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Reflections on the United States National Museum-Gates Expeditions to the American Southwest, 1901 and 1905

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American archaeology has reached a level of intellectual maturity which allows the study and analysis of its development. While most studies have stressed the growth of the discipline, few have emphasized the sociohistorical context or the motivations of the individuals involved. The United States National Museum-Gates Southwest expeditions serve as a focus of these historical variables, and this report discusses community lifestyle, expedition participants, and financial agreements to clarify the organization and success of the endeavors.

TURN of the century American archaeology witnessed a shift in regional studies from the "Moundbuilder" controversy of the Eastern Woodlands to the American Southwest (Willey and Sabloff 1980). The Southwest offered the study of sedentary, pottery-producing Pueblo societies as part of a historical continuum in a spectacular natural setting. Early archaeologists tended to view the archaeological record as a mirror of contemporary Pueblo culture (Gumerman 1991: 102), thereby establishing a focused direction to areal studies. This period (ca. 1875 to 1920) "played an important role in the professionalization of anthropology" (Parezo 1987:4) and in the large archaeological and ethnographic museum collections established throughout the country. While the United States National Museum-Gates (hereinafter referred to as USNM-Gates) expeditions were a part of this practice, little is known of the background of this effort. As Hinsley (1986: 231) observed:

Curiously, we know very little of those who paid for so much American archaeology: their motivations, expectations, or influences on its devel-



Fig. 1. Peter Goddard Gates (no date given, photographer unknown). (Mary Lemon Brown collection, courtesy of the Community Library, Ketchum, Idaho.)

opment. The subject has a special claim to attention, for it connects the “internal” history of this scientific and humanistic enterprise—one that has traditionally enjoyed a broad base of public sympathy and interest—with the larger sociological conditions of its growth.

This report provides a reconstruction of the historical and social contexts of the USNM-Gates expeditions, identifies the personalities involved, and briefly summarizes expedition findings. Particular emphasis is placed on the influence of the “Arts and Crafts” movement on southern California expedition financiers and participants, including Peter Goddard Gates, Gertrude Lewis Gates, and Adam Clark Vroman (see Figs. 1 and 2).



Fig. 2. Gertrude Lewis Gates, ca. 1895 (photographer unknown). (Mary Lemon Brown collection, courtesy of the Community Library, Ketchum, Idaho.)

THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCENE

By the late 1800s, affluent communities in southern California, such as South Pasadena, became bastions of the arts and social experimentation. In these settings, Victorian ideals began to meld with an overlay of new attitudes and artistic expressions. This was also the time that the United States was experiencing vast industrialization, rapid urbanization, the opening of new western frontiers, and the creation of the Euroamerican myth of the southwestern and southern California ideals (Higham 1965; Lash 1965; Starr 1973). The late Victorian period has been characterized as

an age of peace and posterity, particularly for the American upper middle class, people who built

large houses, furnishing and decorating them with the arts and crafts of the time. . . . Emulating the European nobility with their private museum rooms, the middle class had their own versions in the parlors [Gogol 1985:20].

Native American baskets, rugs, and pottery became part of the Victorian furnishings incorporated into an expanding commercial "ethnic art" market (Wade 1985:167). Looming on the horizon was a new artistic movement spurred on by the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. American artistic self-confidence was manifest in the creation of dozens of arts and crafts societies between 1893 and 1901 (Anscombe and Gere 1978:9).

The Arts and Crafts (or Craftsman) movement evolved in England as a reaction to the fine arts and industrialization. A philosophy demanding recognition of applied and decorative arts was championed by Thomas Carlyle and transformed into action under John Ruskin and the fiery, reformed bourgeois socialist William Morris (Stan-sky 1985):

Ruskin was concerned that the iron hand of the machine was enslaving, rather than freeing man, that specialization was fragmenting rather than making him whole. He pictured art as a necessity to life, and the hand and commitment of the artist as necessary to art. He viewed creative labor as a fulfillment rather than a curse. Medievalism and the Guild system recurred as ideals towards a utopian social order [Moore 1980:7].

