

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

“EXPRESSING THE INEXPRESSIBLE”:

ART POSTERS, GRAPHIC MODERNISM, AND THE AMERICAN WEST, 1890–1925

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

HADLEY E. JERMAN

Norman, Oklahoma

2020

“EXPRESSING THE INEXPRESSIBLE”:

ART POSTERS, GRAPHIC MODERNISM, AND THE AMERICAN WEST, 1890–1925

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE  
SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

Mr. B. Byron Price, Chair

Dr. W. Jackson Rushing, III

Dr. Alison Fields

Dr. Kenneth Haltman

Dr. Kathleen Crowther

© Copyright by HADLEY E. JERMAN 2020  
All Rights Reserved.

*For my parents, my grandparents, and Hugh.*

1 Corinthians 1:4

It was no longer possible to make an advertisement striking, conspicuous and attractive by still pictures and realistic groups, however competently painted.

Modernism afforded the opportunity of expressing the inexpressible, of suggesting not so much a motor car as speed, not so much a gown as style, not so much a compact as beauty.

—Earnest Elmo Calkins, 1946

## Table of Contents

List of Figures .....	vii
Abstract .....	xii
Acknowledgments.....	xiii
Introduction.....	1
<b>Chapter 1:</b> “Je Viens!” Buffalo Bill and European Modernism in an “Iconic” Wild West Poster, 1898–1915.....	21
<b>Chapter 2:</b> Promoting <i>Pony Tracks</i> : Edward Penfield, Frederic Remington, and the “West” in New York, ca. 1895.....	65
<b>Chapter 3:</b> A Re-Moveable Fiesta: Gerald Cassidy’s Santa Fe Fiesta Posters, 1922.....	120
<b>Chapter 4:</b> Maynard Dixon and the Big Picture: Pacific Coast Billboard Advertising, 1916–1921.....	179
Conclusion.....	229
Bibliography.....	238
Appendix – Figures.....	249

## List of Figures

### Chapter 1

1.1	Alick P.F. Ritchie, <i>Buffalo Bill's Col. W.F. Cody</i> , lithograph, 1905.....	249
1.2	J. Weiners Ltd., <i>Je Viens</i> , lithograph, 1905. ....	250
1.3	<i>Advertising Railroad Car #1</i> , Photoprint, 1885–1900.....	251
1.4	Courier Lithography Co., <i>I am Coming</i> , lithograph, 1900 .....	251
1.5	Bien & Co., <i>I am Coming</i> , lithograph, 1898.....	252
1.6	Hoen & Co., after Henry Atwell Thomas, <i>Col. W. F. Cody</i> , ca. 1888. ....	253
1.7	Charles E. Stacey, <i>W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody</i> , cabinet card, ca. 1895.....	254
1.8	Mayes, Roylance, and Purcell, <i>I Am Coming (P. T. Barnum)</i> , 1875/1879.....	255
1.9	Enquirer Printing Co., <i>Virginia Reel on Horseback</i> , ca. 1900.....	256
1.10	Enquirer Printing Co., <i>Buffalo Bill's Wild West</i> , ca.1900.....	257
1.11	Enquirer Printing Co., <i>Buffalo Bill's Wild West</i> , ca.1897.....	258
1.12	Chaix, Paris, <i>Danse Des Cowboys A Cheval</i> , lithograph, 1905.....	258
1.13	Lucian Bernhard, <i>Priester</i> , 1915 (reprint of 1905 poster). ....	259
1.14	Strobridge Litho. Co., <i>Buffalo Bill: Here We Are!</i> , lithograph, 1908.....	260
1.15	Enquirer Printing Co., <i>Buffalo Bill's Wild West</i> , drawing, ca. 1900.....	261
1.16	U.S. Litho Co., <i>Buffalo Bill's Original Wild West Sells-Floto Circus</i> , 1914. ....	262
1.17	Sells-Floto Letterhead, 1915.....	262
1.18	Weiners, Paris, <i>Buffalo Bill's Wild West (Deadwood Stage)</i> ,1905.....	263
1.19	Jules Chéret, Musée Grévin, <i>Souvenir de l'Exposition</i> , 1890.....	264
1.20	Mario Cetto, <i>La Rana nel Wild West (The Bullfrog in the Wild West)</i> .....	265

## Chapter 2

2.1 Edward Penfield, <i>Pony Tracks</i> , color lithograph, 1895.....	266
2.2 Edward Penfield, <i>Joan of Arc... April Harper's</i> , color lithograph, 1895.....	267
2.3 Eugène Grasset, <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> , color lithograph, ca. 1889–1890. ....	268
2.4 Edward Penfield, <i>Harper's July</i> , zinc etching, 1894.....	269
2.5 Frederic Remington, <i>A Bucking Broncho</i> , illustration, 1899.....	270
2.6 Calhoun Printing Co., <i>A Bucking Bronco</i> , ca. 1885.....	270
2.7 Screenshot, Thomas A. Edison, Co, <i>Bucking Broncho</i> , 1894.....	271
2.8 Charles E. Stacy, <i>Angus McPhee, Lee Martin, Gus Uhl</i> , photograph, [1894?].....	272
2.9 Unidentified photographer, <i>Artist sketching...</i> , photograph, 1895–1905. ....	273
2.10 Harper and Brothers, <i>Pony Tracks</i> , 1895. ....	274
2.11 George de Forest Brush, <i>The Picture Writer's Story</i> , oil on canvas, ca. 1884. ....	275
2.12 Edward Penfield, “Lord of the North,” <i>Collier's</i> (April 6, 1907).....	276
2.13 Edward Penfield, <i>Polar Bear in American Art by American Artists</i> (1914).....	276
2.14 Tlingit, Chilcat, <i>Brown Bear Box</i> , pre-1890.....	277
2.15 Edward Penfield, <i>Poster Calendar</i> , lithograph, 1897.....	278
2.16 Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, <i>Two Cats</i> , color lithograph, 1894. ....	279
2.17 Edward Penfield, <i>Harper's for November</i> , lithograph, 1895.....	280
2.18 “The Strategy of the Blanket Pony,” <i>Collier's Weekly</i> 28:18 (Feb. 1, 1902): 14.....	281
2.19 After Frederic Remington, <i>The Strategy of the Blanket Pony</i> , 1902 .....	282

## Chapter 3

3.1 Gerald Cassidy, <i>Santa Fe Fiesta Posters</i> , gouache on board [?], 1922.....	283
3.2 1922 Santa Fe Fiesta Program. ....	284



3.3	Fred Harvey Co., <i>Santa Fe Fiesta postcards and decorative cover</i> , 1922. ....	285
3.4	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Eagle Dancer” design</i> , photograph, ca. April/May 1922. .	286
3.5	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Shalako” design</i> , photograph, ca. May 1922. ....	287
3.6	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Entry of De Vargas,” design</i> , ca. April/May 1922.....	288
3.7	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Franciscan Friar” design</i> , ca. April/May 1922.....	289
3.8	Fred Harvey Co., <i>Entry of De Vargas, Santa Fe Fiesta Postcard</i> , 1922.....	290
3.9	Fred Harvey Co., <i>Los Matachines Dancer, Santa Fe Fiesta Postcard</i> , 1922.....	291
3.10	Hans Rudi Erdt, <i>Opel Poster</i> , 1911. ....	292
3.11	Gerald Cassidy, <i>El Tovar (Entry of De Vargas)</i> , gouache on board [?], 1922. ....	293
3.12	Frederic Remington, <i>The Last Cavalier</i> , oil on board, 1895. ....	294
3.13	Gerald Cassidy, <i>The Meeting of the Spaniards and the Indians at Zuni</i> , 1921. ....	295
3.14	Ralph Emerson Twitchell, <i>Old Santa Fe</i> , 1925. ....	296
3.15	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Santiago” design</i> , ca. April/May 1922.....	297
3.16	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Santiago</i> , lithograph, ca. 1922.....	298
3.17	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Master of Ceremonies</i> , oil on canvas, 1925. ....	299
3.18	Underwood and Underwood, <i>Pueblos bring first protest...</i> , photograph, 1923. ....	300
3.19	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Buffalo Dancer” design</i> , ca. April/May 1922. ....	301
3.20	Jules Chéret, <i>Saxoléine Lamp Oil Poster</i> , lithograph, 1900. ....	302
3.21	Gerald Cassidy, <i>Original “Eagle Dancer,” design</i> , ca. April/May 1922.....	303
3.22	Gerald Cassidy, <i>The Eagles Dance, San Ildefonso</i> , oil on canvas, 1927.....	304
3.23	Gerald Cassidy, <i>The Buffalo Dancer</i> , oil on canvas, 1922. ....	305

## Chapter 4

4.1	Maynard Dixon, <i>Billboard Designs for Foster and Kleiser</i> , ca. 1916–1921.....	306
4.2	Maurice Del Mue, <i>Hills Bros. Billboard Designs</i> , gouache, ca. 1917.....	307
4.3	Maynard Dixon, <i>Overland July</i> , woodcut poster, ca. 1895. ....	308
4.4	<i>The Land of Sunshine Posters</i> , September–October, 1895.....	309
4.5	H. C. McCann Co., <i>Savages Invade [Savage Tires Print Ad]</i> , 1917.....	310
4.6	Maynard Dixon, <i>Savage Tires</i> , copy print, [ca. 1920].....	311
4.7	Maynard Dixon, <i>Home of the Blackfeet</i> , oil on canvas, 1936.....	312
4.8	<i>The Message of “Little Heap” [Savage Tires print ad]</i> , 1920. ....	313
4.9	Maynard Dixon, <i>[Savage Tires]</i> , gouache on illustration board, ca. 1920.....	314
4.10	Maynard Dixon, <i>Savage Grafanite Inner Tubes</i> , gouache on board, ca. 1920.....	314
4.11	Maynard Dixon, <i>[Savage Tires]</i> , gouache on illustration board, ca. 1921.....	315
4.12	Maynard Dixon, <i>The “Blackfoot” Tread</i> , gouache on illustration board, 1919.....	316
4.13	Maynard Dixon or Harold von Schmidt, “Savage in the Yosemite,” 1920.....	317
4.14	Unidentified photographer, <i>State Street, Los Angeles</i> , ca. 1920.....	318
4.15	Maynard Dixon, <i>The Apache Trail Via the Southern Pacific</i> , 1917.....	319
4.16	Maynard Dixon, <i>Pierce-Arrow “In the Cow Country,”</i> ca. 1917. ....	319
4.17	Maynard Dixon, <i>Warriors</i> , oil on canvas, 1916. ....	320
4.18	Maynard Dixon, <i>Spur Cigarettes</i> , gouache on illustration board, 1921.....	321
4.19	Maynard Dixon, <i>Saddle Horses Grazing</i> , oil on canvas, 1922.....	321
4.20	Maynard Dixon, <i>Forgotten Man</i> , oil on canvas, 1934.....	322
4.21	Maynard Dixon, <i>Savage Cords A Mighty Tire</i> , gouache on illustration board, 1921..	323
4.22	Maynard Dixon, <i>Free Speech</i> , oil on canvas, 1934–1936. ....	323

4.23	Maynard Dixon, <i>Roadside</i> , oil on canvas, 1938. ....	324
4.24	[Detail] Maynard Dixon, <i>Home of the Blackfeet</i> , oil on canvas, 1936. ....	325
4.25	Maynard Dixon, <i>Billboard Design in Western Advertising</i> (January 1922). ....	325
4.26	Maynard Dixon, <i>Foster and Kleiser Billboard Designs</i> , copy prints, ca. 1920. ....	326
4.27	Maynard Dixon, <i>Coca-Cola Relieves Fatigue</i> , copy prints, 1917. ....	327
4.28	Foster and Kleiser, <i>Borden's Milk and Sonora Phonographs</i> [Detail], ca. 1921. ....	328
4.29	Foster and Kleiser, <i>Borden's Milk and Sonora Phonographs</i> [Detail], ca. 1921. ....	328
4.30	Maynard Dixon, <i>Oakland, Antioch &amp; Eastern Railway</i> , copy print, ca. 1920. ....	329
4.31	Foster and Kleiser, <i>Desmond's</i> , 1921. ....	329
4.32	Print Ad for Foster and Kleiser, <i>Western Advertising</i> 3, no. 8 (September 1921). ....	330
4.33	Unidentified photographer, <i>Western Avenue Looking North</i> , ca. 1924. ....	331
4.34	Unidentified photographer, <i>Viaduct Over Glendale Boulevard on Sunset</i> , 1925. ....	331

## Conclusion

C.1	" <i>New Mexico True</i> " website, April 18, 2020, screenshot. ....	332
C.2	" <i>California Dream Big</i> " website, April 18, 2020, screenshot. ....	332

## Abstract

The “art poster” movement swept the United States during the 1890s, generating enthusiasm and commentary for advertising posters designed by fine artists. While American art posters prompted much discussion in their time, they have rarely received focused art historical investigation. And while the movement informed advertising efforts in the American West through the early 1920s, scholars have largely ignored western centric posters. This dissertation fills that lacuna and offers a methodological framework for addressing not only western American posters but commercial art more broadly. It considers posters made between 1890 and 1925 in New York, New Mexico, and California as the tangible outcome of compromises between multiple makers. Thus, through case studies, I seek to understand how art posters of the American West visually negotiated between the needs and expectations of various stakeholders to “sell” ideas about the West. As this study reveals, art posters critically comment on and interpret the ideas and objects they were designed to sell. At the turn of the twentieth century, art poster style informed the visual identity of William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s Wild West even though his posters generally eschew the aesthetic. Edward Penfield’s poster promoting Frederic Remington’s book, *Pony Tracks* (1895), reveals the direct influence of Cody’s Wild West on New York perceptions *and portrayals* of the West. Rather than celebrate Remington’s vision, however, I argue that Penfield’s poster and cover design interpreted and criticized it. Likewise, while Gerald Cassidy’s 1922 Santa Fe Fiesta posters worked to advance tourism for his clients, they simultaneously promoted the artist and Pueblo land rights. While Maynard Dixon’s billboard designs manipulated public attitudes favorably toward outdoor advertising for his employer and promoted California for local advertising boosters, for the artist they served as a crucible in which to explore compositional structures that informed his fine art for decades. Such posters’ *appearance* of simplicity and instantaneous communication demands we afford them a longer look. Doing so equips us to more critically consume the advertising images that surround us. What might we discover if only we looked more closely, not only at the tangible images of our collective past, but at the commercial imagery that continues to pervade our visual experience today?

## Acknowledgments

Writing a dissertation is no easy task; completing it while working full time and in the midst of a pandemic added additional hurdles. I am grateful to those individuals who, in moments when a dissertation about commercial art failed to seem that important to me given the world situation, remained consistently enthusiastic and encouraging. My most sincere thanks and gratitude goes to B. Byron Price, my advisor, for his patience, long-standing support, and tireless editing. His course in photography of the American West instilled in me a deep interest in imagery of the American West fifteen years ago and began a journey that I, at the time, could not have imagined would result in a career change and a Ph.D. Byron, I cannot thank you enough. Thank you also to my committee members Dr. W. Jackson Rushing, III, Dr. Alison Fields, Dr. Kenneth Haltman, and Dr. Kathleen Crowther, for their support of a project that was largely outside their bailiwick. Each of you has played a critical role in my development as a writer, teacher, and scholar and I am grateful to you for your faith in me and in this project.

Tracking down rare images and archival materials for this dissertation took me to museums and archives in New York, Washington, D.C., Wisconsin, New Mexico, and across California. I am grateful for travel funding provided by the OU School of Visual Arts, the OU Graduate College Robberson Research Grant, and for the E. Peter Mauk, Jr./Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. Fellowship at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, which made this research possible. I am indebted to the tireless efforts of library and museum staff members across the country. At home, OU's Interlibrary Loan staff, particularly Sara Huber, were invaluable in procuring rare books, microfilms, and the like. Beyond Norman, thank you to: Tom McCutcheon and other staff members of the Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Butler Library, Columbia University, New York; staff of Brooke Russell Astor Reading Room at the New York Public Library; Laila Williamson, American Museum of Natural History, New York; Jan Greci and staff of the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division who so graciously pulled Penfield's posters for me to view; Dr. Peter Shrake, Circus World Museum, Baraboo, Wisconsin; Renee Harvey, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK; Sophie Friedman and Christian Waguespac, New Mexico Museum of Art, Santa Fe, NM; Heather McClure and Alicia Romero, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM; Dr. Peter Blodgett and David Mihaly, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; Marva Felchlin, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA; Kathleen Correia, Gary Kurutz, Sariah Groff, and librarians at the California State Library, Sacramento, CA; and Dean Smith, Shannon Supple, and Theresa Salazar, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA. Special thanks to all the registrars and staff members whose herculean efforts to procure images or image permissions in the midst of a pandemic when they were locked out of their institutions deserves recognition: Heidi Taylor and Heidi Connor, John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art; Barry Landua, American Museum of Natural History; Jason King, Clear Channel; Morgan Yates, Automobile Club of California; Kera Newby and Melissa

Owens, National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum; and, most especially, Elena Smith at the California State Library. To all of you, and to those individuals I have inevitably missed, I could not have completed this work without your assistance—thank you.

Thank you also to my colleagues, particularly Dr. Mark White, Tanya Denton, and Kaylee Kain at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art for their patience, camaraderie, and encouragement as I worked to complete this dissertation while fulfilling curatorial duties. I am grateful to Dr. White for supporting two poster-related exhibits I curated under his direction. Two friends—Alaina Nash and Hugh Dauffenbach—assisted me in organizing my research files and transcribing many, many, letters early in the process. I am grateful to both of them for their efforts which made writing the fourth chapter possible. Thank you to Dr. David Wrobel for taking time to advise me on my application for a Huntington Library grant which came to fruition. Likewise, thank you to the many classmates, colleagues, mentors, and friends with whom I have shared interesting conversations, laughter, and meals over the course of my doctoral studies, particularly: Dr. Caroline Fernald and Nat Hoonsan, Dr. Tammi Hanawalt, Dr. Roni Jackson Kerr, Kate Swanson, Francesca Giani, Kimberly Minor, Mark Esquivel, Suzanne and Ryan Peters, Alaina and Louisa Nash, Jinfeng Wang and Yi Guo, Alisa Lane, Lisa Morrell, Yasmin Merchant, Laura Perry, Scott Hale, and Michael Klatt. Special thanks to Dr. Ashlea Espinal for her encouragement, thoughtful questions, and cookies that fueled us through many late-night writing sessions; her determination to complete her own dissertation helped me complete mine!

Finally, I could not have reached this point without the love and support of my entire family. I am especially grateful to my parents, Jerry and Charlene Jerman, who taught their children the importance of the humanities and instilled in each of us curiosity about the world and a commitment to lifelong learning. Thank you, Mom and Dad, for so many meals, for reading rough drafts, for your prayers and friendship, and especially for listening with equal attentiveness to my impassioned soliloquies about obscure posters and to my despair about roadblocks in the research. To my brother, Andrew; brother-in-law, Neal; and niece, Anne, thank you for moments of levity and laughter amid this long process! I am fortunate that my best friend and sister, Emily Jerman Schuster, is also an editor extraordinaire. While raising her own family and working full time, she made time to read drafts and provide guidance on structure and formatting. Thank you, Emily, for your encouragement which never failed to help me out of periods of self-doubt and struggle. To my grandmothers, Virginia Herout and Carlene Jerman, and to my grandfathers, Laddie Herout and Billy Jerman, the latter of whom did not live to see this work completed, thank you for your constant love, faith, and encouragement. I am honored to be the first “doctor” in our family!

