weavings from various Navajo weavers, and today the Kennedy Museum houses the largest collection of these weavings in the world. The sand paintings in the collection, like the El Navajo décor, has also been the subject of controversy among the Navajo, as many continue to object to the representation of the designs in the permanent form of a weaving as a serious taboo. A small, decorative sand painting from the Kennedy collection is displayed in Gallery 66 (Figure 47).

The same “El Palacio” article reports on another important event that was established in Gallup and became a major attraction during the era of Route 66 tourism.

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The author writes, “There is a new institution in New Mexico at work to interest the tourists in the attractions of the Sunshine state and particularly in that marvelous region of painted sands and prehistoric ruins and primitive peoples which Gallup has named ‘The Land of Enchantment.’ This is the ‘Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association.’”

The Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial began as a way to preserve Native American ceremonies and dances that were said to be fast disappearing. The author continues, “In every case the Indians are preparing to come in their tribal garments. It will be one of the most picturesque assemblages in southwestern histories.”

Events such as the Ceremonial helped to put Railroad and Route 66 towns like Gallup on the map. The El Palacio author notes the importance of these events, which can be compared to the publicity brought to Route 66 by the Bunion Derby: “The McKinley county chamber of commerce is showing an active and aggressive spirit along other lines than advertising and ceremonial and fair. It is pointing out through advertising and literature the advantages of Gallup as a center for southwestern sight seeing. It is using thousands of copies of an attractive booklet and is letting no opportunity pass to tell the world about Gallup and its surrounding points of interest.”

A 1926 copy of such a booklet, advertising the Gallup Inter-Tribal Ceremonial, is included in the group of pamphlets at the ‘Detour In’ (Figure 48).

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72 El Palacio, “Navajo Sand Paintings as Decorative Motive (From the Albuquerque Daily Herald).”
73 Ibid., 177.
Figure 47. *The Whirling Log* sand painting, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio.

Figure 48. *Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial*, pamphlet by the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association, 1926.
The Route 66 Era: Southwest Tourism, Pop Culture, and Native American Art

To the right of the ‘Detour In’ in Gallery 66 is a display case featuring objects and images that help to illustrate the influences of tourism, as well as popular culture, upon Southwest Native American art, in particular, jewelry (Figure 49). They represent a wide array of forms and techniques developed from the interaction between Native American artists and traders, collectors and tourists. Early Navajo and Pueblo silversmiths are said to have learned the trade of silversmithing from Mexican smiths in the mid-nineteenth century. Since that time, the designs and techniques they adapted have evolved in response to various internal and external forces. Gallery 66 is primarily concerned with the external forces, one of which, once again, was the Fred Harvey Company.

The earliest pieces of jewelry displayed in this area of the exhibition are most likely the bracelet and ring from the 1930s done in the Fred Harvey style, which typically featured fanciful, decorative stamping (Figure 50). The 1920s and 30s saw an over-commercialization of Native American jewelry. Tourist jewelry was often lighter in weight, smaller, more portable, and made with cheaper metal than jewelry made for personal use by the artist or their family. The Harvey Company established “curios” or gift shops at the Harvey Houses and in locations such as the Hopi House and the Indian Watchtower at the Grand Canyon, offering Native American arts and crafts for sale to tourists (Figure 51). They even published a mail-order catalogue from which consumers could order jewelry in 1938 (Figures 52 and 53).

Above the Harvey style jewelry in the case are two bola ties (also known as bolos). This form became popular with tourists in the 1940s and today it is a staple in
Figure 49. Display case, *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.
Figure 50. Bracelet and ring set, unknown maker, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 1930s.

Figure 51. Gift shop at the Fred Harvey Company’s Indian Watchtower, Grand Canyon, Arizona, 1930s.
Figure 52. Cover of the Harvey Company mail-order catalogue, 1938.

Figure 53. Interior of the Harvey Company mail-order catalogue, 1938.
“Western” attire, especially for men (Figure 54). These bolos feature an eagle kachina and a Chalico (probably a variation of the Zuni “Shalako”) figure. Such Native American motifs became extremely popular, along with the thunderbird, for their exotic appeal to consumer expectations of authenticity. The Fred Harvey Company used the thunderbird as its insignia (Figure 55). The traditional and religious value of these motifs by Native Americans was, and still is, often disregarded by artists or traders anxious to turn a profit. This causes tension within the tribes as some feel that certain sacred imagery should not be reproduced, a subject I mentioned earlier in discussion of the sand painting weavings.