These ideals eventually found expression in California:

It is my belief that the ideas of Carlyle and Ruskin, expressed and enlarged on by Morris, seeped into the optimistic consciousness of turn of the century California and found perhaps their broadest and most diverse expressions. . . . It is a tradition of life style, aesthetic value judgements and involvement with materials. It is expressive, experimental, and as diverse as the visions of the artists [Moore 1980:9].

The American Arts and Crafts expression, like the English, flourished in architecture and everyday material culture items, such as furniture, glass, weaving, and pottery (Clark 1972).

The Pasadena embodiment of the Craftsman ideal was locally centered in the "Arroyo Culture" (Winter 1980a). The Arroyo Seco drainage in Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Highland Park was lined with bungalows, including many designed by the famous Greene brothers (Winter 1980b). In this region, the blending of architecture and nature had a conscious style:

Now the use of this woodsy Craftsman style was no simple coincidence of time and fortune. It has an ideological, even moral significance. On one level the material and the fusion of styles indicate a feeling for the environment of the Arroyo, an attempt to associate well known picturesque human contrivances with the picturesque natural landscape [Winter 1980a:14].

Therefore, the Arroyo's natural setting and imposed architecture was an outward expression of a particular lifestyle:

The Arroyo style was suitable for artists and literary people whose ambience included the Coleman Chamber Music concerts and the Pasadena Playhouse. As at Berkeley, the other great California center of Craftsman architecture, the simple singled bungalow, enriched with the most discriminating taste in painting and handcrafts, was built by intellectuals, not necessarily people endowed with genius but the California variety of intellectual, productive, in tune with liberal ideas, cosmopolitan, and at the same time in touch with nature, even folksy in his attitudes toward family and the good life [Winter 1980a:15].

The southern California Arts and Crafts motif further blended with a raising humanitarian consciousness (witness Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*) and insights into historical preservation, especially the Spanish missions and Native American values. Local protagonists included George Wharton James and Charles Fletcher Lummis. Lummis was of particular importance to the local scene and was without doubt the dominant crusading force of the Arroyo scene (Walker 1950; Gordon 1972):

In Southern California, Lummis' dynamism quickly led to the organization of small groups of men and women determined to advance new understanding and new consideration for the Indians of the Southwest. Among the most effectively per-

suasive of these reformers were A. C. Vroman's friends, Peter G. and Beatrice [*sic*] Gates. It was indeed natural that many of the most sensitive and compassionate spirits in the small southern California communities would be drawn to such humanistic inspirations. They reflected the militant idealism of many Utopian-minded individuals and groups that settled in Southern California in the 1870s and 1880s. Lending themselves to causes from Theosophy to socialism, these Southern California radicals injected vigorous life into efforts to assist Southwest Indians [Webb and Weinstein 1973:9].

Lummis' anthropological accomplishments include establishment of the Southwest Society, a branch of the Archaeological Institute of America, which led to the development of the Southwest Museum (Lummis 1928). He organized the Sequoia League for the pursuit of human rights and Native American land claims, which began at Downey Ranch and continued with the investigation of Superintendent Burton at Hopi (Lummis 1902; Watkins 1944). He also had a role in the development of the School of American Research in Santa Fe (Fiske and Lummis 1975).

Residents of the Pasadena community manifested a keen interest in native peoples, particularly those of the American Southwest and southern California's mission populations. They promoted utopian ideals and were financially capable and willing to pursue their dreams and visions. Peter Goddard Gates, Gertrude Lewis Gates, and A. C. Vroman were active players in the community, and together they pursued their interests in the American Southwest.

EXPEDITION PLAYERS

The USNM-Gates expeditions involved four key participants, three of whom—Peter Gates, Gertrude Gates, and A. C. Vroman—were part of the Southland's intellectual scene and were actively involved and interested in Native American issues. The Gateses were philanthropists and collectors, Vroman was an established photographer and, along with Walter Hough of the United States National Museum (USNM), the fourth par-

ticipant, they formed the corpus of the 1901 expedition (Vroman and Gertrude Gates did not participate in the 1905 field effort). The 1901 field work was designed around previous work conducted by J. Walter Fewkes (1898) in northeastern Arizona, while the 1905 season was centered south of the White Mountains in Arizona and New Mexico, where Hough (1914:1) had earlier worked with Fewkes in 1896.