*I am being paid to lie about the West . . . I'm done with all that.  
I'm going back home where I can do honest work in my own way.*

—Maynard Dixon, 1912

*Commercial art in the West typifies all of the best there is in art anywhere . . .  
It is far enough removed from the influence of Europe to develop a flavor all its own.*

—Louis Treviso, 1921

*To secure its existence, design, like other practical intellectual professions,  
must constantly strive to neutralize these inherent conflicts of interest by  
developing a mediating concept aimed at consensus.*

—Jan Van Toorn, 1994

## **I. Introduction**

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a visual culture developed in the United States and Europe, evidenced by an explosive growth of images in illustrated magazines, newspapers, pictorial histories, scientific reports, and advertising. In the United States, steam-powered printing processes at mid-century fostered the production of chromolithographed postcards and trade cards, culminating in an effusion of printed graphic materials for the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.<sup>1</sup> In the following decades, lithographed posters and billboards turned American and European streets into, if not art galleries, as they were often described in the 1880s and 1890s, Victorian *advertising* galleries for theatrical and circus performances and consumer goods and services.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1893 and 1900, some American advertising posters—usually promoting magazines, books, and the recently invented “safety bicycle”—acquired “art” status. Key

distinctions arose for period collectors and commentators between so-called “art posters” and more prevalent “commercial” posters despite the fact that both media were designed to advertise products or events.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to “commercial” posters with cluttered, colorful, and elaborate compositions of ornamented text and naturalistic illustration, “art” posters featured abstracted Japanese- and French Art Nouveau–inspired images with flat colors and limited verbiage. Furthermore, unlike “commercial” posters produced by anonymous in-house artists at lithography firms, “art” posters were made and signed by their creators, who considered themselves artists. Enthusiasm for such posters traversed national boundaries in Europe beginning in the 1880s, spurring a subsequent “poster craze” in the United States. Seen as a new and democratic medium, “art” posters were widely criticized, collected, and exhibited.

While New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago printers dominated commercial poster production late in the nineteenth century, in the 1890s San Francisco publishers also gained a reputation for innovative posters, many of which reflected themes related to the American West.<sup>4</sup> At the height of the poster “craze” in 1895, museums, libraries, and art schools mounted poster exhibitions across the country, and new journals concerned with fine printing and graphic art provided critical—sometimes satirical—commentary on the poster phenomenon.<sup>5</sup> Two periodicals, *The Poster* and *Poster Lore*, published in New York and Kansas City respectively, reached eager collectors beginning in 1896.<sup>6</sup> So popular were artistic posters nationally that during the mid-1890s Chicago enthusiasts held “living poster shows” where participants dressed and posed to recreate favorite posters, and young men reportedly sent their sweethearts “symbolic poster[s]” rather than “sentimental poem[s].”<sup>7</sup>

The national fervor for “art” poster-based advertising, however, was short-lived. New York publishers quickly realized that the medium was ineffective and even counterproductive.



As early as July 1896, for example, the well-known printer Daniel Berkeley Updike famously admitted, “I purchase the poster now when once I would purchase the book.”<sup>8</sup> At the turn of the century, East Coast magazine publishers, which previously had used art posters to advertise their contents now simply printed poster-style graphics on the covers of their periodicals. By this time public interest in the art poster dwindled as well and many of the independent periodicals that had touted poster art earlier in the decade were out of business.

Art poster *style* survived, however, especially in the American West, where it appeared in new forms from poster-like graphics on book and magazine covers to multi-sheet billboards early in the twentieth century.<sup>9</sup> Some western periodicals—particularly those promoting railways—continued producing advertising posters informed by modern trends in commercial art. Commercial posters commissioned by western American rail companies between 1900 and 1930 typically merged western subject matter with the simplified compositions of early twentieth-century German advertising posters. In fact, posters for the Southern Pacific—the most prolific producer of posters of all the western railroads<sup>10</sup>—continued to draw public acclaim and attention, years after the poster craze. The poster artists of its competitor, the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe (AT&SF) developed a style that merged the graphic modernism of art poster style with southwestern subjects.

By 1920, poster artists employed by western railroads, notably Maynard Dixon, Louis Treviso, and Maurice Logan, had developed and promoted a distinctive regional advertising style through their involvement with the influential periodical *Western Advertising*.<sup>11</sup> That “western approach” was expressed visually in massive posters designed by Maynard Dixon and his colleagues working for San Francisco’s leading billboard firm, Foster and Kleiser, during and just following World War I.

## II. Significance/Literature Review

The year 1893 marked both Frederick Jackson Turner's announcement that the "frontier" had closed<sup>12</sup> and *Harpers Monthly's* issuance of the first American advertising "art" poster that merged American themes with international aesthetics. Turn-of-the-century promotional posters that sold a romantic notion of the West as a land of opportunity, recreation, and wilderness along with plows, novels, and travel perhaps worked too well—inadvertently contributing to the settlement and agricultural practices that resulted in the Dust Bowl of the 1930s.<sup>13</sup> While advertising posters concerned with the American West have previously appeared in studies of tourism, railroads, and Wild West shows, the image of the American West depicted on advertising "art" posters during this critical forty-year period has *never* received in-depth academic investigation and analysis, even though these images were made by well-known artists and marked critical junctures in their careers.<sup>14</sup>

Why have scholars largely overlooked these images in studies of American art history? Although posters inspired vigorous critical commentary during the 1890s, contemporary art historian Michele Bogart argues that by 1920, commercial imagery faced prejudice both from artists and art historians, a bias that developed simultaneously with graphic design's emergence as a specialized field.<sup>15</sup> The effects of that discrimination are evident in the attitudes of artists discussed in this study. By the early 1920s, both Gerald Cassidy and Maynard Dixon attempted to divorce themselves from commercial work. Cassidy protested in letters to dealers and potential clients that he was "not a commercial artist"; Dixon, bitterly described himself as a "wage slave" for the billboard advertising firm, Foster and Kleiser.<sup>16</sup>

The antipathy of fine artists toward commercial work undoubtedly contributed to art historians' neglect of the media for much of the twentieth century. As poster curator Joseph

Goddu notes, in the past, art historical training failed to prepare scholars to reconcile posters' commercial function with their aesthetic qualities; even worse, for much of the twentieth century, posters were categorized as "ephemera" in libraries and archives and found no place in most art museums.<sup>17</sup> As Joni Kinsey points out in her study of Thomas Moran's chromolithographs of Yellowstone Park, the status of mass-produced prints (and, I would add, posters) as "art" by the early twentieth century depended upon "who would dictate the terms and directions of culture."<sup>18</sup>

In 1939, modernist art historian Clement Greenberg dictated those very terms when he declared "popular, commercial art and literature . . . magazine covers, illustrations, [and] ads" "kitsch," within the mass-produced "rear-guard" of culture.<sup>19</sup> Such attitudes prevailed for most of the twentieth century. Michelle Bogart, a scholar of advertising art, noted in 1995 that "commercial art still occupies a marginal place in modern American art's history, if not society at large."<sup>20</sup> As recently as 2009, advertising historian Victor Margolin pointed to the ongoing "paradox of design's pervasive presence in the social world and its marginality within the community of historians."<sup>21</sup> Art historian Robin Kelsey similarly contends that nineteenth-century survey images created "new forms of pictorial intelligence," unrecognized by modernist scholars and suggests that contemporary art historians investigate "other strains of practice" that may have been similarly "suppressed."<sup>22</sup>

When art historians have addressed American posters, one of Kelsey's "other strains of practice," they most often have done so in museum exhibitions and catalogues rather than scholarly monographs. Usually, however, these eye catching posters merely serve as eye-catching illustrations of the brief 1890s poster craze rather than as objects worthy of interpretation.<sup>23</sup> Curators rarely examine individual posters on their own merit or place them

within broader historical contexts and seldom, if ever, devote serious attention to how posters' lettering or typography contributes to meaning. While not devoted to art posters per se, notable exceptions include two works that also address the American West: Michael E. Zega and John Gruber's *Travel by Train: The American Railroad Advertising Poster*, which includes discussions of posters for the Southern Pacific and Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railways, and archivist Kevin Mulroy's catalogue of mid-twentieth century Polish posters created to advertise American western films.<sup>24</sup> Essays by David Kiehl and Nancy Finlay in *American Art Posters of the 1890s* represent the relatively few attempts to contextualize turn-of-the-century posters within the publishing industry from which they emerged. Even these essays, however, inadvertently reinforce the notion of separate histories for commercial and fine art, ultimately reinforcing 1890s binaries between "art" and "commercial" posters that seem problematic, if not irrelevant, today.<sup>25</sup>

Although design historians now focus their attention on posters and other forms of visual communication, their work, Victor Margolin contends, all too often strengthens the divide between design and cultural history. By contrast, he argues that studies on commercial art must be made relevant by broadening the field, rather than continuing to "operate within an intellectual framework that frequently isolates design from much of what other historians do."<sup>26</sup> The development of visual culture studies in the 1990s gave rise to new approaches and methodologies that fruitfully insert commercial art into a broader cultural and art historical context. Landmark studies of the social history of commercial art include Michelle Bogart's *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (1995) and Ruth Iskin's *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900* (2014).<sup>27</sup> These studies successfully provide an interdisciplinary framework for exploring advertising posters; however, neither address western

American-themed posters. Perhaps the most fruitful recent scholarship in this area has been that devoted to the posters that promoted William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody’s Wild West show. While not discussing “art posters,” historian Michelle Delaney and art historian Stephanie Fox Knappe have made serious contributions to understandings of Cody’s poster production and the visual culture surrounding his enterprise.<sup>28</sup> Studies of this kind, however, remain rare.

Recent interdisciplinary scholarship that addresses illustrations, diagrams and other forms of nineteenth-century graphics made for hire provide methodological approaches adaptable to studies of advertising posters. In *Artistic Liberties: American Literary Realism and Graphic Illustration, 1880–1905*, for example, literature historian Adam Sonstegard addresses competition and conflict, or “concessions and compromises,” between illustrators and authors in works of American literary realism published between 1880 and 1905.<sup>29</sup> Through close examination of illustrations, which he terms “multimedia hybrids,” Sonstegard effectively demonstrates how illustrators and illustrations changed and adapted literature for middle and upper class urban white audiences by visually reducing socioeconomic, gender, and race issues in the texts they accompanied. Sonstegard’s treatment of illustrations as objects that mediate a text or even contradict a text, rather than replicating it in visual form, provides a useful tactic for examining art posters which have, since their inception, been simultaneously praised and intellectually dismissed for being, in the words of designer Robert Beebe in 1921, “grasped and digested in the passing of an instant.”<sup>30</sup>

In his 2007 study of drawings and photographs made to illustrate nineteenth-century government surveys of the American West, Robin Kelsey usefully considers archival images both “from below” and “from above.” That is, from the perspective of employees (below) who made the pictures and from surveys and bureaucrats (above) who controlled whether or not they

were printed.<sup>31</sup> This method, which allows multiple readings of each image, seems especially applicable to commercial art, where a single image is created by, in a sense, many makers, and signifies differently for each. Kelsey's and Sonstegard's approaches, both informed by close examination of the images, serve as methodological guides for this study of commercial art, in which an individual image's meaning is crafted by many makers—artist, publisher, client, and public.

### **III. Research Questions, Hypothesis, and Methodology**

Contemporary graphic designer and theorist Jan Van Toorn describes successful design as predicated on its ability to “neutralize” conflicts by creating visual solutions that mediate and achieve “consensus” between the needs of public, patron, media, and designer.<sup>32</sup> Following Van Toorn, Kelsey, and Sonstegard, my underlying premise is that commercial art represents the tangible and visible outcome of a series of compromises between multiple makers. Thus, I seek to understand how selected groups of posters of the American West—whether initially viewed as “art” or “commercial”—visually negotiated the needs and expectations of various stakeholders to create an image that “sold” specific ideas about the West. What “fictions” did advertising images tell about the American West?<sup>33</sup> Who or what exactly do they promote? In what ways did posters mediate the needs of their makers and publishers to visualize the American West for mainstream, urban audiences?

I endeavor to fill a void in current scholarship by analyzing select posters and poster series of western American subjects produced between 1890 and 1925 that cross the fin-de-siècle “art” and “commercial” divide. The objects addressed in this study also escape boundaries of medium. Even today, the term poster, “a bill or placard for posting often in a public place,

especially one that is decorative or pictorial” does not necessitate printed form, or even mass production.<sup>34</sup> Likewise, between 1890 and 1925, mass produced posters on paper, limited edition book covers, hand bills, original artwork intended for reproduction on posters, and billboards were all designated “posters.” Thus, the objects addressed in this study transverse medium but are united by aesthetic modernism and an underlying purpose in “selling” western products, events, and ideas.

I argue that poster images of the American West, with their colorful graphics and bold text, deployed in the promotion of books, magazines, railroads, Wild West shows, and even automobile tires reflect tensions between nineteenth-century Victorian aesthetics and modernist abstraction. As objects that navigate between the needs of artist, publisher (client), author, and public, such posters also invariably represent a mediated West. Furthermore, these posters do not merely promote western products and ideas but critically comment on and interpret for broad audiences the very ideas and objects they were designed to sell.

Ruth Iskin maintains in her recent study of French art posters and 1890s visual culture that any discussion of posters requires an interdisciplinary approach merging art history, design history, and advertising history, an argument first made by design historians in the early 1980s.<sup>35</sup> While interdisciplinary by necessity, this dissertation privileges an art historical approach through reading images as primary texts, alongside extant sketches, proofs, critical commentary, and correspondence. Such examination, largely lacking in existing poster scholarship, contextualizes the advertised West within the circumstances of its making. I hope to further illuminate the often complex and sometimes contradictory relationships between artists, clients, and viewers in shaping the commercial image of—and perception of—the region between the closing of the frontier and the advent of the Great Depression.

#### IV. Organization

This dissertation's case study approach looks closely at individual posters and poster series to offer insight not only into the development of an advertised, or *posterized* West in three different regions of the country, but into broader meanings and messages about the West conveyed in such images. I am not concerned so much with whether or not these posters accurately depict the West but rather what they reveal of their makers' perceptions of the region and of the era in which they were created. In the words of Ben Merchant Vorpahl, who investigated Frederic Remington's literary West, I am interested in the West found in the "eye of the mind."<sup>36</sup> How do these images, at the dawn of mass communication and mass culture, signify the West locally and more broadly?

Drawing primarily on images and archival materials—correspondence and business records, where available, and rare sketches and proofs I closely examine these posters through a wide angle lens in order to demonstrate how they function for different stakeholders. Despite their makers' and audience's repeated claims that the best poster communicated its meaning in an instant, art posters embody and relate much more complex messages than might be assumed. They do not, for example, merely promote, without question, the product, event, or subject at hand. Mediated by the needs of multiple stakeholders, they also mediate the message they are intended to communicate.

Michelle Bogart argues that during the 1890s heyday of the art poster, American lithographers and in-house draftsmen "rarely embraced the new design trends" and "resented" the art poster.<sup>37</sup> Courier Lithography's 1900 "I am Coming" poster to promote Buffalo Bill's Wild West, for example, seems to reflect a more ambivalent attitude toward graphic modernism.



Chapter 1 addresses this key example tracing its evolution over decades and demonstrating its role in the construction of Cody's international "brand."

I propose that the image not only transformed William F. Cody into a logo for the American West, but also reflected tensions between text and image at the turn of the century through its confluence of modernist art poster lettering and Victorian commercial aesthetics. Yet the object's "iconic" status as an image promoting Cody's enterprise derives, I argue, from twentieth-century expectations of what constitutes successful design, expectations largely determined by conventions associated with the art poster movement of the 1890s.

Cody's posters, like his Wild West, shaped perceptions of the American West in the United States and abroad for decades. The poster artists discussed in subsequent chapters responded, sometimes overtly, to Cody's image of the West presented not only in the dramatic spectacle of his show but in his advertising.

One such artist was New York designer Edward Penfield. His experimental poster of a man reading *Harper's Monthly* in a rainstorm unintentionally launched the American art poster movement in 1893.<sup>38</sup> By 1895 Penfield's reputation as America's premier poster designer insured that he, not artist and writer Frederic Remington, created a poster introducing Remington's new illustrated volume *Pony Tracks*, to American readers.

Through close analysis, archival research, and an examination of the book's critical reception, chapter 2 investigates Penfield's poster, and *Pony Tracks'* embossed cover, as products of intersecting and sometimes competing interests. To that end, this chapter considers how Penfield's poster and to a lesser extent, the book's cover design, which he also created, represents New York views of the American West while mediating between the needs of the celebrated poster artist, the famed western illustrator and author, and Harper and Brothers.

I argue that the poster and cover design are ambivalent about Remington's portrayal of the West and that the *Pony Tracks* poster signified not Remington's West so much as Penfield's "brand." While Harper Brothers viewed the poster as advertising their product, I argue that the poster serves more convincingly as a form of self-promotion for its designer than as a means of selling Remington's book. Furthermore, I argue that it was not Remington's vision of the West that ultimately appeared on Penfield's poster, or on *Pony Tracks*' cover, but a West inspired by two seemingly disparate sources in fin-de-siècle New York: Native American art and popular culture. Inspired by alternate sources, the poster and Penfield's cover design together ultimately mediate Remington's text, interpreting, complicating, and challenging his portrayal rather than endorsing it.

Chapter 3 addresses a later iteration of the art poster phenomenon created in Santa Fe, New Mexico, in 1922. That year, artist Gerald Cassidy attempted to break free from his work as a commercial artist toward a career as an easel painter through, paradoxically, the production of a series of ten art posters created to promote the Santa Fe Fiesta. Merging Art Nouveau and German *sachplakat* approaches with southwestern subjects, these images are not only comprised of a multiplicity of visual languages, but physically embody collaboration and compromise endemic to the design process. Objects that changed hands multiple times after their creation, alterations to their design reveal how the posters functioned differently for Cassidy—who viewed them as a useful tool for self-promotion—than they did for Santa Fe boosters, who sought to develop tourism in the region, or for the Santa Fe Railway, which transformed them into objects less about Santa Fe and more broadly representative of the Southwest. While these objects, on the surface, seem concerned primarily with commerce—sales of artwork (for Cassidy), sales of Fiesta tickets (for the Fiesta organizers who originally commissioned the

series), or sales of passenger tickets (for the railway that acquired them), they subtly entered into the concurrent political controversy surrounding Indigenous rights in New Mexico. As mediated objects, the posters also reflected Santa Fe's efforts that sought to refashion and rebrand—to mediate—the city itself into an “old-new” town.

Cassidy's romanticized depiction of southwestern figures on his Fiesta posters, clearly indebted to Edward Penfield and the 1890s art poster style in New York with its Parisian antecedents, as well as to German modernist design of the early 1910s, forms a bridge between New York visions of the West informed largely by Buffalo Bill's presentation in chapter 2 and poster advertising that romanticized the Southwest and Pacific West prior to and in the years following World War I. As one of numerous anonymous illustrators who generated posters for Buffalo Bill's Wild West and other clients during the 1910s, by 1922, Cassidy sought national recognition through his Fiesta series as a fine artist rather than as a commercial lithographer. Thus, chapter 3 links not only the Wild West imagery discussed in chapter 1 and the East Coast 1890s poster movement addressed in chapter 2, but also the development of West Coast billboard design discussed in chapter 4.

Following the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, the celebrated western artist Maynard Dixon relocated to New York City, where he spent five lucrative years illustrating popular western fiction. However, Dixon found the image of the West he was compelled to produce there unsatisfying.<sup>39</sup> Yet even after his return west, Dixon continued creating commercial art, including billboards and advertising art for the San Francisco-based outdoor advertising firm of Foster and Kleiser.

Chapter 4 investigates, on one hand, how billboard design enabled Dixon to create if not more “honest” images of the American West, certainly more romantic ones in line with his

attitudes about the region and its people. The difficulty in researching historic commercial art manifests itself in this chapter, which concerns objects that no longer exist. Advertising firms typically repainted their billboards multiple times a year. As a result, this chapter investigates Dixon's billboard designs through tiny reproductions found in period trade journals and promotional publications, in black-and-white copy prints of original artwork intended for reproduction in periodicals, and in a small collection of remarkably rare gouache studies made by Dixon and his colleagues that have never, to my knowledge, received any art historical attention.