Below the bolas and to the right of the Harvey style bracelet and ring set are three objects all from around the high point in Route 66 auto tourism, the 1950s: a lipstick holder (Figure 56), a key ring (Figure 57), and a charm bracelet in which each charm illustrates a different jewelry technique (Figure 58). These objects are excellent examples of Native American artists accommodating the demands of tourists and collectors. In the 1960s, post earrings, such as the hoops and heart-shaped ones displayed in the case to the right of the 1950s objects, became a popular trend in Native American jewelry (Figure 59). Until then, this form was not really used, but the fashion of the 1960s changed that. The diamond-shaped earrings, probably from the 1970s or 80s, exhibit even more contemporary tastes (Figure 60). Also on display is a silver box with inlaid turquoise that was commissioned by Edwin Kennedy. In the upper left hand corner of the box is his monogram, “ELK,” (Figure 61).

Displayed in the case with these objects are several magazines and a collection of tourist postcards of desert scenery, several with Native Americans shown making crafts
Figure 54. Left: *Bola with silver Chalico figure* by Mike Shirley, Navajo, 1983. Right: *Bola with silver and turquoise kachina figure*, unknown maker (Navajo), n.d. Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio.

Figure 55. *Thunderbird insignia*, copyrighted by the Fred Harvey Company, 1909.
Figure 56. *Lipstick holder*, Joe Chee (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, c. 1950.

Figure 57. *Overlay key ring*, unknown maker (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, n.d.

Figure 58. *Charm bracelet*, unknown maker (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, n.d.
Figure 59. Top: *Hoop earrings with post fasteners*, Thomas and Alice Hannaweeke (Zuni), n.d. Bottom: *Dangle heart earrings with post fasteners*, Hannaweeke family (Zuni), n.d. Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio.

Figure 60. *Two-part dangle diamond-shaped earrings with post fasteners*, Charles Ray (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, n.d.

Figure 61. *Silver box with turquoise inlay*, “ELK” monogram, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 1978.
or simply smiling for the camera (see Figure 49). These postcards functioned similarly in the era of auto tourism as the Santa Fe/Harvey brochures did in the railroad days. Positioning Native Americans in the landscape naturalized and objectified them. The tourist postcard also served to commodify the tourist’s experience in the Southwest. It, as did small, portable pieces of jewelry, became a souvenir, standing in for the entire Route 66 experience. Like the picture-map postcards of Route 66 discussed in Part I, these scenes of the landscape with its Native peoples circulated throughout the country, advertising the uniqueness and authenticity of the Southwest. In many of these postcards, the figures are shown wearing jewelry similar to that displayed in the cases in Gallery 66, creating an awareness of these art forms as they were disseminated through the U. S. postal system.

Magazines such as Arizona Highways helped to promote a fascination with the Southwest as well, and often showcased Native American art. Arizona Highways was first published in 1925 by the Arizona Highway Department. From its beginning, it featured scenic landscape photography, travel stories, and detailed descriptions of road-building projects. The photography became all-color in 1946, and since then the magazine has been known for its design quality and art direction. Over the past 40 years, it has regularly featured articles about Native American art and artists.

On display in the upper left hand corner of the wall case is an article from a 1955 issue of Arizona Highways, titled “Arizona 66: The Scenic Wonderland Highway,” (Figure 62). The author gives a brief history of what was then known as “U. S. Highway
66,” along with a turn-by-turn description of what motorists would encounter as they drove across Arizona. The highway, as the railroad had done before it, brought tourist traffic through the heart of “Indian Country,” connecting reservations with towns and major commercial centers. Publications such as *Arizona Highways* encouraged this traffic, and as the demand for “authentic” souvenirs from the Southwest grew, Native American art forms evolved to meet tourists’ needs and desires.

*Arizona Highways* first began to feature Native American art in the 1950s, when auto-tourism was becoming very popular. Since then, it has contributed to the development of Native American art from craft to “fine art.” In the 1970s and 80s there was a “boom” in the Native American jewelry market at which time it was considered an excellent investment, advertised in publications like *The Wall Street Journal*. One of the issues of *Arizona Highways* shown in the case, from August of 1974, has been credited as having a major influence on the jewelry boom. The issue featured photographs by Paul Markow, a well-known Phoenix photographer, taken during a fashion shoot coordinated by Ollie and Gerry McNamara of Saks Fifth Avenue, Phoenix. Models wear borrowed Native American jewelry with clothing meant to showcase it, created by designers such as Yvonne and Adolfo (Figure 63). Editor Joseph Stacy writes, “For the first time in the women’s wear world, apparel other than native Indian wear has been designed for the wearing of Indian Jewelry. Indiansque patterns appear apart from the accessory area.”