Peter Gates, a wealthy timber magnate, was a resident of South Pasadena at the time of his involvement with the USNM. Born in Iowa, Gates, along with his father and brothers, acquired a fortune in timber land holdings and wood milling operations, primarily within Arkansas. The Gates lumber empire had interests in six mills and controlled 485,000 acres of forest land, grossing an estimated four billion board feet of yellow pine and hardwood by the turn of the century (Anonymous 1904:43-44). Upon relocating in California, Peter and his brother, Howard, became early supporters of the Troop Institute of Technology (now California Institute of Technology), Occidental College, and other civic endeavors (Hill 1929; The Adams 1969; Goodstein 1991).

Peter was also adventurous and an apparent lover of the outdoors. He seemingly preferred the life of the landed gentry and amateur anthropologist to lumbering, as he

gave up active work in 1899 and since then has directed a great deal of his time to archaeological and ethnological investigations, giving two seasons to that work, one season with the United States National Museum [Anonymous 1904:51].

It has been suggested that F. W. Hodge of the Smithsonian Institution agreed to endorse a Peter G. Gates southwestern expedition (Weinstein 1989:4), possibly through their mutual friendship with Vroman (Klyver 1989:11). It does appear, however, that Gates took the initiative during a visit to Washington, D.C., where he met with William Henry Holmes, Walter Hough's superior at the USNM, and the following day made an offer to finance an expedition with Hough (Gates 1901).

In a return correspondence to Gates from the Smithsonian Institution, Secretary S. P. Langley stated:

I have accepted your proposition, made in letter dated February 21, 1901, to conduct, conjointly with this Institution, certain archaeological explorations in the Pueblo country. The understanding is that Mr. Hough is to join you in carrying on the work, contributing his knowledge and experience, while you assume the financial responsibility, excepting transportation to and from Washington, at the same time taking an active part in the field work and its conduct [Langley 1901a].

This agreement was the beginning of two joint USNM-Gates expeditions involving Walter Hough in 1901 and 1905.

Gertrude Lewis Gates, a graduate of Mount Holyoke College and a deeply religious individual, was a native Idahoan and the daughter of I. I. Lewis, one of the early founders of the community of Ketchum. Gertrude met Peter while he was conducting a timber survey in Idaho. Her interests in the American Southwest were focused on the Pueblo peoples but were not specifically archaeological in nature. She assisted in ethnobotanical research during the first Gates expedition (Hough 1903:288), but appears to have been more interested in Indian education reform and proselytizing. Her residency in South Pasadena led to her involvement with the Sequoia League, during which time she defended Charles Lummis's investigation of Hopi Superintendent Charles E. Burton during the infamous "hair-cutting" trial (see Lummis 1968). Lummis (1968:120) characterized her as follows:

Mrs. Peter Goddard Gates is a serious student of ethnology who has been pursuing her studies in Arizona for several years. She is deeply and sanely interested in the Indians, and is an authorized and trusted agent of the Sequoia League. A woman of highest refinement and of spotless character, she is no less noted for thoroughness, understanding and common sense. She has been a ray of hope to the Hopi, and a valued aid to those trying to "make better Indians."

Her proselytizing activities, however, led to her separation and divorce from Peter in 1904. Gertrude continued her interest in contemporary Puebloans, particularly the Hopi, and resided in Keams Canyon before returning to Idaho (M. L. Brown, personal communication 1973).

Adam Clark Vroman, whose many Southwestern and southern California contributions have been documented in historical perspective (Mahood 1961; Webb and Weinstein 1973), was the third Pasadena resident involved in the 1901 USNM-Gates expeditions. He has been described as

a railroad man, a fine book collector and successful book merchant, an amateur archaeologist and historian of the American Southwest, a distinguished collector of Orientalia and Southwestern Indian artifacts, a public-spirited citizen of note, and a serious photographer of uncommon sensitivity [Weinstein 1989:3].

His photographic accomplishments remain a standard today in their realism and sensitivity that stand in drastic opposition to the staid, posed, romanticized visions of Native American people as depicted by many of his contemporaries. Between 1897 and 1904, Vroman made several trips to the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico, as well as to Navaho country, where he took photographs at Enchanted Mesa (Weinstein 1989:4).