For Dixon, I argue, billboard design served as a sort of crucible in which he worked out compositional ideas that came to fruition in mature paintings of later years.<sup>40</sup> But for other stakeholders—his employer Foster and Kleiser and local advertising boosters—Dixon's billboard designs functioned quite differently. I argue that regardless of the product advertised on their billboards, the underlying purpose was less to promote products than to sell the viewing public on the notion that billboards constituted a positive addition to the land or cityscape. Furthermore, for local advertising boosters, Foster and Kleiser's billboards erected during and just after World War I ultimately sold California, if not the West more broadly. Together, Dixon's and his colleagues' designs contributed to a lasting advertising image of the West, particularly California, that described the region in terms of "beauty."<sup>41</sup>

## **V. Conclusion**

Whether small in scale like Edward Penfield's book posters or more expansive like Maynard Dixon's billboards, advertising art helped cement visual ideas about the American West in the United States and Europe between 1890 and the mid-1920s. Although these images rarely receive even a passing glance from art historians, and were heralded for not requiring

study in their time, they deserve close examination not only for their aesthetic merits but for what they reveal about the development of “western” design that bridged nostalgia and graphic modernism to “sell” not just products, but the work of individual artists and specific ideas about the American West. By looking more closely at late nineteenth and early twentieth century promotional posters featuring the American West, we gain a broader understanding of not only the social and cultural milieu of their making but of the shifting roles and meanings in American culture of art, advertising, and the American West.

## Notes

*Epigraphs.* For sources of these quotations, see notes 39, 11, and 32 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Jay T. Last, *The Color Explosion* (Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, 2005), 25.

<sup>2</sup> For discussions of posters as art, or streets as art galleries, see Pierre N. Boeringer, "The Advertiser and the Poster," *Overland Monthly* 28, no. 163 (July 1896): 41–52; Katherine DeForest, "Our Paris Letter," *Harper's Bazaar* 28, no. 46 (Nov. 16, 1895): 927; Ned Arden Flood, "The Modern Poster," *The Chautauquan* 29, no. 6 (Sept. 1899): 561–70; K. Porter Garnett, "The Poster: A New Province Claimed by Art," *Overland Monthly* 27, no. 159 (March 1896): 296–303; Brander Matthews, "The Pictorial Poster," *Century Illustrated Magazine* XLIV, no. 5 (Sept. 1892): 748–56; Robert H. Sherard, "Jules Chéret and His Parisian Posters," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* 38, no. 2 (August 1894): 1–16; Maurice Talmeyer, "The Age of the Poster," *The Chautauquan* 24, no. 4 (January 1897): 458–66; Donald Warren, "Notes of a Poster Collector in Paris," *The Chap-Book* (Oct. 1, 1894): 10.

<sup>3</sup> See Michele H. Bogart, "The Problem of Status for American Illustrators," in *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 15–78.

<sup>4</sup> Jacquelyn Days Serwer, "The American Artistic Poster of the 1890s" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1980), v–vi. Serwer argues that the decentralization of the American art poster movement differentiated it in part from its European antecedents.

<sup>5</sup> Serwer, vi. Even *Harper's Monthly*, which encouraged the fad, included parodies in verse like that published in February 1895: "You must draw a dame with awful angularity / in a landscape of geometry run mad, / Give her frock a sweep with long particularity, / And a pattern no raiment ever had / . . . And a foreground must be found / That can be a far background / But a fashionable poster's worth the trouble!" Quoted in Joseph Goddu, *American Art Posters of the 1890s, November 25, 1989–January 6, 1990* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1990), 34n 21. For more critical commentary on posters and *afficomanie*, as it was termed in France, see "A Plaque of Posters in Canada," *Evangelist and Religious Review* 73, no. 18 (May 1, 1902): 422; Harry C. Bunner, "A Catechism on Posters (reprinted from *Scribner's Magazine*)," *Current Literature* 18, no. 5 (Nov. 1895): 414; T. P. Bell and L. J. Van Ness, eds., "A Quibbling Mayor," *The Christian Index*, March 2, 1899, 6; Louis J. Rhead, "The Moral Aspect of the Artistic Poster," *The Bookman*, June 1895, 312ff; "Obtruding Vileness upon the Street," *Christian Observer* 85, no. 52 (Dec. 29, 1897): 2.

<sup>6</sup> See Nancy Finlay, "American Posters and Publishing in the 1890s," in *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, edited by David W. Kiehl, 45–55 (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), 46; Richard W. Flint, "Circus Posters and Show Printers" (master's thesis, State University of New York College at Oneonta, 1979), 17; Goddu, *American Art Posters*.

<sup>7</sup> See "The Fly Leaf," *The Poster* 2 (Feb. 1896): n.p., quoted in Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 32. Other poster-themed entertainments included a game similar to Pictionary, as recommended by Mrs. I. Davenport in "A Poster Party," *Ladies' Home Journal*, Nov. 1896, 17. In 1898, as the poster mania declined, *Harper's Bazaar* suggested adapting posters to other decorative household uses. See "Poster Screens and Pillows," *Harper's Bazaar*, April 2, 1898, 289.

<sup>8</sup> Uptike, quoted in "Notes," *Poster Lore* 1 (July 1896): 121. See also "The Art Poster As an Advertisement," *Inland Printer* 20 (October 1897): 41–42; and, for a recent scholar's assessment of the

art poster as directed at specific collectors rather than the public (and therefore as failed advertising), see Gabriel Weisberg, “Graphic Art in America: The Artistic and Civic Poster in the United States Reconsidered,” *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (Summer 1990): 100–113.

<sup>9</sup> Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 58.

<sup>10</sup> See Michael E. Zega and John Gruber, *Travel by Train: The American Railroad Poster, 1870–1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> First issued in 1919, the San Francisco–based trade journal featured the work of local commercial artists, employed Louis Treviso as art editor, and called for a uniquely “western” approach to design. Treviso wrote: “Commercial art in the West typifies all of the best there is in art anywhere. . . . The West is a land of romance, local color, adventure, freedom, originality and all those things that enter into real Americanism. It is far enough removed from the influence of Europe to develop a flavor all its own.” *Western Advertising*, January 1921, 29.

<sup>12</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (1890), in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry, Holt and Co., 1921), 1–38, accessed April 16, 2015, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22994/22994-h/22994-h.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> Elliott West, “The Great Depression, the New Deal, and World War II in the American West,” The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, accessed April 16, 2015, <http://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/great-depression/essays/great-depression-new-deal-and-world-war-ii-american-west>.

<sup>14</sup> For the art poster’s context within book publishing and cover design, see Finlay, “American Posters and Publishing,” 45–55. For billboard debates of the early twentieth century, see Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*.

Zega and Gruber’s book on American railroad posters is perhaps the only book-length publication that addresses the art poster movement in tandem with western advertising posters. See Zega and Gruber, *Travel by Train*.

A plethora of scholarship exists on Buffalo Bill. Works that include useful discussions of posters include Michelle Delaney, *Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019); Michelle Delaney, “Advance Work: Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” (PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2018); Stephanie Fox Knappe, “Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013); Sarah J. Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody, 1879–1917* (New York: Praeger, 1988); Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976); Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> See Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders*; Robin Earle Kelsey, *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Ruth Iskin, *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900s* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014).

<sup>16</sup> Maynard Dixon to Dane Coolidge, February 19, [1917], Box 3, C-H 82, Dane Coolidge Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley; Gerald Cassidy to J. F. Huckel, May 31, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, Cassidy Family Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>17</sup> Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 7. Goddu further notes that due to collectors' and dealers' classification of posters as "ephemera," posters have traditionally received poor conservation.

<sup>18</sup> Joni Kinsey, *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006), 27.

<sup>19</sup> See Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," first published in the *Partisan Review* of 1939, available online at <http://www.sharecom.ca/greenberg/kitsch.html>. Iskin attributes twentieth-century art historians' overlooking of posters to a result of Greenberg's categorization of art. See Iskin, *Poster*, 24.

<sup>20</sup> Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders*, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Victor Margolin, "Design in History," *Design Issues* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 103.

<sup>22</sup> See Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 194.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, Hayward Cirker and Blanche Cirker, *The Golden Age of the Poster* (New York: Dover, 1971); Goddu, *American Art Posters*; Steven Heller, *Pop: How Graphic Design Shapes Popular Culture* (New York: Allworth Press, 2010); Therese Thau Heyman, *Posters American Style* (exhibition catalogue, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, 1998); David W. Kiehl, ed., *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection* (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987); Martijn F. Le Coultre and Alston W. Purvis, *A Century of Posters* (Aldershot, England: Lord Humphries, 2012); Maurice Rickards, *Posters at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Walker and Company, 1968).

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Zega and Gruber, *Travel by Train*, and Kevin Mulroy, ed., *Western Amerykanski: Polish Poster Art and the Western* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> See Kiehl, *American Art Posters*. Iskin challenges the construction of a separate history of commercial and fine art as reinforcing modernist prejudices. See Iskin, *Poster*, 15. The author attempted to combat this curatorial tendency in an exhibition held at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art in fall 2018 by including paintings, posters, and ephemera with equal emphasis. See Hadley Jerman and Mark White, *Ticket to Ride: Artists, Designers, & Western Railways* (exhibition catalogue, Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, Norman, OK, 2018).

<sup>26</sup> Victor Margolin, "Design in History," *Design Issues* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 96. Margolin champions Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernism, 1920–1940* for its investigation of American business and consumer practices through advertisements rather than products.

<sup>27</sup> See Iskin, *Poster*, and Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders*. Another important publication, Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes's *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, while not focused entirely on posters, addresses American mass culture exported abroad in part through William F. Cody's Wild West show and his blitz (poster) advertising approach.

<sup>28</sup> See Delaney, *Art and Advertising*; Delaney, "Advance Work"; Knappe, "Art Perpetuating Fame."



<sup>29</sup> See Adam Sonstegard, *Artistic Liberties: American Literary Realism and Graphic Illustration, 1880–1905* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014): 25.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Beebe, “Some Essentials in Poster Design,” *The Poster* 12, no. 10 (October 15, 1921): 37.

<sup>31</sup> Kelsey, *Archive Style*, 7. Through looking at survey images from multiple perspectives, Kelsey effectively demonstrates how Prussian expatriate Arthur Schott made images for the Mexican boundary survey report of 1857 that merged the visual language of maps, astronomical charts, and botanical specimen drawings to create images that simultaneously visually reflected Schott’s passion for botany, his war-torn homeland, and images of religious devotion and suffering, while at the same time they signified for William Emory, the survey leader, the successful construction of monuments marking the Mexican border and the technological processes that allowed for their creation.

<sup>32</sup> Van Toorn wrote, “To secure its existence, design, like other practical intellectual professions, must constantly strive to neutralize these inherent conflicts of interest by developing a mediating concept aimed at consensus.” See Jan Van Toorn, “Design and Reflexivity,” *Visible Language* 28, no. 4 (1994): 316–25, reprinted in *Graphic Design Theory*, ed. Helen Armstrong (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009), 102.

<sup>33</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, New York, January 29, 1912, in Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Correspondence with Mr. Maynard Dixon, 1912–1916, Folder MS. 1.1.1138D, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA.

<sup>34</sup> “Poster,” Merriam-Webster.com, 2020, accessed April 17, 2020, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/poster>.

<sup>35</sup> Iskin, *Poster*, 15. The first conference on the history of graphic design occurred as recently as 1983, when organizers called for an interdisciplinary approach to design histories in order to “provide a context to the understanding of graphic objects, movements, and people.” See Teal Triggs, “Graphic Design History: Past, Present, and Future,” *Design Issues* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *Frederic Remington and the West: With the Eye of the Mind* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

<sup>37</sup> While Bogart’s claim seems plausible, she notes issues between lithographers, artists, publishers, advertisers, and billposters derived from class, ethnicity, and turf tensions and says they were “never discussed openly” in trade journals but “through aesthetic attacks” and “gender stereotyping,” citing 1895 and 1897 issues of *Billboard Advertising*, which challenged avant-garde French posters. See Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders*, 85–87.

<sup>38</sup> See Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 24. Penfield’s poster is considered the first American “art” poster; it was not the first art poster produced (or viewed) in the United States. *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, *Harper’s Bazaar*, and *Harper’s* (monthly) commissioned cover designs from French poster artist Eugène Grasset prior to 1890, when the first poster exhibition held in the United States opened at New York’s Grolier Club, featuring primarily French posters.

<sup>39</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, New York, January 29, 1912, Folder MS. 1.1.1138D, Correspondence with Mr. Maynard Dixon, 1912–1916, Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Autry

Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA; Donald J. Hagerty, *The Life of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs-Smith, 2010), 42.

<sup>40</sup> Dixon completed billboards for clients including Coca-Cola, Pierce Arrow, the Southern Pacific Railroad, and the Oakland, Antioch, and Eastern Railroad for Foster and Kleiser, and credited the experience as useful training for mural painting. He continued to produce cover paintings for *Sunset Magazine* during this period. See Hagerty, *Life of Maynard Dixon*, 122–24.

## CHAPTER ONE

### **‘JE VIENS!’: BUFFALO BILL AND EUROPEAN MODERNISM IN AN “ICONIC” WILD WEST POSTER, 1898 – 1915**

London, 1887. *I may walk it, or bus it, or hansom it: still / I am faced by the features of Buffalo Bill. / Every hoarding is plastered, from East-end to West, With his hat, coat, and countenance, / lovelocks and vest.*<sup>1</sup>

Paris, Sept. 11, 1889. *The happiest men in the world now are the bill posters and 1889 might be called their jubilee year.*<sup>2</sup>

Verona, Italy, April 26, 1890. *We arrived here a few days ago from Venice ... imagine our astonishment, as we rode ... past the old arena of Diocletian in the Piazza Vitterio Emmanuale, to behold posted on the very walls of the arena, where we had expected, perhaps, to see the marble busts of Roman Senators or Generals, the head of our own very American Buffalo Bill, sombrero and all.*<sup>3</sup>

In 1905-1906, William F. “Buffalo Bill” Cody and his Wild West show toured France a second time, having already visited the country in 1889. The show’s arrival in each of the 117 destinations the company would play in France, as in the United States, was announced in advance by thousands of brightly hued lithographic posters.<sup>4</sup> Many were multiple-sheet images, the precursor to modern billboards, and were tacked up on every surface imaginable, from specially-built “boards” or “hoardings” to trees, fences, and barns, within two hundred miles of each venue.

When the show toured Europe in 1887, 1889, and again in 1902, Cody brought advertising posters with him. Often, however, he supplemented his initial supply with lithographic posters produced in Europe. Such was the case for two posters printed in 1905 by J.

Weiners Ltd., in Paris (figs. 1.1–1.2).<sup>5</sup> One bore a portrait of Cody, the clever work of caricaturist Alexander (Alick) P. R. Ritchie (1868–1938). Trappings of the Wild West helped form the likeness. The outline of a teepee, for example, produced the crown of the showman’s hat, while a lariat framed its brim and spelled out “Wild West” across his chest. Snowshoes defined Cody’s mustache, a bison the bottom of his goatee and a horsehead replaced his ear. A pistol helped frame one eye, a rifle and tomahawk shaped the V-neck of his buckskin shirt, and feathers replaced the locks of his long hair.

The other Cody poster, whose creators are unknown, displayed Buffalo Bill’s portrait emblazoned on a galloping bison. Like many of Cody’s posters, particularly those that featured his portrait, both images derived from earlier posters, part of a long continuum of advertising art for the Wild West that reprised existing imagery.<sup>6</sup> While both posters ostensibly depict William F. Cody and promote his Wild West abroad, they do so through two completely different visual languages. In fact, they reflect competing understandings of poster design at the turn-of-the-century. As John Hewitt has argued, what constituted a “poster” in fin-de-siècle London (or America) was under continual debate.<sup>7</sup> When Ritchie added his signature to his portrait of Cody and cleverly constructed the image from stylized objects related to the Wild West rather than representing Cody more naturalistically, he created what he and other period commentators in the 1890s journal *The Poster* would have considered an “art poster.” The stylized rendering of Cody’s portrait reveals more about the artist’s cleverness than Cody’s actual features; it falls on the side of artistry as opposed to commerce. (In *The Poster*, Alick Ritchie once lambasted a poster that featured too literal an interpretation of a beef extract with the words, “beef and art never did go together.”)<sup>8</sup> In contrast to Ritchie’s design, “Je Viens,” a poster that Ritchie and his peers in the early 1890s might have derided as too commercial in nature because it was too

naturalistic in representation and was created by a team of anonymous artists employed by Weiners' Paris office. Yet I argue that the "Je Viens" poster's adoption of certain of art poster techniques: limited text, visual wit, and a simplified composition, both granted it longevity within Cody's enterprise and led to its status, in poster historian Michelle Delaney's terms, as the "most iconic" and "most popular image" ever produced by the Wild West.<sup>9</sup>

Historians of the Wild West have focused on Cody's role as an ambassador of American mass culture abroad while recent scholars of Cody's advertising posters, Michelle Delaney and Stephanie Knappe among them, have addressed the production of Cody's posters and relationships between fine art and his advertising imagery, respectively.<sup>10</sup> By contrast, this chapter questions how the "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" poster reflected a foreign trend in commercial art that swept the globe at the turn of the century and further influenced Cody's poster production. Underlying this discussion is the question of how foreign artists—particularly those responsible for the "Je Viens" poster—viewed and "pictured" Cody and the Wild West. What effect, if any, did the art poster movement, particularly evident in these two images from Cody's 1905-1908 European tour, bear on subsequent American advertising images for Buffalo Bill's Wild West? And what demands did Cody's enterprise, as a client, place on lithography firms that may have affected the production of the "Je Viens" poster in particular? What about Cody's "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" poster made it iconic? How did it achieve "iconic" status when the Ritchie poster did not?

In an attempt to address these questions, I first place the "Je Viens" poster in the context of Cody's advertising practices in conjunction with the development of billboard and poster advertising in the United States. I provide an overview of the showman's advertising machine to demonstrate the importance of posters to the construction and mass marketing of *his* image of the

West and his own *visual* identity. By visual identity, I mean the image created for and by Cody through visual media—the image conjured up in the mind when one thinks of Buffalo Bill. Through Cody’s financial records and period accounts from the Wild West’s forays abroad, I will demonstrate the significant role poster advertising played for Cody’s enterprise abroad as it did at home. Drawing on rare sketches and proofs of posters created by Enquirer Job Printing of Cincinnati, Ohio, now in the collection of the Circus World Museum in Baraboo, Wisconsin, I consider how the “Je Viens” poster and its subsequent American iterations responded to the Wild West’s requirements for visual representation and promotion. Finally, through an iconographic analysis of the “I am Coming”/“Je Viens” poster, I contend that unlike the Ritchie poster, its anonymous creators successfully merged Cody’s existing visual image with modernist European art poster design aesthetics to form an effective “logo” that bridged nineteenth *century* Victorian design approaches and the twentieth-century graphic modernism of German *Sachplakat* (object posters). Vacillating between realism and abstraction, Cody’s image foreshadowed the eschewing of older, more literal, approaches to advertising art for the conceptual modernism of twentieth century identity design.

In contrast to art posters that included their makers’ signatures and distinctive styles, posters for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West were produced by teams of artists working for major lithography firms where the “house style” superseded individual approaches. Thus, unlike poster designers discussed in the following chapters, the illustrators and letterers responsible for Buffalo Bill’s advertising imagery remain largely anonymous. Their firm’s name rather than a listing of the many artists involved, appeared on the mass-produced final print. At times lithography firms also contracted with outside artists for original poster designs and paintings; however, even those images, once produced as posters, remain largely unattributed to the

original freelance designer in museum collections today. For these reasons, Buffalo Bill's posters are *not* art posters as their contemporaries would have defined them. With rare exceptions like the Ritchie poster, they contain no signatures, nor do they embody unique individual styles. In most cases, they eschew Art Nouveau or ukiyo-e-inspired abstraction and flattened forms. Unlike their smaller counterparts in the art poster movement, they were not collected and treated as fine art in their time. (They were, by contrast, produced over the course of decades in large sizes that were not easily collectible.) For the most part, in the United States at least, Buffalo Bill's posters remained largely naturalistic and figurative compositions indebted to the decorative and highly complex imagery of Victorian design. As such, they required lengthy examination to decipher each detail. Art posters, by contrast, were praised for simplicity, limited text, for their designers' unique and bold style, and for their perceived ability to be understood at a glance.

I argue, however, that despite differences in design and interpretation, Buffalo Bill's posters of late nineteenth and early twentieth century and fin de siècle art posters that referenced the American West must be viewed as dialogical. Although vastly different in style, approach and the number of artists involved, art poster designers and lithographers were both passionately invested in their respective approaches to poster art as art historian Michelle Bogart has demonstrated.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Buffalo Bill's advertising machine exerted a lasting influence on perceptions of the American West in the U.S. and Europe. Lithographic posters for the Wild West both influenced the representation of western subjects in art posters directly, as I will discuss in chapter 2, and served as a form of representation that art poster designers broadly challenged, as I address in chapters 3 and 4.