The *Gallery 66* display features one of Markow’s models in the 1974 *Arizona Highways* wearing a silver squash blossom necklace next to a nearly identical squash blossom.

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Figure 63. Models wearing apparel by Saks Fifth Avenue, Phoenix, photograph by Paul Markow, from *Arizona Highways*, Vol. L, No. 8, August 1974.
necklace from the Kennedy collection (Figure 64). Next to this grouping, the case includes the “Princess of the Navajo Barbie” from Mattel’s Dolls of the World Princess Collection. This collector’s item came out in 2004 and was immediately popular among Navajo and Non-Navajo alike. Barbie wears the classic squash blossom necklace and concha belt, further imprinting these art forms and their makers into the minds of a now international market.

Native American art forms gained increased popularity and exposure during the 1960s and 70s when they adorned movie stars, rock stars, and hippies in general. This era made room for new ideas and fashions to go with them. It also saw the rise of “Pan-Indianism,” an inter-tribal movement in which Native American tribes began joining together to resist white domination. The philosophies and emphasis on Native traditions and spirituality appealed to the counter-culture, whose styles and fashions were of course absorbed into mainstream culture. An example of this can be seen in the film still photograph from Easy Rider on the map wall, as well, where Dennis Hopper’s character wears ‘Indian’ style buckskin clothing and necklaces. The film also includes a scene in which the characters visit a sort of hippie commune, set in an adobe, pueblo-like setting, although there is no sign of any Native Americans themselves, only city kids attempting to emulate them by living off the land. Several examples of Native American style in 1960s fashion and culture are on display in the wall case, such as a concha belt, made popular in the 1960s when Jim Morrison of ‘The Doors’ donned his on a regular basis (Figure 65). The concha (from the Spanish word for shell), is a particularly Navajo form that is said to have been derived from Spanish bridle decoration.
Figure 64. From left to right: Model wearing apparel by Saks Fifth Avenue, Phoenix, photograph by Paul Markow, from Arizona Highways, Vol. L, No. 8, August 1974. Silver squash blossom necklace with double naja, turquoise, unknown maker (Navajo), n.d. “Princess of the Navajo Barbie,” from Mattel’s Dolls of the World Princess Collection, 2004.
Another example of a form of Native American jewelry made popular by rock stars and hippies alike was the beaded necklace. Beaded necklaces (of which ‘heishi’ and ‘jocla’ are particular forms) had been worn by Native Americans in the Southwest long before the arrival of the Spanish in the fifteenth century, but became extremely popular in the fashion of the 1960s and 70s. The pop artist, Cher (who is half Cherokee,) helped to popularize these styles of jewelry. The display case shows a photograph of Cher in which she is shown wearing strands of turquoise beads with a cowgirl hat, exhibiting the hybrid ‘Cowgirl-Indian’ look to go with the lyrics of her #1 hit, “Half Breed,” from the 1973 album of the same name. This image is juxtaposed with two beaded turquoise necklaces from the collection (Figure 66).
Figure 65. *Belt with seven oval-domed conchas*, unknown maker, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, c. 1880s. *Jim Morrison at the Minneapolis Concert Hall wearing his famous concha belt*, 1968.

The Role of the Trader and Trading Posts in Southwest Native American Art

Indispensable to any discussion of Native American art, the Southwest, and Route 66 is the subject of the trading post. Trading posts in the Southwest began in the 1870s when the government established a system in which licensed traders could operate trading posts on Native American reservations. The first trading post was Lorenzo Hubbell’s in Ganado, Arizona, on the Navajo reservation. One of the photographs in the group to the left of the Gallery 66 trading post shows Hubbell in the storeroom of his trading post in the early 1900s (Figure 67). Hubbell went on to become one of the leading traders in Navajo rugs. The trader usually lived on the reservation and developed a close working relationship with the artists, often dictating the way they wanted the piece to be made (Arizona site). A very influential trader, particularly for the evolution of Zuni jewelry design, was Charles Garrett (known as C. G.) Wallace. Wallace spent over 50 years living on the Zuni reservation and employed many of the artists whose works are now part of the Kennedy collection and featured in the museum’s Art of the Zuni exhibition. He is credited as having had a major influence on the development of Zuni jewelry and lapidary art. Deborah C. Slaney, in her catalogue from an exhibition at the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona, Blue Gem, White Metal: Carvings and Jewelry from the C.G. Wallace Collection, discusses Wallace’s influence on Zuni art; it can be seen as a case study on the interaction between Anglo traders and Native American artists. One way in which Wallace effected the development of Zuni jewelry and carving was by