A connoisseur of native southwestern craft arts, Vroman was noted for his fine collection, which was considered equal to those of Lummis, George Wharton James, and Arthur J. Eddy (Winter 1980a:17). In fact, it is believed that a portion of the rug collection of well-known Southwest trader Thomas Keams may have been passed on to Vroman (Webb and Weinstein 1973:35).

Walter Hough was also a participant in the USNM-Gates expeditions. Hough served for 50 years at the USNM in capacities ranging from copyist in the division of ethnology to assistant for Otis T. Mason (Hinsley 1981:91), to Head Curator of Anthropology (Judd 1936). Hough was known for his encyclopedic knowledge, his avid

interest in all things anthropological (Judd 1968: 57), and his thoughts about fire as a human agent (Judd 1936:474). Like Mason, he paid meticulous attention to the replication of material culture (Hinsley 1981:91). He also had a deep interest in Hopi material culture and physical environment (Hough 1918). Hough's contributions also included various archaeological field projects he pioneered in Arizona and New Mexico (Judd 1967:71; Martin 1973:11-12).

The USNM-Gates expeditions reflected both individual commitment to the American Southwest and to the institutional interests of the Smithsonian. Peter Gates, for example, has been described as "a vigorous enthusiast of Indian life and an avid collector of Indian artifacts" (Weinstein 1989:4). Likewise, the 1901 expedition provided Vroman an avenue to continue his investment in Southwest photography (Klyver 1989), and allowed Gertrude Gates to pursue her interest in contemporary Pueblo peoples (Rathbun 1902).¹ The USNM carried on its institutional bias of gathering artifacts for public display, especially between 1879 and 1919, as well as the practice of "salvage ethnography" via material objects (Gruber 1970; Parezo 1986).

EXPEDITIONS AND COLLECTIONS

The USNM-Gates expeditions were primarily collecting forays. During the 1901 and 1905 endeavors, all participants shared in the spoils. The Smithsonian's interest centered on expanding the USNM's archaeological and ethnological collections, a tradition characteristic of early Southwest expeditions (Cordell 1984:50), and was further spurred on by Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893 (Kidder 1962; Martin and Plog 1973). Although the Gates expeditions were not unique (Rathbun 1901a:22), it remains uncertain how often the museum utilized private support in its field activities, as the initial 1901 agreement was made with some trepidation:

I need hardly remind you of the warning we have just had about the dangers of such "entan-

gling alliances." I do not mean to refuse my assent to this, but I think it will be better that it should not be so far assumed as a matter of course, as to have the preparations for the expedition made before any consultation with the Secretary [Langley 1901b].

Nevertheless, the expeditions proceeded on schedule and Hough was instructed to

proceed to the Pueblo region for the purpose of conducting ethnological and archaeological explorations, according to the plan already agreed upon . . . Early in June you are expected to join Mr. Peter G. Gates at Silver City, New Mexico, to enter with him upon joint exploration of archaeological sites. The expenses of subsistence and field work are to be borne by Mr. Gates, the product of the exploration being divided equally between the Museum and Mr. Gates. At the close of each separate portion of the exploration the artifacts secured are to be divided into two equal portions by the joint explorers and assigned by lot, one portion to the Museum, and one to Mr. Gates [Rathbun 1901b].

Gates funded only a portion of the archaeology (June through August) as Hough was also instructed to secure ethnographic collections from the White Mountain and Palomas Apache, Havasupai, and other Gila Valley tribes and conduct additional archaeological exploration under the direct auspices of the museum (Rathbun 1901b). A similar arrangement, "one-half of all material collected," was also secured during the 1905 expedition (Rathbun 1905). Obviously, the arrangements proved workable to all participants, as "in appreciation for making the project possible, Dr. Hough, the expedition leader, gave P.G. samples of rare Indian handcraft and artifacts which included an Indian mummy" (Thompson 1969:8).