## I. “I am Coming!” Advertising the Wild West

Advertising images—in the form of handbills, posters, billboards, window displays, and elaborate programs—contributed to the development of William F. Cody’s visual persona and international fame as well the long-term success of his lucrative Wild West. Poster scholar Jack Rennert convincingly argues, that it was not the 1,700 dime novels, or the countless programs, books, and news stories that cemented Cody’s visage and his version of the American West in the minds of viewers worldwide, but the “thousands of posters and billboards seen by many more millions than were able to see the show or read the books.”<sup>12</sup>

Ironically, same print advertising that made Cody and his Wild West famous also led to the financial ruin of both show and showman. Between 1883 and 1916, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West travelled to more than 1,000 cities in the U.S. and Europe, and was viewed by more than 50 million paying customers.<sup>13</sup> But, near the end of his life in 1916, bill posters and lithography firms, among other creditors hounded Cody for large unpaid accounts.<sup>14</sup>

Form the beginning spectacle of Cody’s Wild West was matched by the spectacle of his advertising machine. It is no coincidence that Cody’s rise to fame occurred simultaneously with the development of American *outdoor* advertising in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As Cody gave his final performances in 1915, American advertising pioneer Earnest Elmo Calkins estimated one billion dollars had been spent on advertising in the United States that year, more than 25 trillion in 2019 dollars.<sup>15</sup>

The inception of billboard advertising, some sixty years earlier, is credited to itinerant “bill posters” who plastered bills (posters) advertising theatrical troupes and traveling circuses, on fences, barns, or specially constructed “boards” by the mid 1850s.<sup>16</sup> By 1899, posters



advertising Cody's Wild West ranged in size from half-sheets (22 x 28 in.) to a 168 sheet (approximately 9 ft. x 143 ft.) billboard printed by Enquirer Job Printing Co. of Cincinnati.<sup>17</sup>

Because existing stands for lease usually were not large enough to fit Cody's needs, he sent two or three railroad cars carrying an advance team of contractors and billposters armed with brushes, flour paste, and paper (posters) ahead of the show.<sup>18</sup> Cody's railroad cars themselves served as moving advertisements emblazoned with decorative Victorian lettering (fig. 1.3). Rennert reports these "advance men" included carpenters who "[bought] up lumber weeks in advance of the show's coming and put up a suitable hoarding to accommodate the huge billboards."<sup>19</sup> Cody augmented his own team of bill posters with local crews from towns on his route. Keen competition existed between bill posters of rival shows who sought to rent locations and paste posters before their competitors arrived.<sup>20</sup> In fact, in 1907, when box office receipts for Buffalo Bill's Wild West exceeded those of Barnum's Circus, Cody wrote with undisguised satisfaction to his friend, the Western artist R. Farrington Elwell (1874–1962),

Its [sic] quite an honor to knock the Barnum Circus out. Its been just a few years ago that the Propriitors [sic] of the Barnum Circus told their agents ... not to bill against me or it would belittle the dignity of the greatest show on Earth.<sup>21</sup>

More than a dozen lithographers in the United States and several overseas firms produced Cody's advertising posters. While the individual identities of most poster artists remain unknown today, extant correspondence reveals that Cody himself personally wrote to artist friends regarding possible poster commissions.<sup>22</sup>

As Michelle Delaney has demonstrated, show's general agent, Louis E. Cooke was directly responsible for managing lithography and printing needs for the show and made "careful negotiations" for the Wild West's large printing contracts, eschewing agreements with firms whose wares he considered too low quality for major cities on the tour, despite Cody's friendships with and promises to proprietors of some such firms.<sup>23</sup>

Although individual lithography firms created unique posters for the Wild West, they, like most printing firms of the era, treated existing poster designs as stock art and frequently reprinted their competitors' compositions in multiple formats, apparently without overly fearing copyright infringement.<sup>24</sup> Lithographers also made use of photography for inspiration. Courier Lithography of Buffalo, New York, a major supplier of posters for the Wild West, for example, shared photographs bearing its copyright of Wild West acts and activities with Enquirer and other printing firms for reference in creating their own poster designs.<sup>25</sup>

But artists also sought inspiration in other popular mass media of the day. The lithographer and muralist Ira (Gerald) Cassidy, for example, modeled the banner-like image of a cowgirl after publicity photographs of vaudeville star Mayme Gehrue, as part of the U.S. Litho. Company's attempt to attract Wild West contracts in 1911.<sup>26</sup> Regardless of the inspiration behind each image, the Wild West's advertising "paper" was, unlike art posters, the result of collaboration between numerous anonymous artists and press employees. In fact, the images represented the work of multiple hands, from the original designer who specialized in specific types of drawing, portraits, animals, lettering and the like, to so-called "black artists" tasked with adding color to black and white sketches.<sup>27</sup> Still other specialists added hand lettering. At large firms like Strobridge, employees traced lantern slide projections to create the final drawing and pressmen, feeders, and others together finalized color and press work.<sup>28</sup> The collaborative and multi-media nature of poster production is evident in surviving proofs of Enquirer posters at the Circus World Museum made of collaged bits of portraiture, lettering, and under drawing, all visibly constructed by various hands.

Major lithography firms' large staffs and collaborative efforts were necessary to produce the quantity and quality of posters demanded by the Wild West each year. Cody might require

500,000 or more sheets (individual posters which could be hung individually or assembled into larger billboards) per season; the quality of his advertising papers was well-known and heralded in *Billboard*, the trade journal of bill posters.<sup>29</sup> In fact, in *Billboard*'s September 1, 1895 issue, the Buffalo, New York, correspondent credited the "great crowds that thronged" to see Buffalo Bill and his Wild West in that city not only to Cody's popularity, but to his "excellent" and ubiquitous advertising posters, "the finest work in advertising ever witnessed."<sup>30</sup>

### I. "Je Viens!" The Wild West Advertising Poster Abroad

When Cody went abroad, his blitz approach to advertising went with him. On his first trip to England in 1887, he shipped posters and scenery painted by British expatriate Matt Morgan, then head of the Strobridge Lithographic firm's art department.<sup>31</sup> London newspapers not only responded to the show itself, but, much like American news media, to Cody's advertising as well.<sup>32</sup> One response printed in *Punch* on April 30, 1887, admitted, "At present we don't know much about 'Buffalo Bill,' but one thing is certain, that the Buffalo Bill-poster is doing his work uncommonly well."<sup>33</sup> The truth is, Buffalo Bill's bill posters *were* busy. In 1887, Major John Burke and the advance publicity party covered London with posters and stirred up enthusiasm in the press before Cody's troupe arrived in port. In fact, as an oft-cited poem in the *Globe* indicates, Cody's imagery may have even erred on oversaturation:

*I may walk it, or bus it, or hansom it: still  
I am faced by the features of Buffalo Bill.  
Every hoarding is plastered, from East-end to West,  
With his hat, coat, and countenance,  
lovelocks and vest.*<sup>34</sup>

The ubiquity of Cody's advertising also met with some complaint in Paris prior to the show's run at the Exposition Universelle of 1889. In *Le Figaro*, Albert Wolff demanded, "Haven't we had enough of this Buffalo Bill during the last fifteen days?"<sup>35</sup> Wolff's carping

aside, publicity by Cody's advance team before the 1889 Paris Exposition resulted in a full house for the opening performance; 10,000 plus attended, including French president Sadi Carnot. The power of Cody's advertising is especially telling given that most people in Paris may have been unfamiliar with the show beforehand, unless they were acquainted with its English tour of 1887. Robert W. Rydell notes that mention of the show and its performers filled French papers daily during the 1889 season, especially stories of the show's Native performers who "attracted attention wherever they went, especially when they climbed the Eiffel Tower."<sup>36</sup> In fact, Jill Jonnes reports that Cody and his troupe were so beloved in Paris, that:

Clowns at the Cirque d'Été had worked up a parody called Kachalo-Ball. The real Wild West Indians instantly gave it cachet by attending the show in groups each night, cheering wildly as the French clowns satirized their riding and their wars and attacks. When the clowns took to dancing their version of Sioux war dances, the visiting Native Americans laughed so hard they had tears running down their faces.<sup>37</sup>

When the Wild West returned to Paris in 1905 during its third trip abroad, a tour organized by James A. Bailey (of Barnum and Bailey) following the death of Cody's partner, Nate Salsbury, in 1902, not only did Cody receive press coverage in daily papers but he advertised in thirty-two of them as well. Including publicity in the Paris issue of the *New York Herald*, Cody's records indicate he spent more than 54 thousand francs on newspaper advertising in Paris alone.<sup>38</sup> His 1905 expenditures for lithographed posters are similarly impressive. Cody's records list seventy-eight unique billboards (termed "Wall Work"), separate from window posters, the largest being a 100-sheet "Combination" originally designed by the Enquirer company.<sup>39</sup> Cody's 1905 records indicate he spent a massive 140,214.35 francs for bill posting in France, not including supplies and salaries.<sup>40</sup> Billboard costs varied by town depending on the location or wall leasing rates, but, not surprisingly perhaps, the most costly French city in which Cody advertised with billboards was Paris.<sup>41</sup> Cody's expenditures for poster printing and

advertising in Paris—more than 68,000 francs for billposting alone—is especially noteworthy when compared to the paltry-by-comparison sum of 7,500 francs estimated for building the arena, leveling the ground, building a grandstand, installing hydrants, gas, electricity, sewage, and painting, maintenance, and cleaning up after the exhibition, according to a February 9, 1905, contract.<sup>42</sup>

Although Weiners in Paris produced at least 78 different billboards designs, many copies of each design were required. Rennert reports that for any poster, complete billboards (consisting of three or more sheets) were typically produced in quantities between 1,000 and 1,500 in the United States.<sup>43</sup> Cody's financial records for Paris corroborate. An order of 1,000 copies of the sixteen-sheet "Buffalo and Cody Head" ("Je Viens") billboard alone placed with J. Weiners, Ltd. in Paris, required 16,000 individual printed sheets.<sup>44</sup> It seems safe to say that the American advertising approach—pasting every available surface with Cody's visage—was also effective overseas, even if it garnered criticism from some quarters.

Cody's advertising team felt a need to promote his image differently abroad than in the United States. Joy S. Kasson notes, for example, that the show's management tweaked Cody's and the Wild West's image in publicity for the 1887 tour to appear more dignified and educational to British audiences.<sup>45</sup> But the most significant change was in how Cody's image became intricately linked to the show itself. Kasson notes, "Unlike earlier shows [in the U.S.], the London performance [in 1887] presented Buffalo Bill as not just another marksman but the central figure, the show's chief symbol."<sup>46</sup> And while posters and advertising made frequent use of images of Buffalo Bill, Native American performers, the Deadwood Stagecoach, and bison over the Wild West's three decades, Michelle Delaney notes that "none were as effective as the lasting relevance of Buffalo Bill's own image on the advertising posters."<sup>47</sup>

The tweaking of Cody's visual identity and his emergence in England as, "the show's chief symbol" reflects Cody's transformation from part of the spectacle of the Wild West to a visual symbol and commodity in his own right. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, to a much greater extent than Frederic Remington or Edward Penfield, who are discussed in chapter 2, was a *celebrity*. That is, by Charles L. Ponce de Leon's definition, he was a member of a "new class of public figures who were more than the subjects of regular publicity" by the late nineteenth century, and who "owed their visibility to their well-knownness."<sup>48</sup>

Cody's "well-knownness" was, as Rennert, Kasson, Delaney, and other recent scholars of the Wild West have demonstrated, a direct result from the ubiquity of and cohesive image portrayed by his posters. But what about the "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" poster, made it the "most iconic," as Delaney describes it, of Cody's self-portraits in advertising medium? I posit, in part, its "iconic" quality derived from its repeated reiterations over time. I argue, however, that the reason why art historians and other writers today still point to this poster as the "most iconic" of Cody's scores of poster designs has much to do with twentieth century American notions of what constitutes a "good" poster or a "good" logo. Those criteria, interestingly enough, derive from the art poster movement's inexorable shift toward abstraction, simplification, limited text, limited colors, and visual wit late in the nineteenth century. These qualities led, in the early twentieth century, to a new poster style developed in Germany that took simplification even further: *Sachplakat*, or, the object poster. Design historian Philip Meggs defined the object poster formula: "flat background color; large, simple image; and product name," characteristics whose emphasis on reduction, minimalist form, and brief text anticipated twentieth century design trends.<sup>49</sup>

## II. Guillaume Bufile: Brand of the Wild West

*Constant repetition of one idea to a certain number of people will at last impress that idea upon those people's minds.*<sup>50</sup>

— Earnest Elmo Calkins, *The Business of Advertising*, 1915

W. F. Cody's permanent installation as the Wild West's "chief" visual symbol in publicity for the 1887 English tour is apparent in subsequent advertising posters, especially in the "Je Viens" or "I am Coming" posters deployed in France and the United States. In both cases, Cody speaks on behalf of his entire enterprise through the minimal text—"I" refers to Cody, but "I" also refers to the Wild West as a whole. Tiny lettering below his portrait in each iteration contains the words "Col. W. F. Cody," the miniscule print indicating just how unnecessary such a caption was, or in other words, how familiar Cody's face was to audiences on both sides of the Atlantic.

The poster's origin is somewhat murky. Jill Jonnes suggests it was first created in France in 1889, produced by the Paris office of J. Weiners, Ltd., to advertise the show's engagement in that city.<sup>51</sup> She draws on Parisian newspaper accounts that mention Cody's visage in advertising posters; however, the lack of mention of the poster's gigantic bison calls into question whether or not the 1889 French posters were in fact the "Je Viens" poster. As Don Russell notes, when the show arrived in Paris with twenty bison in 1889, no such creatures existed in France, not even in a zoo.<sup>52</sup> One imagines, then, that the enormous and exotic bison on Cody's posters would have received comment in the Paris press. Also, Rennert indicates, at least one poster per season featured Cody's portrait so whether or not the poster Jonnes cites featured merely Cody's face *or* his face emblazoned on a galloping bison is debatable. In fact, Rennert dates a 40 in. x 30 in. single-sheet "Je Viens" poster produced by the Weiners Paris office to Cody's 1905 tour of

France.<sup>53</sup> Again Cody's 1905 financial records corroborate. They mention a 16-sheet billboard depicting "Cody and buffalo" printed by Weiners in Paris, that originated from "C."<sup>54</sup> The "C" in Cody's record book likely refers to Courier Lithography of Buffalo, New York, the firm that produced the majority of posters, along with Enquirer of Cincinnati, for the Wild West between 1896 and 1907.

Courier indeed printed a single-sheet poster containing the phrase, "I am Coming," five years prior to the 1905 Parisian version (fig. 1.4). This 1900 poster probably served as inspiration for the Weiners billboard of 1905, as indicated in Cody's records. However, even before Courier produced its 1900 poster, the New York City chromolithography firm, Bien & Co., best known for cartography and fine chromolithographed books rather than advertising, had produced an elegantly toned, softly colored version of the poster in 1898 (fig. 1.5).

All three posters feature a bison in a carousel-horse gallop to the left, with Col. Cody's profile inserted in a roundel on the hide of the bison. Shadowy forms of bison gallop in the blue-green distance and the phrase "I am Coming" or "Je Viens," appears in prominent outlined sans-serif block lettering below. The inset roundel surrounding Cody's portrait is a convention of Victorian design and frequently appeared in nineteenth century circus posters. Cody's portrait on the later Courier and Weiners posters has been credited to a portrait painted by the American artist and lithographer Henry Atwell Thomas that appeared on posters printed by H.A. Thomas & Wylie Lithographers of New York in 1888 (fig. 1.6).<sup>55</sup> However, the portrait also appears on a more graphic Calhoun Printing Co. poster that may predate the Thomas & Wylie version by several years.<sup>56</sup> The Courier and Weiners artists revised Thomas's depiction, replacing Cody's buckskin jacket and bandana with a more formal blue collared shirt embroidered with gold emblems. That Cody posed during the 1890s in the same shirt for souvenir photographs made by



the prominent Brooklyn portrait photographer Charles E. Stacy (1863–1937) further calls into question Jonnes’ dating of the “Je Viens” poster and suggests that Courier’s version informed Weiners’ rather than the other way around (fig. 1.7).<sup>57</sup> In depicting Cody in the same dress across media, both the advertising posters that anticipated the Wild West and the souvenir photographs available before, during, and after each performance presented a unified image of the celebrity entertainer as he aged.

The bison that appears on variations of this image not only represents a creature indigenous to the American West (and therefore exotic to audiences abroad) but part of the danger of Cody’s spectacle. In the Wild West’s first season in 1883, Cody intended bison roping and riding to be part of the performance but the act proved too dangerous and was replaced with an also (potentially) dangerous bison hunt.<sup>58</sup> The presence of the bison also reinforces Cody’s identity as “Buffalo Bill.” On one hand, it alludes to Cody’s lived experience hunting bison for the Kansas-Pacific Railroad during the 1860s for which he acquired his stage name.<sup>59</sup> Yet the animal also, perhaps more importantly, creates a rebus that answers the question of “who” is coming: buffalo + Bill. The rebus further functions as a visual pun that describes the poster itself: it is a “buffalo bill,” in period terms, that is, a bill, or poster, containing a buffalo. Courier’s artists must have taken special delight in such visual wordplay as the printing firm was located in Buffalo, New York.

The brief messianic text found on all three posters, like Cody’s portrait, also quoted late nineteenth century print media. Michelle Delaney suggests the image derived from an 1875 woodcut used to promote P. T. Barnum’s circus (fig. 1.8),<sup>60</sup> twenty years before Barnum’s eventual business partner, James A. Bailey, went into partnership with Cody in 1895. Barnum’s woodcut poster depicts the showman staidly posed in suit and presented, like Cody after him, in

three-quarters view and filling a circular frame. Decorative lettering stretches upward from a convex baseline to fill the space above Barnum's head. The capitals that spell "I AM COMING" are largely sans serif, like Cody's later versions of the poster, but the initial "I" and terminal "G" contain swash extensions more in keeping with Victorian aesthetics than the modern sans serif and straight baselines in Buffalo Bill's later iterations of the poster. In the Barnum poster, light radiates from a central point behind the impresario's head, highlighting the left and bottom edges of each letterform above. This quasi heavenly glow emphasizes the prophetic quality of the phrase "I am coming," a pseudo-quotation of Christ's words in the biblical books of John 14:3 ("I will come again"), and Revelation 22 promising his return at the end of time. However, the King James Version and Revised King James Version of 1885, familiar to the American faithful in the late nineteenth century, both used the phrase "I come quickly" three times in Revelation 22.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the poster more likely quotes a verse from Philip Bliss's popular 1870s revival hymn, which paraphrased Christ's promise in colloquial terms: "Hold the fort, for I am coming" (!).<sup>62</sup>

Lest Barnum appear too saintly, a wreath-like ring of horse-drawn carts, camels, and caged animals encircle his head, representing in miniature the parade that announced his circus's arrival to each new town. The quasi-religious overtones of the Barnum poster, with its text suggesting Christ's return and Protestant fervor, and the icon-like representation of the impresario, might seem an odd choice for promoting circus acts and mass entertainment. However, Barnum capitalized on the sentiment of his era, a period marked by religious revivals, particularly in the upper northeast. In fact, late 1870s audiences for revivals may have been almost identical to those of circuses and the Wild West: "white, aspiring middle-class, evangelical Protestant Northerners ... urban dwellers but in many cases rural-born."<sup>63</sup>

While a parody of late nineteenth century religious revivals informed Barnum's poster, and the halo-like framing of his portrait, the development of Sunday schools and societies for young people, according to commentator Samuel W. Dike, altered the quality of modern revivals by 1900, moving the events away from the heartfelt recognition of one's own status as a "fellow-sinner needing with the church itself a common salvation" at mid-century toward something more showy, more focused on self-righteous goodness."<sup>64</sup>

If revivals changed in tone by the turn of the century, they had also adopted characteristics of mass entertainment. Indeed, by the early twentieth century, distinctions between religious experience and entertainment in the United States, as contemporary historians have noted, were fluid. As Katherine Oberdeck observes, vaudeville and mass entertainment influenced the "sensationalized, commercial aspect of turn-of-the-century revivalism," that, while debasing religious practice, also "democratiz[ed] it."<sup>65</sup>

Transposed to Cody's Wild West poster, the rounder frame and bright light surrounding Cody's face in the 1898 Bien & Co. poster retains, to more degree than the subsequent Courier and Weiners images, the halo-esque quality like that surrounded Barnum's visage. However, the Courier and Weiner artists emphasized drama and danger over religious connotations. While the text retained its revivalesque quality, lessened by the adoption of sans serif modern lettering, the imagery did not. In fact, if anything, the phrase supports the new (modern) American ritual of the twentieth century: mass entertainment.<sup>66</sup>

In the Bien version, Cody looks away from the direction of the bison's travel, suggesting the animal, rather than Cody, speaks, particularly since its mouth, pulled back into a smile, and bright eye are nearer the written "I" of "I am Coming." Cody, noticeably younger than he

appears on either the Courier or Weiners posters, is also dressed more casually, without the embroidered button-down shirt and buckskin jacket of the later prints.