Figure 67. John Lorenzo Hubbell in the storeroom at the Hubbell Trading Post, Ganado, Arizona, early 1900s.
making a large variety of materials, tools, and supplies available to artists on the reservation. He also encouraged certain techniques and designs, usually those he considered to be “truly indigenous to Zuni design assemblage.” At the same time, Wallace believed in the importance of individual style, a factor that has played an increasing role in the history of Native American art as it has become absorbed into the modern, western tradition of the artist as individual genius. Deborah Slaney notes the “dual but conflicting nature in his advice” to his artists in a statement by Wallace where he explained, “I never ceased to impress on them that they should stay with tradition and do unique pieces … Individuality and authenticity are what made Indian jewelry valuable.”

Slaney discusses how through Wallace’s direction, “design motifs based on non-traditional themes such as leaf imagery, wagons, horses and Shriners symbols were added to the repertoire of traditional motifs such as stylized birds and feathers, rain imagery, the Knifewing Bird, Rainbow man, dragonflies and butterflies.” A photograph from the same 1974 issue of *Arizona Highways* mentioned above shows Wallace in front of a portrait of Della Casa Appa, the first Zuni woman silversmith. He wears a bolo tie in the nugget style, holds a fetish necklace in his left hand, and rests his right hand upon a very large chunk of raw turquoise. The photograph represents the position of power the trader was in on the reservation and in the trading post, particularly over the resources required for the crafts (Figure 68).

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77 Ibid.
Another way in which this dynamic was kept in place was through the introduction of a system of pawn to the trading post, in which Native Americans used their personal goods, such as jewelry, saddles, or guns, as collateral to buy supplies from the trader, until they could pay the trader back. If they did not make the payment by a certain time, their possessions were considered “dead pawn,” which the trader could then sell to tourists or collectors. This “dead pawn” became the foundation for many collections of Native American art at the beginning of the twentieth century. A photograph from the Kennedy archives shows a pawn case at Tobe Turpen’s trading post in Gallup, New Mexico (Figure 69). Turpen was one of the traders from whom Edwin Kennedy purchased a large amount of the jewelry in his collection. The controversial pawn system is still in place in many trading posts today, for example, at Richardson’s Trading Post in Gallup, right along Route 66. One photograph in Gallery 66 displays their ‘rug room,’ (Figure 70) while another on map wall shows the sign outside, advertising ‘CASH PAWN’ in large, neon lettering, complete with a stereotypical Indian figure head (Figure 71).

Trading posts evolved, as did the Native American art forms themselves, to suit the needs of tourists and collectors. Whereas the early trading posts offered goods such as groceries and supplies, today they are more or less galleries and retail stores with the pawn system still in place. In higher-end trading posts, galleries, or shops, contemporary Native American artists are sought after for their individual names, styles, or hallmarks. This trend began in the 1970s, when many of the crafts began to be considered “fine art.” At the other end of the spectrum are low-end “curio” or souvenir shops, also called
Figure 68. C. G. Wallace in front of a portrait of Della Casa Appa, the first Zuni woman silversmith, 1974.

Figure 69. Pawn room at Tobe Turpen’s Trading Post, Gallup, New Mexico.
Figure 70. Rug room at Richardson’s Trading Company, Gallup, New Mexico, 2007.

Figure 71. Richardson’s Trading Company, Gallup, New Mexico, 2007.
“trading posts.” Though many combinations exist in between, some of these places still exploit Native American culture for the amusement and consumption of tourists, as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West shows did in the nineteenth century. They often utilize stereotypical imagery to objectify Native Americans as a part of quirky roadside attractions. Gallery 66 includes several examples of this appropriation of imagery, such as the sign from the Pow Wow Trading Post in Holbrook, Arizona (Figure 72), on the map wall, and a photograph of the Tomahawk Trading Post, west of Albuquerque, New Mexico, that features Laguna eagle dancers for the entertainment of tourists (Figure 73).