The results of the 1901 expedition appear astounding by today's standards, as the purpose was to enhance museum collections. Centered in northeastern Arizona near the Petrified Forest and at Jeddito Wash, in four months 55 pueblos were visited and 18 were "excavated" (Hough 1903:358). A total of 2,500 archaeological specimens was recovered for the USNM. Several hundred pieces, now housed at the Southwest Museum, constituted Gates's share (B. Bryan, personal

communication 1972), where they have been used primarily for display purposes (R.M.G. 1927). The Gateses also collected ethnographic material at Hopi during the 1901 field season. Gertrude Gates's portion was donated to the College of Idaho (now Albertson College of Idaho) by her niece, Helen Lloyd, in 1945. Many of her other estate items did not fare as well; books and letters were either destroyed or sold upon her death (M. L. Brown, personal communication 1972).

One of the most important outcomes of the 1901 expedition is the photographs by Vroman. Vroman's role in the expedition appears well defined:

First, he was creating works of art for himself. Secondly, he was documenting the work of the archaeologists, although this was a relatively minor role as Walter Hough and Peter Gates were also photographing the sites. Thirdly, he was creating a duplicate set of negatives which would be given to Peter Gates apparently in return for Gates's support of the expedition [Klyver 1989: 11; also see Mahood 1961; Webb and Weinstein 1973].

A second, and possibly a third, set of negatives was created by Vroman.² Gates's set of negatives was eventually transferred to the Southwest Museum and Vroman's set went to the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History (Klyver 1989). Additionally, Vroman also indulged in collecting Hopi material culture for his personal collection (Kenagy 1989). The 1905 expedition traveled to the Blue, San Francisco, and Tularosa basins and included work at the well-known site of Tularosa Cave (Martin et al. 1952), surpassing the archaeological success of the earlier effort:

The results of the second Gates-Museum Expedition are perhaps even more important than those of the expedition of 1901. Of objective material the results comprise a collection of several thousand artifacts, and especially valuable because of its richness in perishable objects which had been preserved in caves or other protective situations. The study of this series in connection with the field notes, plans of the sites, and natural history collections is expected to throw much light

on an archaeological area that has not heretofore been scientifically explored [Hough 1914:1].

Vroman was not a participant in the second effort, nor was Gertrude Gates, as she and Peter had divorced in 1904. Overall, all of the participants of the 1901 and 1905 expeditions seemed to have had specific objectives in mind. They covered a vast territory and made extensive archaeological and ethnographical collections for the USNM, Gates, and Vroman. While it is easy to be judgmental using today's field standards, the number of sites visited and sampled, along with the recovered object count, remains impressive.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

By the late 1800s, the United States was experiencing rapid economic expansion and vast social changes. In southern California, part of the nation's cultural metamorphosis focused on social experimentation. As a haven for many of the nation's nouveau riche, many residents of Pasadena and South Pasadena were involved in the Arts and Crafts movement, which was known locally as the Arroyo Culture. Thus, the association between Peter and Gertrude Gates, A. C. Vroman, and Charles Lummis is not difficult to envision, given their shared interest in the American Southwest, with its idyllically portrayed Pueblo Indian lifestyle, a spiritual and intellectual topic of the time.

Peter Gates's support of Walter Hough and the USNM must be judged successful, since it does not appear that the expeditions were beset with personal, financial, or overwhelming logistical problems. The number of ancient pueblo ruins explored and recorded in relatively unknown archaeological zones is an important contribution to early Southwest archaeology. As a result of these expeditions, not only were new ruins charted and a large number of artifacts recovered, but a great deal of information was provided regarding various impacts to the archaeological record, including natural agents, looting, and grave desecration (Hough 1903, 1914).

Furthermore, over time, Vroman's photo-

graphic contributions appear to be the most important legacy of the USNM-Gates efforts (Mahood 1961; Webb and Weinstein 1973). Vroman's images captured a wealth of Pueblo material culture, as well as architectural and ritual information (Patton 1982:14). Likewise, the recovered ethnographic materials are an important contribution to the development of various museum collections, yet remain the least studied portion of the USNM-Gates expeditions.

NOTES

1. At the time of the USNM-Gates expeditions, Richard Rathbun was the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in charge of the United States National Museum, and William A. Jones was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

2. The Pasadena Public Library also houses a collection of A. C. Vroman glass negatives.

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