In all three versions, but particularly in the Bien poster where the brim of Cody's hat escapes the edges of the roundel, overlapping forms create spatial ambiguity: is Cody peering in from a window into the viewer's space? Is his portrait merely floating above a backdrop of galloping bison? The position of Cody's face over the bison's hump creates a sort of second frame to his portrait, accentuating the visual pun (Buffalo + Bill). The off-center portrait builds visual tension with the centered placement of the text below, resulting in a composition slightly off-kilter, and, as a result, more dynamic. The asymmetry arguably makes for a better poster, with more interesting visual relationships between the "I," bison's eye, and the bright eye-like frame surrounding Cody's portrait. However, one wonders what led the artist to conceive of such an image? Who designed it? Why did Cody's enterprise, typically so invested in posters that demonstrated to viewers what they might actually witness at the Wild West, agree to a print so much more imaginative in nature? Could it be that the poster was designed with an eye toward Europe, and Paris in particular, the birthplace of the international art poster movement?

All conjectures aside, the Bien poster demonstrates the firm's expertise in softly toned, detailed representations of the natural world, particularly in comparison to the Weiners poster, produced by French designers who likely had never seen an American bison in person. (The distant bison in the Weiners poster resemble horned, galloping cats.) A master chromolithographer whose firm specialized in atlases and architectural renderings, Julius Bien (1826–1909), had created cartography for the U.S. government's western American geological surveys as well as some advertising posters. The firm's skill in naturalistic representation, evident in its handling of an edition of Audubon's *Birds of America*, printed just before the Civil

War, is also apparent in its detailed rendering of the textures of the foreground bison's fur, hooves, and nostrils.<sup>67</sup> This specificity of detail extends to the surrounding landscape and the twenty bison galloping in the distance whose horns and nostrils, particularly at upper right, are visible despite their diminutive size. The distant herd canvasses a light blue plain beneath a golden sky. The hue suggests sunset, a lighting effect found in many posters produced for the Wild West. (Marginalia on Enquirer proofs request sunset hues and when Ira Cassidy designed Wild West posters, he was also instructed to produce a warm, sunset effect.)<sup>68</sup> Such lighting suggests days' end, an elegiac nostalgia for the passing of the Old West and the messianic "end of days" for the bison that were killed almost to extinction by hunters, William F. Cody among them.

In comparison to the elegantly toned and detailed Bien poster, the Courier and Weiners posters emphasize drama over naturalistic detail through color contrast and dynamic motion. In both images, the colors are bolder and darker throughout: The lithographers emphasized light and shadow, representing the galloping animal in the foreground as a massive dark and nearly featureless form against a much lighter, hazy yellow green background. Cody looks into a warm, sunset-like golden glow while the right side of his face is cast in deep shadow. A stream of saliva flows from the bison's mouth in both posters, absent from the Bien lithograph, emphasizing the animal's speed, suggesting heart-pounding action, and implying the lengthy duration of his flight. The lithographers eschewed the horizon line all together, rendering the distant herd as dark masses diving across a blueish ground. Most importantly, in both cases, they drew the foreground animal not in full profile, like the Bien poster artists' rather static display with the bison's hooves seeming to dangle below its body, but instead turned toward the viewer. The animal's right eye, ear, and horn—not visible in the Bien poster—are visible in the subsequent

posters and break the edge of the picture space. In the later posters, the bison's hind legs extend, with hooves tucked up as if flying, further suggesting speed. In the French poster, even the left rear hoof escapes the bounds of printed space, as if the animal bounds off the poster, into the viewer's personal space.

In short, over time, what the "I am Coming" posters lost in specificity of detail, they gained in drama and emotion. The Wild West's concern for dramatic action is evident in marginalia on poster proofs held at the Circus World Museum. Instructions inscribed in light cursive and pencil corrections sketched onto the paintings reveal that the Wild West's General Agent, Louis E. Cooke, sought (or required changes to result in) posters with not only accurate details but compositional strength, exciting action, and visual interest. Cooke, whose career and influence on the Wild West's advertising efforts has been only recently delineated by historian Michelle Delaney, was invested in poster design to the level of minutia.<sup>69</sup>

In addition to planning advertising campaigns, writing newspaper accounts, and managing all aspects of bill posting, Cooke approved advertising material prior to printing with the inscription "O.K. L.E.C."<sup>70</sup> His role in the process ranged from eliminating designs he considered a failure to instructing artists about detail, color, and composition. He wrote "no good," on a sketch of a cavalry charge, and instructed the artist of another poster to "reverse this Indian and horse to go in alternate direction."<sup>71</sup>

The terse marginalia scrawled on a number of Enquirer's proofs demonstrate Cooke's requirement that posters contain strong action.<sup>72</sup> One of the most dramatic examples of his guiding hand appears in notations in the margins of a sketch for the *(Virginia) Reel on Horseback*, the artist's second attempt at the composition after a first draft failed to meet Cooke's standards (figs. 1.9–1.10).<sup>73</sup> In the previous sketch, the principle figures look away from

the viewer and overlapping horses obscure the action of a square dance on horseback. As a result, the composition resembles a scene presented for the observation rather than an exciting spectacle that engages the viewer directly.

Notations on the revised sheet direct the artist to reposition the cabin (“get cabin away up here”), move lettering (“this lettering over at side of chimbley [sic] and cabin”), and reposition figures (“heads up here”). In the lower right, he instructed the artist to “make these horses in act of whirling outward” and in lower left to “make these horses in act of turning around.” Notes in the lower margin include the addition of “VIRGNIA” to the title, indicate the output size, “6 sheet,” and, most importantly, summarize the changes to the composition, particularly the horses: “make [action] stronger.”<sup>74</sup>

Cooke’s—or his representative’s—critical edits effectively improved the composition, resulting in more action, making the horses appear to gallop directly toward the viewer and closer to the picture plane. At six-sheets in size, the poster would have been visually impressive, had *Enquirer* produced it.<sup>75</sup> The raised figures and cabin would loom higher on the picture plane and the horses’ action would thrill observers with their heart-thudding intrusion into the viewer’s own space. A horizontal version of the revised design produced by *Enquirer* and reproduced by Chaix in Paris for Cody’s 1905 French tour demonstrates how the composition changed again before printing (figs. 1.11–1.12). In the printed poster, the lithographers eschewed the cabin altogether, broadened negative space between figures, and turned the square dance’s equine and human performers outward. These changes together render the subject with more clarity but also engage the viewer directly.

Cooke’s specificity of the instructions, and his consideration of how each might affect the viewer’s understanding of not only the three-dimensional performance, but also their response to

the two-dimensional poster, resemble stage directions. This poster and the Wild West's posters more broadly, serve, in a sense, as a two-dimensional window into the three-dimensional space that stretched before spectators of Cody's Wild West arena. Period art poster commentator Charles Matlack Price identified such a parallel between poster space and theatrical space in his critical study of American and European art posters. He compared poster details and stage-settings, and the audiences for both, writing, "The two are designed for the same audience ... [both] achieve its success through the power of suggestion. The figures in a poster are the actors, and the accessories, the 'properties.'"<sup>76</sup>

Cooke takes care to emphasize specific details of the actual performance, the "accessories" or "properties" in Price's terms, while also considering the viewer's emotional experience of the two-dimensional poster. He demands changes that convey action, build excitement, and dwarf the viewer through heroic scale (moving the figures or "actors" higher on the picture plane, above eye level). These changes increase the awe a viewer might experience looking at the two-dimensional poster: the horses do not merely spin in place, but whirl into the viewer's space.

While no proofs of the "I am Coming" posters exist, Cooke's emphasis on dramatic action in the Virginia Reel poster can be applied to that series as well. His directive to turn the horses towards the viewer is evident in the subtle adjustments to the bison's position and foreshortening in the Courier and Weiners posters as well. The emphasis on speed through the creature's flying spittle and extended hind legs exhibits another of Cooke's preferences: that Cody's mounts appear in motion. When artists represented Cody astride a standing horse, Cooke instructed they make it prance. "New Fig. & horse for Cody ... some action in this horse prancing, etc," is inscribed on one image.<sup>77</sup> On a poster in which Cody accompanies cowboys



astride bucking horses, Cooke advised the artists to make Cody smile and to again, show his horse prancing.<sup>78</sup>

Given his comments on Enquirer's posters, Cooke sought dramatic action that engaged the viewer, perhaps even inspired fear or awe as the poster subject engaged their physical space. And, as the above marginalia suggests, Cody's mount in particular, was meant to appear in motion. Thus, the bison on the Courier and Weiners poster further reinforced Cody's brand while thrilling the viewer as the creature appeared to leap out of picture space.

### **III. "Home Again!": Importing the European Avant Garde into American Logo Design (or, Imitation is the Sincerest Form of Flattery)**

Unlike elaborate Victorian style pastiches of overlapping elements, fanciful lettering, and complex compositions exhibited in many of Cody's American posters produced before and after his European tours, the "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" posters speak the visual language of modernist European advertising design. Visual hybrids, they merge Victorian advertising and modernist art posters. Through the inclusion of a central, dominant image and minimal outlined text, the posters' aesthetic foreshadows the influential German *sachplakat* (object poster) approach invented by German poster artist Lucian Bernhard (1883–1972) for Priester Matches in 1905 (fig. 1.13). Bernhard's posters reduced advertising images to their simplest form—an image of the product and the company's name in sans serif, blocky, outlined lettering. Although simplification and abstraction of forms had certainly existed in art posters prior to 1905 in European and American posters by Jules Chéret, Toulouse Lautrec, Edward Penfield, and their contemporaries, Bernhard's style took hold as a more simplified and therefore more modern response to the decorative characteristics of Art Nouveau. It soon became synonymous with modernist design and in vogue in Europe, especially Germany, during the first and second

decades of the twentieth century. The simplicity of German poster design appealed to American advertisers as well although it never quite replaced the emphasis on naturalistic representation in American illustration and advertising images of the early twentieth century.<sup>79</sup>

In 1915, Calkins lamented the disparity between avant garde *sachplakat* posters and American advertising posters, claiming, the German posters’ “new and unusual use of color and design, are much more eye-catching and much better advertising than the commonplace stuff used in this country.”<sup>80</sup> He blamed American advertisers’ less innovative approach on their efforts to reach all levels of intellect. As poster commentator Charles Price noted, poster audiences were “no more an invited clique of favored cognoscenti than is the audience of a play” and must be geared to the “average intellect” rather than to the “illiterate or the connoisseur.”<sup>81</sup> Thus, American advertising, Calkins complained:

is so carefully planned not to be over the heads of the masses. It requires brains, intelligence, genius and taste to be different and original, and all these things arise from a study of the graphic processes so as to use them in new and unusual, but attractive and effective, ways.<sup>82</sup>

Whether first designed in the United States or Paris, Buffalo Bill’s “I am Coming” poster resembles, and possibly prefigures, Bernhard’s innovation in advertising poster design praised by Calkins. While it makes use of an intellectual puzzle, the simplicity of bison with “Bill” Cody on a bill was not “over the heads of the masses,” as Calkins wrote. It was both literal and simple, both naturalistic and punny. Through visual wit, it possesses what Price found necessary to art poster design: the “instantaneous capacity for humor.”<sup>83</sup> In fact, as far as Courier was concerned, its posters *were* art posters. In a 1902 article, the firm proclaimed,

The Courier Company is printing everything for Buffalo Bill’s Wild West [two-year foreign trip on Dec. 26 of this year]. ... Catalogues, posters, circulars, and every printed article up to a 100-sheet poster and photo-engraving are handled by this firm in a manner *so clever*, perfect and *artistic* as to make it the peer of all competitors.<sup>84</sup> [emphasis mine]

The striking poster influenced Cody's subsequent advertising materials and the development of his brand. Following the Courier version of 1900 and Weiners version of 1905, multiple firms reproduced variations of the poster over time. Courier reprinted the image in 1907 as a 28 in. x 42 in. poster; more than a century later the still popular image brought nearly \$19,000 at auction.<sup>85</sup> One year after the Courier reprise, Strobridge Lithographic Co. of Cincinnati printed a 40 in. x 30.5 in. version in 1908 augmented with the novel tagline in slanting blue lettering, "*HERE WE ARE! HOME AGAIN FROM FOREIGN LANDS*" (fig. 1.14).

The Strobridge 1908 poster depicts an aging Cody, with flowing white locks. The bison and Cody, in this iteration, face right, as if running in the opposite direction of the "Je Viens" poster to signify a return home. Strobridge's version also loses the clean simplicity of the earlier Weiners and Courier editions but adopts one element of object poster style: dark outlines around the image and the bison's hindquarters. The poster also reflects an even greater attempt on the part of the lithographers to create drama through dissolving distance between the bison and the viewer. The bison's left horn *and* the crown of its head break the thick outline surrounding the image, implying imminent intrusion into the viewer's space. Blades of grass cropped at lower right seem to grow into the scene from outside picture space. The artist replaced the saliva of the earlier posters with a stream discharging from the bison's nostrils, emphasizing its hard gallop, and the bison rolls its eye back toward Cody, who gazes beyond the animal and out of the picture plane. Although clearly based on the same portrait as the earlier posters, the artists whitened Cody's hair to suggest his aging during the tours abroad and replaced the ambiguous landscape with low foothills like those surrounding Cody, Wyoming. Two lines of italic blue sans serif, outlined in black, replaces the simpler text of Courier's poster and also completely eliminates the

religious connotation of the earlier images altogether with an exuberant announcement of the Wild West's return home.

Even the text suggests dramatic action, slanting in the direction of the bison's forward motion. Given Cooke's preference for posters with stirring movement and a dynamic, active relationship between the subject and viewer, the slanted text seems intentional. In marginalia on Enquirer proofs, Cooke or his representative not only spells out details of uniforms, the action of horses, and compositional elements, but also the lettering on each image. Inscriptions on a pencil sketch for a poster of a mounted Plains Indian figure facing a sign for the Wild West demonstrates that Cody's enterprise viewed the letterforms themselves an important vehicle of meaning (fig. 1.15). Instructions concerning the lettering reads, "Block not so much jusfictive [*sic*] it is now too acute – but follow out --- this same idea but change style of lettering more free and easy not so blocky."<sup>86</sup>

Why did Cooke or his representative balk at the block of quasi-justified text? What did he mean by "free and easy"? The image and comment imply that the sketch artist sought to employ simpler, more modern, German-inspired capital lettering. However, the client vetoed the outlined sans serif. Why would blocky sans serif not appeal to Cooke? It appeared a decade earlier on the "I am Coming" posters, after all. Perhaps he considered the geometric text in this case too mechanical, too geometric, too symbolic of modernity and the machine age. In that case, "free and easy" lettering might imply the client sought more organic, fluid letterforms suggestive of motion. Given the text's proximity to the representation of a Plains Indian on horseback, the comment implies that "free" lettering was metaphorical for Indigenous "freedom" on the Plains. But this is purely conjecture. The typographic directions could simply reflect Cooke's (or another reviewer's) lack of enthusiasm for justified blocks of text. However, Cooke's attention to

minutia suggests that he, and Cody's enterprise, like lithographers themselves, did in fact view letterforms as an important signifier or vehicle of meaning in their own right. He regularly commented on color and lettering, noting in the margin of a pencil and gouache study for a poster depicting the "Allied Powers Battle of Tien-Tsin" during the Boxer Rebellion, that the lettering "Buffalo Bill's" needed to be olive green while the words "military spectacle" ought to be red.<sup>87</sup> On the same layout, notes instructed artists to "raise these figures up and extend at bottom," changes which would increase the height of the figures and poster, thus making them more impressive, towering over the viewer. In concert with the red lettering, viewers were promised a thrilling visual extravaganza.

During the next several years, in the twilight of the Wild West, as Cody sought partnerships to stave off creditors, he no longer possessed sole control of his image. In posters depicting his collaborations with Gordon S. Lillie (Pawnee Bill), the Sells-Floto Circus, and Miller Bros. 101 Ranch, he shared his celebrity with others. The lithographic quality that Cody and Cooke demanded in their advertising "paper" also dissipated, particularly during his two years touring with the Sells-Floto Circus in 1914 and 1915.<sup>88</sup> In summer 1913, after a disastrous rainy season in the South, Cody and Lillie traveled to Denver where the unscrupulous newspaperman-impresario Harry Tammen, owner of the Sells-Floto Circus, had purchased Cody's debt for unpaid printing costs for posters and other advertising materials to the United States Lithography Company for an astounding \$60,000.<sup>89</sup> Tammen called in the loan, essentially bankrupting the Wild West and forcing Cody to auction its livestock and other assets and tour with his circus.

In 1914, six years after the Strobridge poster, the U.S. Lithography Company/Russell-Morgan reproduced a version of the "I am Coming" poster promoting the circus with Cody's

image (fig. 1.16). The eight-sheet billboard lost much of the finesse of its *Bien*, *Weiners*, and *Courier* antecedents. Also lost was the “I am Coming” text altogether, replaced with “Buffalo Bills Original Wild West” on a convex baseline across the top and “Sells-Floto Circus” at lower right in sans serif lettering. Capitalizing on Cody’s name recognition, Tammen gave him top billing, adding “original” to the title of the Wild West and inserting Cody’s signature into the roundel as if to convince potential spectators of Cody’s actual participation in a spectacle, sandwiched between female impersonator Fred Biggs and a trick pony act.<sup>90</sup> Cody was also heralded as “Buffalo Bill (Himself)” in Sells-Floto advertising to further assuage any doubts that he was still performing.<sup>91</sup> Although the billboard adopted a blank background suggestive of the influence of object poster design, the rendering of the bison and modeling of Cody’s face are amateurish, almost cartoonish. Rather than a simplification or flattening in keeping with object poster aesthetics that would add clarity, the different lettering styles and unnecessary additions (Cody’s signature, for example) create a disjointed, incohesive composition.

The Sells-Floto’s adoption, perhaps plagiarism, of the “I am Coming” image is significant as it reveals just how much the conflation of Cody’s visage and the galloping bison signified Buffalo Bill for mass audiences by 1915. The degree to which Cody (or, perhaps, Tammen) viewed the bison with Cody’s inset face as synonymous with the celebrity impresario’s visual identity is evident in the fact that it appeared literally as Cody’s logo on the masthead for the Sells-Floto Circus (fig. 1.17). At the time, the Sells-Floto Circus logo featured rambling lettering and an elephant trumpeting the company’s name. After Cody joined Tammen’s organization, however, the showman’s face emblazoned on the bison accompanied the trumpeting elephant logotype. A copy of a copy, the crude line drawing on the masthead

served as a further degradation from the original posters: it took the U.S. Litho billboard version for inspiration rather than the original Courier or Bien posters.

The rebus, while altered over time by each firm producing it, ultimately served for nearly twenty years as Cody's show business brand. Marita Sturken defines the concept of branding, which originated late in the nineteenth century, as a central feature of commodity culture that encompasses all symbolic elements of a company's goods and services.<sup>92</sup> Buffalo Bill was at the center of this development of brand identity. Not only did his advertising practices coincide with the development of corporate "branding" but his visage and/or name appeared on virtually every poster advertising the Wild West. Cody was keenly aware of the importance of his name and image in selling the Wild West on posters. In addition to the Sells-Floto's appropriation of his name and graphic identity, he faced competitors quick to make use of his name for their own ventures both in the United States and abroad. Competing shows in the United States in the early 1900s included "Lucky Bill's (a circus), Pawnee Bill's, Buckskin Bill's Wild West Show, and Texas Bill's.