The Gallery 66 “trading post” exhibits some of the tensions inherent in trading post history (Figure 74). For example, some of the objects displayed here are “authentic Indian-made,” while others are simply cheap imitations. In order to protect Native American artists and non-Native consumers, the Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 was created. This controversial act imposes a ‘blood quantum’ designation to determine the status of Native American artists. Today, any retailer selling Native American art must make buyers aware of the status of a piece by labeling it as authentic Indian made or otherwise.

The silver jewelry in the trading post is all taken from the Kennedy collection and makers’ names are labeled off to the side of the display (Figure 75). Several of the ceramic objects were purchased from Native American vendors who frequent Earl’s, a diner in Gallup and a favorite spot for tourists looking for deals (Figure 76). The baskets are imitations, made in Pakistan, that were bought at an outlet store in Albuquerque (Figures 78 and 79), and the group of Navajo style dolls (Figure 77), the beaded
Figure 72. Pow Wow Trading Post in Holbrook, Arizona.

Figure 73. Tomahawk Trading Post, west of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1950s.
necklaces, and dream catchers came from ‘Pino’s Trading Post,’ a low-end souvenir shop along old Route 66 in Gallup. Their authenticity is uncertain. The tiny, beaded dolls were purchased from Zuni artists at Zuni pueblo (Figure 77), while the katchina figure came from a gift shop in Venice Beach, California (Figure 75). The display also includes some Route 66 paraphernalia such as a shot glass, a potholder, and a ball cap (Figure 78), as well as vintage postcards from the Curt Teich Archives ‘Route 66 Nostalgia Series,’ also from places like Pino’s (Figure 79).

The use of the teepee in the decorative painting on the lower part of the display case, combined with cacti and appropriated ceremonial Navajo ‘yei’ figures, is typical of the generic Southwestern style or motif that can be found in much of the Route 66 landscape throughout the Southwest (Figure 80). This particular schema was copied from the fabric used in the ‘Detour In’ display, which itself plays upon the Southwest, mom-and-pop style 1950s roadside diner that is indebted to the earlier, and classier, Harvey House, in its use of ‘Indianesque’ designs (Figure 81). Another place in which we see the teepee used on Route 66 is at the ‘Wigwam Motel’ in Holbrook, Arizona, featured on the map wall (Figure 82). Although the teepee is not a Southwestern Native American form (rather it is a Plains form of portable housing), it plays upon tourists’ notions of Indian-ness, more so than would the Navajo hogan, which would be unrecognizable to most Easterners.

The paintings displayed on the wall above and to the right of the Gallery 66 Trading Post are all by the Navajo artist, David Yazzie (Figures 83 and 84). These paintings are typical of what one might see at a trading post or gallery in the Southwest
even today, created with tourists’ desires and preconceptions in mind. The weaving behind the trading post, by Navajo weaver Florence Riggs, depicts people in a trading post (Figure 85). It is an example of pictorial weaving, a weaving style that did not develop until the mid-nineteenth century although the Navajo have been weaving since the seventeenth century. Early Navajo weaving is predominantly geometric, but over time, through contact with Spanish and Euro-American cultures, the more representational pictorial style evolved. Non-Native collectors continue to prefer the earlier geometric designs, because they are perceived as being more authentic and “timeless.” In response to these notions of authenticity, the weaver, Riggs, demonstrates her technical prowess by including miniature examples of various forms of weaving in the trading post scene. Her work can be seen as a form of resistance, as well, in that she counters the stereotype of Native American culture as traditional and unchanging.
Figure 74. ‘Trading Post,’ Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 76. Katchina doll, ceramic vessels, basket.

Figure 77. Navajo-style dolls.
Figure 78. ‘Trading Post’ view, Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 79. ‘Trading Post’ view, Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 81. ‘Detour In,’ *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 82. Wigwam Motel, Holbrook, Arizona.
Figure 83. ‘Trading Post’ view, *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, showing paintings by David Yazzie (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, 2007.

Figure 84. *Old Man with Scarves*, David Yazzie, Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio.
Figure 85. ‘Trading Post’ view, *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest*, showing *Trading Post*, Florence Riggs (Navajo), Kennedy Museum of Art, Athens, Ohio, n.d.
Conclusion

Although the goal of the exhibition *Gallery 66: Selling the Southwest* and this paper has been to frame the Kennedy Museum of Art’s Southwest Native American Collections within the specific historical and cultural climate in which they were acquired, it is important to recognize that this context has been presented as an ongoing narrative with relevance to today’s cultural climate, as well. The Route 66 narrative that I have laid out in Parts I and II is one that can only be understood in retrospect. It is as much a product of our time as the period in which the road was in active use. With the ongoing nature of this narrative comes the continued use of its character, the Native American, in the Southwest. Along with the Santa Fe/Harvey brochures from the early twentieth century, the ‘Detour In’ display in *Gallery 66* includes contemporary promotional pamphlets from the Southwest that utilize much of the same imagery and motifs as the early ones do. A company called ‘Santa Fe Detours,’ which deliberately uses the Fred Harvey name in its advertisement, has even launched a ‘Roads to Yesterday’ tour that visits many of the same pueblos the Harvey cars did (although according to David Semerad, who runs the company, these tours give its Native American partners and participants more of an active role, or a voice, than they had in the days of the Indian Detours). The popularity of Route 66 has been growing since the road was decommissioned in 1985. In Athens, Ohio, alone, a well known Route 66 photographer, Terrance Reimer, was featured in a show that opened the same night as *Gallery 66* at the Dairy Barn, an art gallery down the lane from the Kennedy Museum, demonstrating the far reaching influence of the subject over geographical space and time.
Today, the protagonist of the Route 66 story is played by many types of global actors, but their search is still the same – they are still looking for the authentic America, and they are still looking for it in an idealized past, in an idealized place.

Route 66 is undergoing numerous types of revivals and a great deal of literature has been published on it, most of which fails to address the significance of the highway in a critical way. One writer that does approach the subject from a more critical perspective is Peter Brigham Dedek, who is one of the few scholars I have found that gives due attention to the significance of the widespread nostalgia specifically associated with Route 66. In his 2002 dissertation, *Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U. S. Route 66*, a source that I have relied heavily upon in this thesis, Dedek stresses his view of the importance of distinguishing the realities from the myths when studying Route 66. He refers to the promotional activities of tourism, especially in the Southwest, and discusses how images have helped to popularize Route 66 as a road and as an experience, essentially “inventing” or constructing it as a myth or idea.

Dedek gives an extensive inventory of the groups and activities involved in the resurrection of Route 66, or the ‘Route 66 movement,’ as he calls it, since the time of its decommissioning. Following the final bypass of old Route 66 around Williams, Arizona a funeral-like ceremony was held in the highway’s honor that was attended by many celebrities, including Bobby Troup. Dedek describes the state of the highway at this time: “…most people expected Route 66 to quickly fade from memory. In 1984, Route 66 existed only as a series of mostly disused strips of eroding pavement … lined by
intermittent clusters of associated commercial structures, often crumbling into ruin. Without signs to direct would-be tourist, Route 66 comprised only a confusing jumble of local, sometimes dead-end roads.” He then discusses what has actually happened: “Since 1985, the highway has come to represent the eras in which it was active, particularly the 1930s and 1950s. Route 66 also signifies concepts such as flight, freedom, the delights of travel, coming of age, and other potent American archetypes such as a family vacation in the family automobile. Enthusiasts, who began working to keep the memory of the road alive, often cited reference to these ideas and images.”

Enthusiasts have since organized into preservation and promotional organizations that make the Good Roads Movement of the early twentieth century pale in comparison. There is an growing interest in Route 66 in foreign countries, particularly in Europe and Japan where there are numerous Route 66 organizations. In the Netherlands, there is even a GPS device called “Route 66.” Dedek provides a quote from a Japanese magazine from 1990 that describes the Japanese interest in the highway: “The Japanese traveler wants to come to the U. S. A. and do something different besides go to Disneyland. They want to see and travel old America --- the best way to do that, is on old Route 66.”

Aside from foreign interest, each of the Route 66 states has at least one preservation organization, and there are many on the national level as well. In 1989, the University of New Mexico republished Jack Rittenhouse’s *A Guide to Highway 66*, from 1946, mentioned in Part I. Tourists now use the guide to find remnants and ruins of the Mother Road. 1990 saw publication of Michael Wallis’s “Route 66: The Mother Road,” a

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78 Peter Brigham Dedek, "Journeys on the Mother Road: Interpreting the Cultural Significance of U.S. Route 66," 218.