Given its reappearance in multiple variations over time on both sides of the Atlantic, clearly what led to the "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" image's "iconic" status was, in part, what Ernest Elmo Calkins termed "constant repetition." However, Cody's face appeared every year on a variety of advertising posters for the Wild West. Thus, I argue that the "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" design is considered iconic today not so much because of its *somewhat* frequent reprisal in Cody's time but because it meets twentieth century expectations of what constitutes "good" logo design, or, a good "brand." Those expectations are largely dictated by what Lucian Bernhard and other object poster designers sought to achieve early in the twentieth century: simplification of forms, elimination of detail, limited text, and instant communication. In the

words of contemporary design historian Stephen Eskilson, object posters' innovation was their clarity, their "simple communication of a declarative message, addressing the viewer forthrightly as if to say, 'Here is the product, this is its name.'"93

Of all Cody's posters, the original Bien, Courier, and Weiners "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" posters arguably make the statement "Here is the product; this is its name" the strongest. Even the words "Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West" are unnecessary. By the time Bernhard launched the object poster in 1905, Cody was already recognizable not by words but by his image. At the turn of the century, poster theorists and commentators declared posters effective only if they were understood quickly. They were not intended to be read, but to be instantly grasped, signposts of the increasing pace of modern life. The majority of Buffalo Bill's posters of the late nineteenth century, by comparison, invite longer viewing. Images in the background of many of his posters, particularly his earlier posters, invite close inspection; the narratives require scrutiny. These typically complicated layouts revolve around key figures worked out (with client input) in the sketch and proof stages as surviving Enquirer proofs demonstrate. While the Courier and Weiners "I am Coming"/"Je Viens" posters were produced from the same process, they reflect art poster commentators' enthusiasm for images that communicated immediately. Like the Wild West itself, object posters were concerned with both the past and the future. They looked to the past, Stephen J. Eskilson writes, through their further abstraction of Art Nouveau and to the future, "because their radical simplification and blunt messages later became a key part of modern advertising."94

Although eye-catching, the most art poster-like of Cody's advertising paper, Alick Ritchie's visual pun, subordinated realistic depiction of the show's content for graphic quality.



Although the Ritchie poster was reproduced as a postcard in France, it never became ubiquitous in the United States in comparison to the quasi-modernist “Je Viens” poster. Perhaps its less iconic status derived from its eschewing the perceived truthfulness of naturalistic representation and the show’s actual content in favor of visual design and a celebration of the artist’s style over Cody’s countenance. Realism, represented by authentic detail, was Cody’s preferred approach to poster imagery, as Delaney has argued.<sup>95</sup> This insistence on accuracy of visual representation is reflected in [Cooke’s?] notations to Enquirer artists to “use proper colors on all uniforms” inscribed on a grisaille sketch of the Wild West’s British cavalry contingent.<sup>96</sup> Such efforts at accuracy and realistic detail was, as period commentator Price acknowledged, the predominant style of circus and theatrical posters at large which, while achieving a “high degree of technical excellence” in terms of lithography, were often “deadeningly literal” in conception.<sup>97</sup> Thus while art poster enthusiasts might enjoy Ritchie’s irreverent portrait of Cody composed of an amalgamation of western objects and accompanied with the artist’s own signature, the poster fails to produce the dramatic engagement with the viewer sought by Cooke in Cody’s posters at large. That the poster was reproduced in France, however, suggests that Cooke recognized the appeal of art posters and modern, abstracted aesthetics, among French audiences.

Another poster produced by Weiners’ Paris office for the 1905 French tour perhaps more successfully merged art poster aesthetics with the Wild West’s concern for posterized drama; it depicts Cody’s ever popular act, the attack on the Deadwood stage (fig. 1.18). Printed in only three colors—red, gold, and black—the image adopted the simplified compositions and bold color combinations of art posters. At upper right, Lakota performers are reduced to a silhouette intended to represent a crowd of attacking warriors; landscape is completely eschewed in favor of a crimson ground that fills the poster. Lettering wraps around the galloping horses, making

use of curved baselines and three styles of lettering, much like eclectic Victorian posters, but with more reserve through the use of a single color (yellow) outlined in black. The text fills negative space and frames the horses racing down the picture plane towards the bottom right; meanwhile, a single Plains figure astride a horse in a flying gallop leaps over the word “Buffalo” at upper right. This interaction of image and text creates a unified composition where, despite the many elements, the letterforms and imagery work together as a whole. Such “whole” compositions were praised by art poster enthusiasts and designers. Price defined good posters as a “whole” comprised of “strong composition, equally strong color, applied in great flat masses, bold delineation of outline, and *lettering at once an integral part of the whole.*”<sup>98</sup> [emphasis mine] Yet the poster also meets the Wild West leadership’s<sup>2</sup> expectation for dramatic action that engages its audience: the horses gallop outward, on the verge of escaping the bounds of picture space, and each animal directs a wild eye toward the viewer.

This poster, like the Ritchie poster, is somewhat anomalous in Cody’s poster production at large. While European modernist design subtly informed American lithographers’ images for the Wild West gradually over time, Cody found himself on European art posters not commissioned by his enterprise. The celebrated innovator of the art poster movement in France, Jules Chéret, included the American impresario’s profile on a souvenir poster for the 1899 exhibition commissioned by the Musée Grévin (fig. 1.19). Despite Cody’s diminutive size behind the Javanese dancers in the foreground, he is identifiable by the large brim of his hat.<sup>99</sup> And, in Italy, a very bizarre poster that can only be described as an art poster given its humorous imagery, bright colors, and artist’s signature (Mario Cetto), depicted Cody mounted improbably on a frog (fig. 1.20). That poster, long mistaken for an Italian poster promoting the Wild West, actually advertised the Italian satirical political newspaper, *La Rana*, or *The Bullfrog*. The

newspaper, as Mary Robinson and Robert Rydell explain, contained a mock-interview of Cody on Italian politics during his spring 1906 tour that was riddled with western puns (Cody responds to the political direction in Italy, for example, with this quip: “the direction is worth little without ... any reins”) and a poem titled “The Arrival of Buffalo Bill.”<sup>100</sup> These two posters indicate the extent Buffalo Bill’s celebrity abroad. His international fame resulted in the appropriation of his visage by designers creating posters quasi-related to his enterprise and to fit their own needs. As Robinson and Rydell note, *La Rana*’s editors used the Wild West’s arrival not to promote Cody’s show, but to “call attention to civil strife and corruption in Italian society.”<sup>101</sup>

In the end, the aim of the Wild West’s advertising did not depend on the work of any one lithographer or lithography firm, as evident by the copying and reusing of the same design by multiple firms—but on the verité of Cody’s Wild West and the authenticity of the man himself, as a participant in the very historical events he conjured up before millions of audience members at home and abroad.<sup>102</sup> The aesthetic vehicle for that communication was largely naturalism, a seemingly “realistic” representation style that lent itself to the show’s business of creating and representing a “real” past. For mass American audiences, Ritchie’s image was perhaps considered too unique, too lively, too quirky and avant-garde to appeal to the masses, and ultimately too different from its many predecessors. Rather, these qualities align it with how poster critic Charles Matlack Price defined a successful art poster: it “verges upon the caricature, always it is exaggerated, and it is by no means marred by a touch of humor.”<sup>103</sup> The following chapters address art posters, that like Ritchie’s design, function both as objects that advertised a product but also promoted an individual poster artist’s singular approach.

By contrast, the “I am Coming” poster worked both in the United States and France, I believe, because it combined the naturalistic representation characteristic of Cody’s poster design

in the United States with the simplicity of message and limited text demanded by discerning French audiences familiar with the work of Art Nouveau designers Jules Chéret, Toulouse Lautrec, and others. That the Wild West reproduced Ritchie's art poster on postcards in France is telling: Cody's business partner Nate Salsbury not only tweaked Buffalo Bill's public image for foreign audiences, but Cooke tweaked his poster image as well. As Michelle Delaney has indicated, American Wild West posters largely dictated the imagery found on Wild West posters abroad.<sup>104</sup> Perhaps, just perhaps, the *Bien* and *Courier* versions of the "I am Coming" poster were designed with France and Cody's upcoming European tour in mind. There may not have been space for Ritchie's individualistic romp on what constituted Buffalo Bill in the United States even if it was appropriate for London and Paris. What there was room for in the United States between 1887 and 1916—those "jubilee [years] for bill posters"—was naturalistic portraits of Buffalo Bill, even if they were surreally embedded in the hide of a bison, and plastered on "every hoarding ... from East ... to West."

#### **IV. Conclusion**

Art poster designers' images of the West responded to and must be understood as dialogical with Cody's advertising imagery, as I will discuss in the following chapters. Interestingly, while fine art influenced a number of Cody's advertising bills, art posters never fueled Cody's marketing machine. Rather, it was Cody's own image that served as the chief "logo" for the show and a host of "guns, games, and other consumer products."<sup>105</sup> That logo, in the form of the buffalo + Bill rebus, interestingly, bridged nineteenth century religious revivalism and Victorian design and twentieth century mass entertainment. His trademark image and other posters also influenced perceptions of the American West across the United States and

Europe. As Louis Warren writes, “for generations of Americans and Europeans, Buffalo Bill defined the meaning of American history and American identity ... [his Wild West] a defining cultural memory—or a dream—of America.”<sup>106</sup>

Among those influenced, of course, were younger artists and designers whose own images and perceptions of the West responded to the spectacle of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and his advertising. To quote historian Brian Dippie, “No western artist after the 1880s was unaffected by [Buffalo Bill’s] presentation.”<sup>107</sup> That assertion applies, as I will demonstrate, also to art poster designers Edward Penfield, Maynard Dixon, and Gerald Cassidy, the subjects of the following chapters. Whether their posters intentionally or unconsciously supported or challenged his representation, their images contended with Cody’s western persona and his show’s portrayal of the West plastered on posters and other media across the United States and Europe between 1883 and 1916.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Poem in the *Globe*, April 26, 1887. Cited in Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 106.

<sup>2</sup> “French Talk of the Time: Election Incidents and the Visit of Gladstone,” *New York Times*, October 1, 1889, 9.

<sup>3</sup> “Cowboys in Old Verona: Diocletian’s Arena Used for the Wild West Show,” *New York Times*, May 18, 1890, 17. The article continues, “The train went too rapidly to permit our deciphering the inscription beneath the picture, especially as it was in Italian; but the next day, as we walked about town, we found the same bills posted up on all sides; ‘Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, Grande Arena di Verona per soli due giorni.’”

<sup>4</sup> Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), 8. Thank you to B. Byron Price for alerting me to the listing of the Wild West’s destinations by country and US state. “Did Buffalo Bill Visit Your Town,” Buffalo Bill Museum and Grave, accessed March 29, 2020, <http://www.buffalobill.org/History%20Research%20on%20the%20Buffalo%20Bill%20Museum/index.html#TOWN>.

<sup>5</sup> Founded in Vienna in 1858, J. Weiners Ltd. opened offices in Paris in 1889 and London in 1892. The Paris office, *The Poster* reported, was known for its “artistic” work, while the London office gained attention from the journal for its theatrical posters. See “Leading Lithographers. I.—Weiners, Ltd., London, Paris, and Vienna,” *The Poster* 4 (April 1900): 74–76.

<sup>6</sup> The Library of Congress dates an earlier version of the Ritchie poster with a red background produced by Weiners in London to 1890 although the date seems questionable since the London office did not open until 1892 (see previous note, 5). The printer’s trademark and color differ, suggesting that an earlier version was indeed produced. The bison poster, as I will discuss, may have originated in Paris in 1889 or in the United States during the late 1890s.

<sup>7</sup> John Hewitt, “‘The Poster’ and the Poster in England in the 1890s,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 35, no. 1 (2002): 37–62, accessed March 25, 2020, [www.jstor.org/stable/20083857](http://www.jstor.org/stable/20083857).

<sup>8</sup> *The Poster* 3, no. 15 (October 1899): 80. The poster depicted a young woman weighing a cut of steak against the extract on a scale. Cited in Hewitt, “‘The Poster,’” 45; see note 46.

<sup>9</sup> Michelle Delaney, “Advance Work: Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” (PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2018), 240. Delaney refers to the Courier poster of 1900, on which the “Je Viens” poster was based.

<sup>10</sup> See Delaney, “Advance Work”; Stephanie Fox Knappe, “Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West” (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2013); Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Frank Christianson, “Introduction,” in William F. Cody, *The Wild West in England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jill Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower and the World’s Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count* (New York:

Viking, 2009); Tom F. Cunningham, *“Your Fathers the Ghosts”*: Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in Scotland (Edinburgh: Black and White Publishing, 2007).

<sup>11</sup> Michelle H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). Chapter 1, “The Problem of Status for American Illustrators,” 15–78, and chapter 2, “Posters versus Billboards,” 79–124, both address this topic.

<sup>12</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Rennert, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Sarah Blackstone, *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody, 1879–1917* (New York: Praeger, 1988), 75. Among other people, Cody owed money to Barney Link, a former bill poster for the Wild West and owner of the New York Bill Posting Company; Blackstone reports Cody owed Link \$10,000 in 1916.

<sup>15</sup> Earnest Elmo Calkins, *The Business of Advertising* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1915), 13. For inflation calculation, see “The Inflation Calculator,” accessed March 23, 2020, <https://westegg.com/inflation/>.

<sup>16</sup> The standard size for individual sheet posters (or “papers,” as they were termed) was 28" × 42"; these single sheets were pasted together to form billboards. Donald W. Hendon and William F. Muhs, “Origins and Early Development of Outdoor Advertising in the United States,” *European Journal of Marketing* 20, no. 5 (1986): 11, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 5. Half- and one-sheet posters appeared in windows while bill stands (the wooden frames posters were affixed to) typically held a four-sheet-high image, with the sheets placed horizontally. Billboard lengths varied depending on whether the completed image consisted of four, eight, twelve, sixteen, twenty-four, or more sheets. Rennert also notes that Cody’s Wild West billboards were unique in their depiction of a single continuous image across multiple sheets, as opposed to circus billboards, which made use of assorted images rather than one continuous image.

<sup>18</sup> Cody’s Wild West followed the tradition of traveling by rails already established by circuses in the United States. Cody’s show also travelled by train in Europe. See “Circus in America Timeline,” <http://www.circusinamerica.org/public/timelines?date1=1906&date2=1940>.

<sup>19</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 5. In the United States, Cody usually sent two or three railroad cars two weeks in advance. The principal job of “advance men” was to post thousands of posters within two hundred miles of each city visited.

<sup>20</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 5. By 1915, Calkins reports that bill posting was regulated and advertisements protected—in contrast to pre-1870 stands where bill posters pasted competing advertisements one on top of the other, even the same day that the original papers were posted. Rennert notes that bill posters could paste up twenty-eight-sheet billboards in thirty minutes but in competitions, the task might be completed in as quickly as ten minutes.

<sup>21</sup> W. F. Cody to Friend Elwell, April 27, 1907, in Blackstone, *Business of Being Buffalo Bill*, 34.

<sup>22</sup> Cody corresponded with the artist William A. Bell and also repeatedly wrote his friend R. Farrington Elwell from Europe in 1906, inviting him to summer with the Wild West in Germany and to make drawings for posters to promote the Wild West’s return tour of the United States. However, the plan

fell through due to complications following the death of Cody's partner, James A. Bailey. See Rennert, *100 Posters*, 4, and Cody's letters printed in Blackstone, *Business of Being Buffalo Bill*, 29–32.

<sup>23</sup> Despite Cody's ongoing discussion of potential contracts with William A. Bell, of Bell Show Printing Company in Iowa, Cooke opposed working with the firm as he believed its wares were not high enough quality for New York advertising. Delaney, "Advance Work," 94–95; Rennert, *100 Posters*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Hewitt, "The Poster," 45. Hewitt notes during the 1890s and early 1900s, "The first response of printers when approached by an advertiser was to show him their stock of available designs. If pressed, they might commission an artist to produce something more customized, but their preference was for general rather than specific designs, which might be reused."

Interestingly, Ira (Gerald) Cassidy, the subject of chapter 3, was frequently asked to mimic existing advertising designs in freelance work for Russell-Morgan so long as his image did not so closely resemble the original as to cause copyright issues. (See US Litho. / Gerald Cassidy correspondence in the Cassidy Family Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.) His poster for a play, *Shame*, embroiled the Greenwich Lithographic Company of New York in a lawsuit in 1918 after Gladys Loftus of the Ziegfeld Follies claimed the *Shame* poster made use of her image without her consent. See Jessica Lake, *The Face that Launched a Thousand Lawsuits: The American Women who Forged a Right to Privacy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016): 156–58.

<sup>25</sup> For Cody's appropriation of Remington imagery, see Delaney, "Advance Work," chapter 3, and Laura Fry, "Wonders from Out-of-the-Way Places: Shared Imagery of Frederic Remington and William F. Cody," in *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonné, Part II*, ed. Peter Hassrick (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1996), 17–41.

Delaney notes that Remington's illustrations and Courier's photographs copyrighted in 1899, now in the Nate Salsbury Collection in the Western History Division of the Denver Public Library, were repurposed as "composite poster designs for the Wild West" and may be the only surviving copyrighted images created to inform poster designs for the Wild West. Delaney, "Advance Work," 153.

<sup>26</sup> August W. Hutaf to Ira D. Cassidy, Dec. 11, 1911, Cassidy Family Papers, Box 11, US Litho., Folder 1, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. Russell-Morgan / US Litho. produced the posters in 1912. Cassidy also designed an "Indian Princess" to accompany the cowgirl and a preexisting cowboy design. Long and narrow in format, the three posters were intended to hang in windows. A full set is in the collection of The Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida.

<sup>27</sup> Delaney, "Advance Work," 184, 286–87.

<sup>28</sup> Delaney, 287–88.

<sup>29</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in Rennert, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Rennert, 13.

<sup>32</sup> For example, in "Owed to Buffalo Bill," *Punch*'s "Poet Laureate" wrote, "You, the Mighty, the Popular, You, the Lord-lasso-flourisher, You, the Lord Cow-Coercionist, You, by eager, inquisitive, Show-haunting children of Albion, Are, with mustang and Indian, Welcomed now to our Kensington. All our hearts making harmony, All our voices in unison, Chorus, 'Hail to the glorious Golden year that brings you, Billee!'" See *Punch*, London, April 23, 1887, 132–33. See also Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 114.



<sup>33</sup> “The Wild West (at Earl’s Court, S.W.),” *Punch*, Saturday, April 30, 1887, 205.

<sup>34</sup> *Globe*, April 26, 1887, cited in Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 106.

<sup>35</sup> Albert Wolff, *Le Figaro* (1889), cited in Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower*, 100.

<sup>36</sup> Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 109.

<sup>37</sup> Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower*, 216.

<sup>38</sup> “Newspaper Advertising, Paris, 1905,” in “Legal and Financial Records: Barnum and Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1884–1905,” American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Collection [ah00264\_0035]. The total for thirty-two newspapers for two months totaled 54,392.10 francs. Inflation calculation of 54,000 francs on January 31, 1905, to 144,007,427.97 francs on December 30, 2019. See “Inflation Calculator,” accessed March 30, 2020, <https://fxtop.com/en/inflation-calculator.php?A=54000&C1=FRA&INDICE=FRCPI1998&DD1=31&MM1=01&YYYY1=1905&DD2=30&MM2=12&YYYY2=2019&btnOK=Compute+actual+value>.

<sup>39</sup> “Wall Work, 1905,” in “Legal and Financial Records: Barnum and Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1884–1905,” American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Collection [ah00264\_0060].

<sup>40</sup> In addition, he spent an additional 107.50 francs for litho boards; 6,363.60 Fr. for flour, paste, and stickers; 23,223.85 Fr. for hotel stays for the advance teams; and 20,335 Fr. in salaries of town teams. See “Recapitulation for summary of billposting in 1905,” in “Legal and Financial Records: Barnum and Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1884–1905,” American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Collection [Ah00264\_0025].