79 Ibid., 221.
popular, romanticizing book that reestablishes the east-west direction of the route by treating each state with a chapter, beginning with Illinois and ending with California. Also in 1990 was the passage of the Route 66 Study Act by Congress, which authorized the National Park Service to conduct a survey of the entire length of the route, along with its associated landmarks and properties. This was followed by the National Park Service’s *Special Resource Study of Route 66* in 1995, which contains a brief statement of significance and was used to support and pass Public Law 106-45 in 1999. The law established Route 66 as a National Heritage Highway and allowed for the creation of partnerships between the federal government (the Secretary of the Interior) and public or private entities to preserve elements of the “Route 66 Corridor,” defined by the act. It authorized the appropriation of ten million dollars in cost-share grants for accepted Route 66 projects throughout the years 2000 – 2009. These grants have since helped to fund everything from inventory surveys of the route in particular states, to the restoration of neon signs, gas stations, and motels (one of which was the Wigwam Motel in 2003), to oral history projects and the preservation of segments of actual road. More information on these projects can be found at [http://www.nps.gov/history/rt66](http://www.nps.gov/history/rt66). This site also includes a press release from 2007, stating that Route 66 has been listed among the “World’s and the Nation’s Most Endangered Places”.

Dedek notes that there is somewhat of a disagreement between “preservationists” and “enthusiasts” about the best way to manage historic Route 66. “While most of the professional preservationists focused on performing a comprehensive survey of alignments and related structures, enthusiasts tended to favor preservation through local
efforts to promote tourism, economic development, and the preservation of specific Route 66 landmarks. Route 66 enthusiasts “proposed incentives to entice more people onto Route 66, including better maps, bigger signs, more museums, and more welcome signs.”\textsuperscript{80} This quote shows the similarities in the promotional techniques between the early highway boosters and today’s enthusiasts used to put Route 66 (back) on the map.

In his dissertation, Dedek attends to the nostalgia that began to be associated with the road after it was decommissioned in 1985, writing that it is based upon an idealized version of ‘old 66’ and the apparent values that the road stands for when contrasted with the interstate highways we know today that are lined with “generic” chain hotels, restaurants, gas stations, and big box shopping centers. “The interstate system,” he writes, “with 42,500 miles of highway, thousands of exits, overpasses, and rest areas, makes up the largest single artifact ever created by humanity.”\textsuperscript{81} A popular sentiment and motivating factor in much of the enthusiasm surrounding Route 66 in popular culture today is the idea that interstate highways have divided motorists from the landscape, and “blasted a straight path through the contours of the land”, whereas old 66 followed the natural curves and formations of the land.\textsuperscript{82} This notion, along with the nostalgia Dedek describes, is remarkably evident in the 2006 animated Disney/Pixar film, \textit{Cars}, from which a clip has been selected for \textit{Gallery 66}.

\textit{Cars}, (originally titled \textit{Route 66}) is directed by John Lasseter, and is probably the greatest example of the growing enthusiasm surrounding Route 66 today. It is the story of

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 227.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 214.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 6.
hotshot racecar, “Lightning McQueen” (the voice of Owen Wilson), who is caught up in his need for speed and success. On his way to a tiebreaker race for the Piston Cup in Los Angeles on U. S. 40, McQueen winds up stranded in the town of Radiator Springs along Old Route 66, where he learns that life is not just about getting to the finish line. Radiator Springs is a fictional place rumored to be based upon actual Route 66 locations, including Amboy, CA, Seligman, AZ, and Gallup, NM. Several structures in the film are modeled after actual businesses along Route 66, such as the “Cozy Cone” Motel, based the “Wigwam Village” in Holbrook, AZ. In the scene selected for the exhibition, Lightning McQueen goes cruising with the Porsche, Sally Carrera (the voice of Bonnie Hunt), on the highway through the dramatic landscape of the Southwest. Outside the “Wheel Well Hotel,” which she says “used to be the most popular stop on the mother road,” the two cars share a dialogue that poignantly summarizes Route 66 nostalgia as a whole. Sally points out the Interstate to McQueen. “Look at that,” he comments, “They’re drivin’ right by, they don’t even know what they’re missing!” (He is referring to the panoramic Southwestern scenery before them.) Sally responds, “Well, it didn’t used to be that way … forty years ago that interstate down there didn’t exist. Back then cars came across the country a whole different way … The road didn’t cut through the land like that interstate. It moved with the land, you know, it rose, it fell, it curved. Cars didn’t drive on it to make great time, they drove on it to have a great time.” Following this dialogue is a scene that flashes back to 1950s Radiator Springs, overlaid with a Randy Newman song sung by James Taylor in which the lyrics mourn the death of the Main Street of America.
Although published before *Cars* was released, Dedek’s work explores the negative side of this nostalgia. He writes, “The primary motivation for Route 66 promoters appears to be nostalgia. Contemporary Route 66 enthusiasts, many of whom had little if any experience with the historic highway during its period of significance, associate the historic highway with a cluster of images and ideas. Many of these stemmed from notions about the Southwest developed by railroads and early Route 66 merchants.” He continues, “Widespread nostalgia for the decades from the 1930s through the 1950s, when Route 66 was in active use, is an example of how Americans tend to, as Michael Frisch put it, ‘shrink away from a serious reckoning with their past.’ Instead of examining the economic injustice of the 1930s or the undercurrents of racism and social unrest in the United States during the 1950s and early 1960s, many, such as a number of contributors to *Route 66 Magazine*, view the period as a golden era of innocence and simplicity. Frisch describes the past as being sealed away from the present in the minds of many Americans, causing the present ‘to float in time … unconstrained and uninstructed by what made it come to be.’