<sup>41</sup> “Recapitulation for summary of billposting in 1905.” The Paris total included 68,179.85 francs for billposting; 5,139 Fr. for hotel stays; and 1,354 Fr. for town teams. Cody’s next highest expenditures for billboards in France was in Lyon, where he spent 5,505 Fr. for posting of billboards. Other expenses for Lyon: 176 Fr. for flour, paste, and stickers; 708 Fr. for hotels; and 523 Fr. for town teams.

<sup>42</sup> The contract is dated Feb. 9, 1905, Paris. The costs of river sand and gravel for the arena floor were not included in this estimate. “Legal and Financial Records: Barnum and Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1884–1905,” American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming: Buffalo Bill Collection [Ahoo264\_0027]. See also “Recapitulation for summary of billposting” [Ahoo264\_0027].

<sup>43</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 4.

<sup>44</sup> “Wall Work, 1905” [ah00264\_0060]. The document reveals the show already had 362 sheets in stock and the “Buffalo & Cody Head” original came from “C.”

<sup>45</sup> The show’s manager, Nate Salsbury (1846–1902), and press agent, Major John Burke, collected endorsements of Cody from army officers he had served with; these letters and testimonials became part of the show’s publicity materials in 1887, and, Joy S. Kasson notes, remained in the program throughout the rest of Cody’s career. Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 174.

<sup>46</sup> Kasson notes that the military title granted Cody “stature and personal authority” and further enhanced the Wild West’s “credibility as an educational American spectacle” (Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 176). Cody appeared before a passel of European royalty including the Prince and Princess of Wales, Prince of Denmark, and even twice for Queen Victoria during the 1887 season. Subsequent advertising posters capitalized on these events and depicted Cody’s association with European nobility, in particular the crowned heads of Europe’s ride on the Deadwood Stage during Queen Victoria’s Jubilee festivities. Among those who rode in the stage were the Prince of Wales and kings of Denmark, Greece, Belgium, and Saxony. See Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 109.

<sup>47</sup> Delaney, “Advance Work,” 67, 73.

<sup>48</sup> Charles L. Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure: Human Interest Journalism and the Emergence of Celebrity in America, 1890–1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 51. Ponce de Leon writes of the 1890s as “turning point” when journalists began depicting celebrities in new ways, shifting away from idealized portraits toward what “made an individual unique, complex, or even flawed, a process that coincided with the development of literary realism, and led to the ideal of the personality as what made someone unique.” See Ponce de Leon, *Self-Exposure*, 6, 34, 37. The public sphere was viewed as a place where all people “acted,” while the private sphere was where the true self was potentially visible. See Ponce de Leon, 41.

<sup>49</sup> Philip B. Meggs and Alston W. Purvis, *Meggs’ History of Graphic Design, Fourth Edition*. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2006), 270, 271–72.

<sup>50</sup> Calkins, *Business of Advertising*, 13.

<sup>51</sup> Jonnes, *Eiffel’s Tower*, 100, 107.

<sup>52</sup> Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), cited in Rennert, *100 Posters*, 10.

<sup>53</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 3, 10.

<sup>54</sup> Cody’s records indicate one thousand sheets of a single-sheet window lithograph described as “Buffalo Cody Portrait,” original poster by Courier, was ordered from Weiners. “Legal and Financial Records: Barnum and Bailey with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1884–1905” [ah00264\_0010].

<sup>55</sup> For the 1888 version attributed to Henry Atwell Thomas, see “The William F. Cody Archive,” Buffalo Bill Center of the West and University of Nebraska, accessed March 23, 2020, <http://codyarchive.org/images/view/posters/wfc.img.pst.1.69.33b>.

<sup>56</sup> See “The William F. Cody Archive,” Buffalo Bill Center of the West and University of Nebraska, accessed March 23, 2020, <http://codyarchive.org/images/view/posters/wfc.img.pst.00262>. Discrepancies between dates on Wild West posters are rampant. Partly this confusion results from printing companies’ habit of reusing preexisting designs, including imagery by their competitors.

<sup>57</sup> Stacy had a studio in 1898 at 450 Fifth Ave. according to the Business Directory of Brooklyn and Long Island, 1897. See “U.S. City Directories, 1822–1995” (database online), Ancestry.com. Provo, UT, Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. Accessed March 25, 2020. He made frequent appearances in local gossip published in the Brooklyn paper and appears to have been a wealthy photographer of some

standing. See, for example, “First Husband’s Life No Longer Paid On,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 7, 1908, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Rennert, *100 Posters*, 10.

<sup>59</sup> According to Russell, *Lives and Legends*, Cody killed 4,280 bison while working as a professional game hunter for the Kansas Pacific, a negligible number compared to the 1,200,200 killed each year by hide hunters during the three years of highest slaughter of the southern herds, of which, Russell reports, only 50,000 each year were used for food. Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 88.

<sup>60</sup> I am indebted to Michelle Delaney, who identified this woodcut as the inception for the “I Am Coming” poster, although she does not discuss its meaning. See Delaney, *Art and Advertising*, fig. 4.27, note 41. The image is in the collection of the Hertzberg Circus Collection of the Witte Museum, San Antonio, TX. Image available online from “Circus and the City: New York, 1793–2010,” Bard Gallery, New York, accessed March 18, 2020, [bgc.bard.edu](http://bgc.bard.edu).

<sup>61</sup> See Revelation 22:7, 22:12, and 22:20 in both the King James Version (KJV) and RV (Revised Version 1885), accessed March 17, 2020, Bible.com. For American responses to the Revised King James Version, see Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), 109–11. Gutjahr notes that Americans primarily read the King James Version in the latter half of the nineteenth century and continued to do so even after the publication of the revised edition (1881–85) created such demand that New York newsboys sold it on the streets. Both the KJM and revised KJV use the phrase “I am come” or “I come quickly.”

<sup>62</sup> Philip P. Bliss (1838–1876) penned “Hold the Fort” in 1870. It appeared most frequently in hymnals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. See “Hold the Fort,” Hymnary.org, accessed March 16, 2020, [https://hymnary.org/text/hold\\_my\\_comrades\\_see\\_the\\_signal\\_waving\\_in](https://hymnary.org/text/hold_my_comrades_see_the_signal_waving_in).

<sup>63</sup> Sandra Sizer, “Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Church History* 48, no. 1 (March 1979): 87.

<sup>64</sup> Samuel W. Dike, “A Study of New England Revivals,” *American Journal of Sociology* 15, no. 3 (November 1909): 361–78.

<sup>65</sup> See Margaret Bendroth, “Why Women Loved Billy Sunday: Urban Revivalism and Popular Entertainment in Early Twentieth-Century American Culture,” *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 14, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 251–71; Katherine Oberdeck, *The Evangelist and the Impresario: Religion, Entertainment, and Cultural Politics in America, 1884–1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

<sup>66</sup> Oberdeck, *Evangelist and the Impresario*.

<sup>67</sup> For information about Bien’s Birds of America edition, see Ann Lee Morgan, “The American Audubons: Julius Bien’s Lithographed Edition,” *Print Quarterly* 4, no. 4 (December 1987): 362–79, esp. 366, 370.

<sup>68</sup> For example, an 1899 pencil and ink study for the Cody Calendar 1899 contains pencil instructions: “in color get a warm summer sunset here” (Circus World Museum, 2009.22.13); US Litho. instructed Cassidy to create a warm, Colorado-like image and sky. See A. deMontluzin to Ira D. Cassidy,

July 25, 1911, Box 11, US-Z, US Litho Co., folder 1, Cassidy Family Papers Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>69</sup> See Delaney, “Advance Work,” 94–95, 94n26. Delaney’s dissertation importantly contributed an entire chapter to Cody’s and Cooke’s relationship and Cooke’s previously overlooked role in securing and influencing advertising contracts for the Wild West. See chapter 2, “Advertising the Wild West: Cody and Cooke.” While Delaney reports the existence of marginalia and lists examples in her dissertation and subsequent book, she does not address the broader significance or overall meaning of such inscriptions, including how such changes would affect the compositions and meaning of the images at hand. Building on her crucial investigation of the production of these images, I am trying to look at the specific implications and meaning of such inscriptions. See Delaney, “Advance Work,” 259–60.

<sup>70</sup> Delaney, “Advance Work,” 116; Rennert, *100 Posters*, 4.

<sup>71</sup> “Reverse this Indian” appears on a study for “The Maze” (Circus World Museum, 2009.23.6A-H). Similarly, in a circa 1898 poster depicting the British Cavalry Charge, his penciled instructions to the artist in the lower margin on the right border include the statement, “Do not enlarge this till I return as I want to make changes.” And along the bottom, on the right edge, “British-----center” (Circus World Museum, P1070534).

<sup>72</sup> His desire for strong action is also conveyed in notes on an ink wash sketch of cavalry stunts for a twelve-sheet poster (Circus World Museum, 2009.24.29). Below the drawing of horses, marginalia indicates that the three horses should be strong “central” figures. The notations read: “3 horses abreast—coming down the field—well for shortened to fill space marked ‘A’—ridden by one man—” and directs the artists to “[omit?] the standing horse over which the soldier is firing.” In the right margin, a notation comments, “balance of sketch ok.”

<sup>73</sup> The grisaille study for a six-sheet poster, presumably an earlier version of the composition (2009.24.21), titled “Reel on Horseback,” contains the words “new sketch” inscribed in margin. See figures.

<sup>74</sup> These inscriptions appear in the margins of figure 10, the revised *Virginia Reel* design.

<sup>75</sup> The 1905 version of the poster produced by Chaix advertising the event in France eschewed the cabin altogether and excluded the *Virginia Reel* text. Rennert says that this poster reproduced the Enquirer artwork previously produced as a one and nine sheet, which suggests this design for a six-sheet poster either was not produced or has yet to be found in a collection. See Rennert, *100 Posters*, 8, 46.

<sup>76</sup> Charles Matlack Price, *Posters: A Critical Study of the Development of Poster Design* (New York: G. W. Bricka, 1913), 369–70.

<sup>77</sup> See Massed Cavalrymen / The Maze, Circus World Museum, 2009.23.6A-H.

<sup>78</sup> See Bucking Bronchos, ca. 1898, Circus World Museum, BBWW-NL450-98-25F-2; 2009.23.3A-E.

<sup>79</sup> For discussions of Object Posters, see Meggs and Purvis, *Meggs’ History of Graphic Design*, 269–74; Stephen J. Eskilson, *Graphic Design: A New History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 108–16.

<sup>80</sup> Calkins, *Business of Advertising*, 252.

<sup>81</sup> Price, *Posters: A Critical Study*, 370.

<sup>82</sup> Calkins, *Business of Advertising*, 252.

<sup>83</sup> The Ritchie poster seems an even better example of the humorous quality Price praises. See Price, *Posters: A Critical Study*, 285.

<sup>84</sup> “An Enormous Institution that Adds to Buffalo’s Fame,” *Buffalo (NY) Courier*, Sunday, Dec. 14, 1902, 10.

<sup>85</sup> The 2013 William Weiss auction reported that a 1907 Courier print of the “I Am Coming” poster sold for \$18,975 at the auction, even outselling a rare French poster of Buffalo Bill and an eighty-inch-tall Strobridge full length poster of Cody. See “Five Buffalo Bill posters sell for a combined \$59,398 at Philip Weiss Auctions,” accessed March 23, 2020, artdaily.com.

<sup>86</sup> A grid drawn on top indicates the image was intended for reproduction as a nine-sheet poster; notes in the margins concern size and text style. Circus World Museum, 2009.22.19.

<sup>87</sup> Circus World Museum, 2009.24.22.

<sup>88</sup> See Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 456–59; Roger A. Hall, *Performing the American Frontier, 1870–1906* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 152.

<sup>89</sup> See Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 154–57; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 452–57; Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 536–37.

<sup>90</sup> Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 156.

<sup>91</sup> For discussions of this turn of events, see Hall, *Performing the American Frontier*, 146; Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 154–57; Don Russell, *The Wild West: or, A History of Wild West Shows* (Ft. Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970), 88; Russell, *Lives and Legends*, 45–57; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, 536–37.

<sup>92</sup> Marita Sturken, *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 279.

<sup>93</sup> Eskilson, *Graphic Design*, 111, 329. Furthermore, it exemplifies and prefigures modern corporate logos of the mid-to-late twentieth century that, as Eskilson has noted, descended from the German object posters of the 1910s.

<sup>94</sup> Eskilson, *Graphic Design*, 110.

<sup>95</sup> Delaney, “Advance Work,” 82.

<sup>96</sup> British Cavalry poster, Circus World Museum, 2009.23.19.

<sup>97</sup> Price, *Posters: A Critical Study*, 150. He considered Victorian circus and theatrical posters so “thoroughly hopeless in point of conception and design” that he “refused” to “resuscitate” even one example in his book.

<sup>98</sup> Price, *Posters: A Critical Study*, 232.

<sup>99</sup> Jules Chéret, Réjane Bargiel, Ségolène Le Men, *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret: De L’Affiche au Décor* (Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 2010), plate 598. Accompanying text describes the poster’s inception: During the meeting of February 19, 1890, the Board of Directors of the Musée Grévin decided that in addition to advertising in *Le Figaro* and *Le Petit Journal* for the inauguration of the Souvenir of the exhibition, a poster executed by Mr. Chéret would be placed in frames reserved by Bonnard Bidault. Chéret’s poster depicted a group of Javanese dancers on Cairo Street, and behind them, in cowboy hat, Buffalo Bill, with Solédad and Pichiqui of the troupe of Spanish dancers, and in the distance, donkeys. (Translation by the author.)

<sup>100</sup> Mary Robinson and Robert W. Rydell, “A Leap but Not a Stretch: Buffalo Bill and La Rana Nel Wild West,” Part 1, *Points West Magazine*, Spring 2015, accessed March 29, 2020, <https://centerofthewest.org/2020/02/05/points-west-la-rana-part1/>.

<sup>101</sup> Mary Robinson and Robert W. Rydell, “A Leap but Not a Stretch: Buffalo Bill and La Rana Nel Wild West,” Part 2, *Points West Magazine*, Spring 2015, accessed March 29, 2020, <https://centerofthewest.org/2020/02/05/points-west-la-rana-part2/>.

<sup>102</sup> Many writers have discussed the intersections of nostalgia, truth, and history in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West. See, for example, Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*; Russell, *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*; Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*; Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*.

<sup>103</sup> Price, *Posters: A Critical Study*, 4.

<sup>104</sup> Delaney, “Advance Work,” 226.

<sup>105</sup> Delaney, “Advance Work,” 165. Delaney terms Cody the “most photographed performer and rightful celebrity brand for the Wild West” and notes that he contracted with firms to market his name and image on such products.

<sup>106</sup> Warren, *Buffalo Bill’s America*, xi, xv.

<sup>107</sup> Brian W. Dippie, “The Moving Finger Writes: Western Art and the Dynamics of Change,” in *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*, by Jules David Prown (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 104.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **PROMOTING *PONY TRACKS*: EDWARD PENFIELD, FREDERIC REMINGTON, AND THE “WEST” IN NEW YORK, CA. 1895**

In April 1895, Harper and Brothers published *Pony Tracks*, a collection of fifteen previously published Western-themed essays written and illustrated by the venerable American artist Frederic Remington.<sup>1</sup> Brimming with action, particularly madcap gallops across deserts and mountains, the book garnered critical acclaim for its adventurous narratives, “breezy” tone, and “accurate” illustrations.<sup>2</sup> At times, the author’s illustrations received greater accolades than his literary efforts.<sup>3</sup> However, despite Remington’s acclaim as an illustrator of the American West—by 1895, his drawings, paintings, and sketches accompanied more than thirty-six articles for Harper’s publications alone—his imagery did not promote *Pony Tracks* on bold advertising posters. The creation of *that* image fell to Edward Penfield, a twenty-nine-year-old Brooklyn-born illustrator-turned Harper’s art editor just completing his part-time studies at the New York Art Students League (fig. 2.1).

Penfield had become an international sensation two years earlier after designing a poster promoting *Harper’s Monthly* in March 1893. The image, which he claimed to have produced overnight, is often credited with launching the American art poster movement.<sup>4</sup> However, Penfield’s 1895 poster for *Pony Tracks*, produced at the height of the designer’s international fame and heralding a book penned and illustrated by an equally celebrated American image-maker, has *never* received scholarly attention. No mention of the poster appears in 1895 poster reviews, either. The lithograph’s presence in major poster collections today, however, attests to

the earlier collecting efforts that preserved it alongside numerous other popular Penfield posters of the decade.<sup>5</sup>

The poster's absence from the historical record is perhaps not surprising considering that nearly 130 years after he first gained celebrity status as a graphic artist, no published biography of Penfield exists. He has, however, received sporadic scholarly attention in the latter half of the twentieth century, primarily in exhibition catalogues and essays by designer-historians who credit him with creating the conventions that continue to define American visual communication today.<sup>6</sup>

The *Pony Tracks* poster may also have been overlooked because it strikes a dissonant chord in the context of the designer's larger oeuvre. Awkward, uneasy, riddled with tension, and seemingly rudimentary in technique, the cowboy and horse depicted represent a departure from Penfield's typical subject matter, summarized by noted poster critic Charles Matlack Price as, "the various pleasant pursuits of pleasant people."<sup>7</sup> Or, as art historian Susan Wilczak put it a century later: "the rather bored genteel class."<sup>8</sup>

The poster is idiosyncratic in style as well as subject: its sketchy brushstrokes and irregular lettering far from resemble the refined, graceful outlines and carefully rendered capitals present in other Penfield posters produced in 1895. And yet, I argue the *Pony Tracks* poster merits attention not only for its idiosyncrasy, but also for what it reveals about fin-de-siècle metropolitan perceptions—particularly New York perceptions—of and responses to the American West.

Through close analysis, archival research, and an examination of the book's critical reception, this chapter explores Penfield's poster, and *Pony Tracks*' embossed cover, as products of intersecting and sometimes competing interests. To that end, this chapter considers how



Penfield's poster (and to lesser extent, the book's cover design) represents New York views of the American West while mediating between the celebrated poster artist, the famed Western illustrator, Harper and Brothers, and eastern audiences.

As advertising signs, one might expect that the poster and book cover of *Pony Tracks* at their most elemental, endorse Remington's book. I argue, however, that the poster and cover design are, in fact, ambivalent about Remington's portrayal of the West. This chapter asserts that the *Pony Tracks* poster signified not Remington's West so much as Penfield's "brand." While Harper's may have viewed the poster as advertising their product, I argue Penfield intended his poster for the hands of an admiring collector *as well as a bookshop window*. As such, the poster serves more convincingly as a form of self-promotion for its designer than as a means of selling Remington's book. Furthermore, I argue that it was not Remington's vision of the West that ultimately appeared on Penfield's poster, or on *Pony Tracks*' cover, but a West inspired by two seemingly disparate sources in fin-de-siècle New York: Native American art and popular culture.<sup>9</sup> Inspired by alternate sources, the poster and Penfield's cover design together ultimately *mediate* Remington's text, interpreting, complicating, and challenging his portrayal rather than simply celebrating it.

## I. The Poster

At its most elemental, the poster contains the phrase "Pony Tracks" scrawled across the image of a man and horse enclosed within a thick black rectangle. From a distance—say across bustling Pearl Street in lower Manhattan in 1895, the site of Harper and Brothers' corporate headquarters—the viewer might just make out the word "Pony" in an irregular crimson script. A keen eye might also detect the figure occupying the left portion of the image, and to the right, a

horse's head. In fact, only upon much closer inspection, eight feet or fewer, is the book's complete title visible. At this distance, and through a bookshop window, a persistent observer might puzzle out the small hand-lettered capitals reading "WRITTEN AND ILLUSTRATED BY" just below the horse's muzzle. Beneath those crimson lines appears a hand-drawn facsimile of Remington's signature in the same red hue. Looping black reins pass between the letterforms, muddling the legibility of the capital letters and Remington's name. By contrast, Penfield's signature occupies the lower left margin, clearly rendered in miniscule black capitals. To the right of the designer's name and beneath the image, another set of boldly drawn, inconsistently spaced capitals proclaim, "PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS NEW YORK."