Much of the current nostalgia for Route 66 seems to reflect this tendency, because it emphasizes nostalgia over history. In a particularly illuminating quote from an article called “Fifties Memories” in a 1998 issue of *Route 66 Magazine*, a quote which Dedek describes as “a grand finale of unbridled nostalgia,” enthusiast Bob Moore writes of the Route 66 heyday: “People had time for themselves and each other and our lives were not consumed with “stuff.”” Bad guys went to jail, always, and good guys got ahead.

83 Ibid., 262.
Everyone respected the President, even if we didn’t agree with him. It was a comfortable time in America and some of us miss it very much.” Dedek responds to this quote with, “Moore chose the word “comfortable” to describe the 1950s. This may be the ideal term to describe his white, male, middle-class recollection of the decade before the civil rights movement reached its climax, the Vietnam War began, and the woman’s liberation movement entered mainstream America.” 84

Dedek includes another quotation from a 1998 tour book, *Route 66 Mainstreet of America*: “The ride from Glenrio is as beautiful and vibrant as a Mexican tapestry – where copper colored cliffs and majestic mesas rise in brilliant contrast to clear desert skies. The roadside communities in the ‘Land of Enchantment’ are steeped in desert culture, from souvenir shops peddling turquoise and silver trinkets, to ancient Indian Ruins, and lost cities.” Dedek comments that this language ‘could have come from a Fred Harvey promotional written seventy years earlier.’ 85 Much like they did in the Fred Harvey era, promotional materials for Route 66 tourism in the Southwest still cater to tourists’ expectations of authenticity and exoticism in the landscape and its people. Interestingly, the film *Cars* discussed above uses another strategy in its version of the Southwest. Possibly to avoid any controversial use of stereotypical or racist imagery, Disney has completely erased the character of the Native American from its Southwest. Radiator Springs and the Wheel Well ruins, remnants of the recent past, instead become like the ancient past. The ‘Wigwam Motel’ that the talking cars sleep in has been

84 Ibid., 231.
85 Ibid., 229.
renamed the ‘Cozy Cone,’ deleting its reference to the teepee form, thereby avoiding any historical inaccuracy or point of contention.

This strategy, of exclusion or omission of the Native American, who has always been a central character in the Southwest of popular culture, seems just as problematic as the continued use of stereotypes. The fact that all the characters in the movie are cars, is also telling about the way that Americans identify themselves, their values, and their priorities, especially in light of the immanent environmental consequences of the automobile and the highway, brought about by the same mentality that fostered the Manifest Destiny paradigm in the nineteenth century. As popular as Route 66 and its vernacular, kitschy aesthetic have become in the age of the interstate, it is important to recognize that both the 1926 highway system and the interstates of today, as the railroads before them, have functioned as vehicles for the western notion of progress. Within this framework, the Route 66 narrative is presented as having been written over time for a specific audience whose descendents are enacting it even today. The populist spirit harnessed in the Route 66 movement, which is in no way completely absent from Gallery 66 itself, is in many respects the product of early promotional and marketing schemes. Benign as the subject may seem on the surface, it is imperative that we examine the underlying political and economic factors involved in the history of Route 66 and in the attention the highway is receiving today. The Kennedy Museum’s Southwest Native American Collections must also be considered within the dynamics of these contexts.
Bibliography


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