Like others of its ilk, the tabloid-sized, fin-de-siècle advertising poster heralding *Pony Tracks* is quite small by twenty-first century standards. Made to promote books and magazines during the 1890s, such posters occupied bookstands and bookshop windows, and were, by necessity, diminutive in scale compared to their often expansive competitors touting circuses, Buffalo Bill, bicycles and the like from spacious hoardings and large shop windows. The textured, cream paper, atypical in the designer's oeuvre, would pass unnoticed in windows or at a distance. Only when viewed nearby are the paper's tint and tooth evident.<sup>10</sup>

Also, at close distance, a viewer may clearly discern the poster's protagonist: a white cowboy, depicted from thigh to hat brim, cropped by the left border. He wears a black shirt, his sleeve rolled back to expose his left wrist and lower forearm. His hand hovers above a holster at his hip, his thumb resting on the butt of a protruding pistol. Black strokes at his waist suggest a cartridge belt, and broad, curving black strokes texture his trousers. A red handkerchief loops around his neck, knotted in the front, and a floppy brimmed hat tilts back on his head.

Clad in a silver-mounted leather headstall, only the horse's head is visible to the cowboy's right; its diamond-shaped left eye echoes the form of the ornamental cheek piece of the headstall. The heavy black frame forming a border around the figures gives the animal the somewhat odd appearance of looking through a double window—the window of the border and the window of poster space. Alert, the bronco swivels its ears back, as if listening attentively, while observing the viewer. With brow furrowed and jetty eyebrows arched, the cowboy, too, peers intently into the distance beyond the picture space. He stands frozen in place with fingers tensed above his pistol; only his hair appears to move, as if lifted by the wind. The image's palpable tension implies a dramatic narrative of cowboy, horse, and off-screen danger, anticipating the emergence of western films a decade later.

Penfield's double portrait of cowboy and horse introduces two of the frontier types present in *Pony Tracks* but Remington's chapters in the book primarily concern military and sporting life rather than cowboys.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, the poster's subject succeeds in conveying the book's overarching narrative of life, death, and danger on the frontier through the sprawling titular script that forms the words "Pony Tracks." The letterforms flow and ebb in crimson spatters, pooling at the terminals of each vertical stroke, particularly at the base of the "P" and left crossbar of the "T." They constitute what advertising theorists Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi define as "conventional signs," that is, human-invented signs that physically refer to a conceptual dimension and that may function verbally or nonverbally.<sup>12</sup> While the words constitute a verbal sign that simultaneously signifies horse tracks *and* the contents of Remington's narrative, the form of the titular lettering comprises a nonverbal sign. Printed in a color associated with blood, life, passion, and anger in Western culture, the oozing crimson forms connote violence, bloodshed, and death.<sup>13</sup>

Penfield's blood-red script powerfully signifies a violent subtext beneath the words it literally represents. The lettering also helps the viewer to read the cowboy as anxious, his hand tense rather than relaxed, and the horse startled, with ears pinned back, rather than merely alert. Viewed in this context, the title foreshadows the deadly outcome of the narrative depicted in the adjacent illustration. In sum, Penfield's armed cowboy, anxious horse, and bloody letterforms describe the American West as a dangerous and violent masculine stage, much like Remington's own perspective of the West.

Conveying an emotional weight absent from the Latin capitals and the cursive imitation of Remington's signature, Penfield's inventive titular lettering for *Pony Tracks* is his most expressive and experimental on *any* Harper's poster. Only rarely did he deviate from conventional Roman capitals and employ lettering that formally related to a poster's subject.<sup>14</sup> The mid-1890s, in fact, marked the height of Penfield's experimentation with decorative lettering. His April and July 1895 posters for the *Monthly* contained finely rendered Gothic letterforms inspired by Eugene Grasset's celebrated Jeanne d'Arc poster (ca. 1889) in his instructor's collection (figs. 2.2–2.3).<sup>15</sup> Penfield also explored figurative lettering in his July 1894 poster for the *Monthly*. In that image, a stylish woman dressed in white intently reads the magazine held in her left hand, while extending her right to light a string of bright red firecrackers forming the word "JULY" (fig. 2.4). Editor Herbert Stuart Stone of *Chap Book* lambasted lettering formed of firecrackers as "cheap and trivial" but admitted that the artist had "done well" and the poster was "not bad."<sup>16</sup>

Critics often praised Penfield's clear, minimal text. In fact, the *Pony Tracks* poster undeniably represents for Penfield a radical and rare foray into expressive, emotionally charged characters. Rather than simply employ letterforms that related stylistically to the subject (as in

his Gothic examples) or resemble objects (like firecrackers), Penfield's *Pony Tracks* title prefigures Futurist poets' experimentation with "concrete poetry" two decades later, and the development of conceptual typography during the mid-twentieth century.<sup>17</sup>

Like conceptual typography, which comments on or interprets its content rather than merely conveying it, Penfield's lettering embodies the poster's entire narrative. As semiotician C. S. Pierce acknowledged, words may serve as both signs that "announce their objects" and symbols which "lead individuals to conceive of the object."<sup>18</sup> Here, Penfield's titling strategy does both. It announces the book *Pony Tracks* and, through form and color signifies *how* the viewer is meant to "read" the image of cowboy and horse, and by extension, Remington's West. The letterforms powerfully and emotionally convey the deadly consequences of a narrative Penfield creates through simple forms: a cowboy's fingertips on his pistol and his horse's divided attention. The lettering heightens the image's tension by revealing that *the poster's* narrative, and *Remington's western narrative* as Penfield interprets it, leads inexorably to violence, bloodshed, and death.<sup>19</sup>

If the lettering creates an atmosphere of mortal danger and portends carnage, the paper stock suggests the narrative's setting: the American West. The textured, sandy-hued surface places the cowboy and pony out-of-doors, its weathered appearance evoking the past. Just as the poster lettering contrasts with Penfield's typically neat Roman glyphs, so too the paper stock departs from the smooth, snowy white variety the designer usually employed.<sup>20</sup>

## II. Penfield's West

Penfield's poster and cover design for the book *Pony Tracks* owed much to the influences of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Native American art. Neither the Wild West nor Native

American art, however, have previously been identified as influential on the work of this key American designer. Writers, including Penfield himself, have identified international sources for his work, from European Art Nouveau designers (Toulouse Lautrec, Theophile Steinlen, and the Beggerstaff Brothers) to foreign art forms including Egyptian sarcophagi and Japanese Ukiyo-e.<sup>21</sup> I contend, however, that Penfield's *Pony Tracks* poster and cover suggest that the designer found inspiration in Indigenous art, particularly Plains painting, even if he never credited such materials.

Penfield's crude lettering, asymmetrical composition, and awkward handling of line and letterforms visually suggest instability and tension, and the awkward passages that evoke it, perhaps visually manifest Penfield's own discomfort with the subject matter as well. After all, grit, violence, and danger were not the New York illustrator's forte. Images the leisure class enjoying quiet moments in the company of *Harper's Monthly* were his stock in trade. Poster authority Jack Rennert has described Penfield's Harper's designs as subtle expressions of the "value of stillness ... the virtue of concentration."<sup>22</sup>

There is no evidence that Penfield ever visited the American West, despite being a disciple of George de Forest Brush, the celebrated "Indian Painter" of the Art Students League, following his travels among Arapaho, Crow, and Shoshone people in 1882.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the poster artist's equestrian interests centered largely on horse drawn carriages rather than the cow ponies and cavalry mounts that attracted Frederic Remington.<sup>24</sup> Sickly from childhood, Penfield was hardly one of Remington's "men with the bark on." His ill health likely prevented western adventures of the sort Remington pursued: hunting, fishing, sheep ranching, and cross-country rides with cowboys and horse soldiers.<sup>25</sup>

If not exactly an outdoorsman Penfield was a young man as dedicated to his work, and, in marked contrast to Frederic Remington, of a modest and self-deprecating temperament. Art critic Royal Cortissoz, who knew and appreciated the work of both men, noted in 1926 that Penfield “took his job seriously, but he never took himself seriously.”<sup>26</sup>

While Penfield acknowledged that his posters often depicted upper class “frivolity,” he noted that the *perception* of frivolity was his intent, and an *illusion* he worked hard to achieve. “We are a bit tired of the very serious nowadays,” he wrote in 1896, “and a little frivolity is refreshing; and yet frivolity to be successful must be most thoroughly studied.”<sup>27</sup> The seriousness with which Penfield approached poster design—even in seemingly frothy images—is evident in his attention to detail—ranging from choosing the appropriate paper stock to the placement of the finished product in bookshop windows.<sup>28</sup> Although Penfield’s posters were celebrated for their spontaneity and quick decipherability, his design and production process was in fact methodical. Spontaneity, like frivolity, was an illusion he worked hard to achieve. “Some posters, consisting of but a few lines and containing but a few broad masses of color, “ he wrote, “require a dozen drawings before simplicity and harmony of color are obtained.”<sup>29</sup> Penfield mixed the inks himself in the pressroom and, unlike most art poster designers of the decade who were not embedded within a corporate printing operation, oversaw the press run until satisfied that the posters were reproduced as he desired.<sup>30</sup> Given his attention to process and detail, Penfield’s unsteady, tension-riddled, and far-from-harmonious *Pony Tracks* poster seems less an anomaly or the awkward result of limited time, than an insightful commentary on the West as he and his urban New York audience perceived and imagined it.

As Penfield never set foot in the American West, what informed and inspired the young Brooklyn artist’s perception of cowboys and his depiction of a range rider with woolly chaps,

loose bandana, misshapen hat, cartridge belt, pistol, and startled horse? A typical illustrator might simply have drawn from the text of *Pony Tracks* or Remington's numerous images reproduced inside. Penfield clearly had other ideas. He consciously [and wisely] avoids Remington's ubiquitous and well-known cowboy types.<sup>31</sup> Instead, he conjures his cowpuncher from among those performing in New York *in person* in Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and its several imitators, from the late 1880s through the early 1900s, and *on paper* in the pervasive posters, photographs, and other advertising ephemera such shows generated.

Following its 1886 season outdoors at Staten Island and indoors at Madison Square Garden, William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West intermittently called New York City home through the early 1900s. Its initial New York appearances, as historian Sarah Blackstone has demonstrated, were critical to the show's growth into a dramatic enterprise of spectacular proportions.<sup>32</sup> Cody's extended stays in the city coincided with Penfield's student years at the Art Students' League between 1889 and 1895.

In April 1889, Cody took his troupe to Paris for six months to perform at the Exposition Internationale, followed by a European tour.<sup>33</sup> During the Wild West's excursion abroad, Penfield also traveled to Paris and visited the Exposition in 1889.<sup>34</sup> Not long after his return, he began work as a staff artist for Harper's. Another visit to Paris followed about 1892.<sup>35</sup> While abroad, both Cody and Penfield observed the European art poster movement firsthand.

The Wild West returned to New York's Ambrose Park in 1894, following a highly successful season in Chicago. Although its 1894 New York season was less lucrative than previous New York engagements, in part due to economic recession, the Wild West still commanded enthusiastic audiences.<sup>36</sup> The *New York Times* celebrated it as an educational tourist draw, on par with the "splendid Summer attractions" of Europe.<sup>37</sup> And the *Times* further



proclaimed the show's acts unique, even after nearly a decade of performances in New York City:

The Wild West always pleases. Its attractions are novel, and, as the public gradually has become accustomed to admiring them, each one tells his friends to go, with the marked result of increased audiences.<sup>38</sup>

It is improbable that Penfield would have missed seeing the Wild West in New York, and impossible that he was oblivious of its presence. Just months before Penfield drew his cowboy on the lithographic stone, the *Times* declared the Wild West “The Greatest Summer Show” and nearly 30,000 attended Cody’s performances over Labor Day weekend alone.<sup>39</sup> Many of the city’s artists and illustrators including Penfield’s esteemed instructor at the Art Students League, George de Forest Brush, frequented the Wild West throughout its New York run.<sup>40</sup> Remington’s own illustrations of cowboys at work in Theodore Roosevelt’s *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (1888) appeared in reproductions on Wild West posters although they, like his illustrations in *Pony Tracks*, seem unrelated to Penfield’s poster cowboy and startled horse (figs. 2.5–2.6). In the unlikely event that Penfield did not attend Cody’s extravaganza in New York or Paris, he could not have escaped the proliferation of advertising and press coverage that attended the Wild West wherever it played, as discussed in chapter one.

Penfield’s *Pony Tracks* poster overtly suggests that his perception of the West, or at least the “West” he “sold” as *Remington’s West*—was one largely based on Cody’s enterprise. Not only does the *Pony Tracks* poster echo a contemporary trend in theatrical posters—including Wild West posters—in which a central figure signified the performance as a whole, but Penfield seems to have modeled his protagonist on the Wild West’s cowboy performers.<sup>41</sup> Besides performing before tens of thousands of spectators in New York, Cody’s cast posed for souvenir photographs hawked at the show and ordered by mail.

Some of Cody's cowpunchers also appeared in an 1894 film made by Thomas Edison. Shot in New Jersey, the brief footage captures Wild West cowboy Lee Martin riding a bronc as it bucks vigorously inside a corral lined with an enthusiastic crowd of onlookers (fig. 2.7).<sup>42</sup> Frank Hammit, chief of Cody's cowboys, encourages the horse to buck by firing a pistol into the ground several times. In the footage, Martin wears a loose-fitting button-up shirt and a broad brimmed hat with a "Montana peak" style crease—a nearly identical costume to that worn by Penfield's poster cowboy.

Penfield's figure even more closely resembles Angus McPhee, who posed with Lee Martin and other members of the Wild West's cowboy troupe in souvenir photographs made by Brooklyn portrait photographer Charles E. Stacy (1863–1937) and distributed in 1894 at Brooklyn's Ambrose Park arena.<sup>43</sup> In one image McPhee, accompanied by Lee Martin and Gus Uhl, poses astride his horse, wearing a hat with a "Montana peak" crease, bandana, and wooly chaps (fig. 2.8). The bandana loosely knotted about Penfield's cowboy's neck echoes the placement of McPhee's low strung neckerchief. The texture on Penfield's cowpuncher's leggings also clearly evokes McPhee's wooly chaps in the photograph. And Penfield's pony swivels its ears back, much like McPhee's horse. Like Penfield's poster cowboy and unlike many of the cowboys depicted in the Wild West's souvenir photographs, McPhee appears clean-shaven. In fact, he resembles the masculine "type" Penfield frequently depicted on Harper's posters and, later, in automobile and clothing advertisements: beardless, with boyish yet handsome features, and broad, muscled shoulders.

Absent from the photograph of McPhee and two of his colleagues is the pistol and cartridge belt crucial to the narrative implied in Penfield's poster. However, Buffalo Bill's cowboys did appear armed in promotional photographs, and they certainly wore sidearms in the

arena. In fact, they on occasion posed for artists wearing them! A circa 1900 photograph depicts three of Cody's performers—two cowboys and one Native—posing for an unidentified artist who, with cigar dangling from his mouth, draws on a sketchpad propped on the trunk in front of him (fig. 2.9). The artist's muse, one of Cody's cowboys, stand on a box and holds his right arm behind him, exposing the pistol hanging from the cartridge belt around his waist. Like Penfield's cowboy, he also wears wooly chaps, a loosely knotted bandana, and hat angled across his forehead. Canvas strung behind the three models eliminates the background, isolating each man against a solid ground, paralleling the backdrop of Penfield's poster. (The artist renders the cowboy isolated from any indication of a background on his sketch paper as well.) This photograph, like those made by Stacy at Ambrose Park, make the ambiguous patterned passages in Penfield's poster instantly recognizable. The strokes on the cowboy's trousers are not merely decorative patterns but abstractions of wooly chaps; the vertical hashes around his waist are an abstraction of a cartridge belt. Penfield's cowboy is likewise an abstraction of an abstraction, a simplified representation of Cody's cowboys, who themselves, as working cowboys-turned performers, symbolized for audiences in the U.S. and abroad "real" cowboys in the American West.

Ultimately, whether Penfield's poster cowboy portrays McPhee, or a generic cowboy drawn from a Wild West performance or souvenir photograph, or formally posed before his sketchbook, is less important than the fact that Penfield's representation of the West clearly derives from the cowboy image put forth by Buffalo Bill's Wild West. In fact, it seems to depict the moment just before the enacted action and gunplay that held New York audiences in rapt attention. As the *New York Times* described it, in Cody's dramatized new version of the West

organized into “four epochs,” the “third epoch” concerned cattle ranching. The scene, wrote a *New York Times* reporter,

illustrat[ed] the cowboy in his glory, riding the bucking mustang and lassoing the bounding and bumptious steer. Suddenly comes the curdling whoop of the Comanches and Kiowas ... who go into the hair-raising business with a painstaking enthusiasm ... Just at the most exciting point ... a troop of cowboys arrive and the noble red men are sent to the happy hunting grounds in a body.<sup>44</sup>

By depicting a cowboy type already familiar to New Yorkers, through dime novels and stage plays and further heroized and authenticated in Cody’s arena, Penfield’s poster replaces the soldiers and vaqueros who form Remington’s literary protagonists in *Pony Tracks* with a different kind of hero. That is, he supplants Remington’s characters with real cowpunchers turned *actors*, the latter more familiar to urban New Yorkers—and to Penfield himself. In the context of the Wild West, the unidentified danger outside picture space is clearly implied to be neither nature or wildlife, but human: “Comanches and Kiowas” according to the *Times*. Even the poster’s gritty brown surface suggests not just dry western landscapes but the brown expanse of Cody’s arena.

While Penfield’s poster depicts a cowboy modeled after Buffalo Bill’s performers rather than the vaqueros of *Pony Tracks*, Remington’s book primarily celebrates U.S. military activities in the West, a topic reflected in the design embossed on *Pony Tracks*’ front cover. Although unsigned (typical of its period), and unmentioned in extant scholarship on the artist, the cover is undoubtedly Penfield’s work. He occasionally designed book covers for Harper’s and the limited-yet-vibrant inks, dynamic composition, and emphasis on contour lines echo his poster style.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, the scrawled titular lettering and facsimile of Remington’s signature on Penfield’s poster also appear on the cover, albeit scaled down and embossed in gold rather than crimson.

Rendered in red, yellow, blue, green, and black, the cover emboss represents a mounted Plains warrior galloping away from a cavalryman, whose horse is branded “US.” (fig. 2.10). The scene distills the recurrent motif of chasing, racing, and galloping that characterizes the pages of *Pony Tracks*. However, it significantly does so in an abstracted Plains Indian—*not* Euro-American—vernacular, through Penfield’s appropriation and mimicking of Plains painting and drawing. In fact, the cover design evokes crisp, carefully rendered “ledger art” sold to tourists by Kiowa and Cheyenne prisoners-of-war incarcerated at St. Augustine, Florida between May 1875 and April 1878, when Penfield was an adolescent.<sup>46</sup> By the time *Pony Tracks* appeared, examples of ledger painting were readily available in museum collections and published sources.

A bonneted Plains warrior gallops above the swooping title and the stylized cavalry trooper rides below. Hoof prints (“pony tracks”) dot the negative space behind the warrior’s horse in an arc from upper left to lower left. The soldier, his horse at a run, snaps a long whip in the air, following the tracks. Specific details, some of which give way to artistic license, suggest military action: the warrior grasps a long lance in his right hand while his rifle magically discharges as it hovers over his horse’s flank. Sitting erect in the saddle, his feet ensconced in hooded military-style stirrups, the trooper pursues his quarry unarmed, save for the seemingly incongruous undulating whip.

Blue stripes run down the warrior’s chest, arms, and leg, evoking—like the gold line that runs down his pursuer’s leg—the braid on tailored military jackets and trousers. During the nineteenth century military jackets were prized trade goods among Northern Plains warriors.<sup>47</sup> The red panels that hang from the rider’s waist may represent a breechcloth or Penfield’s version of the red stroud sashes worn by members of the Dog Soldier societies, military organizations of high ranking warriors fielded by many Plains nations.<sup>48</sup>

With mane flying and hooves splayed to imply a fast gallop, the Native figure's horse also appears dressed for battle: red cloth binds its tail and a scalp dangles from its bridle. Anatomical details indicate that both horses are male. The addition of the phalluses, along with the horses' clearly delineated hocks and bound tails, suggest Penfield may emulate Apsáalooke (Crow), Kiowa, or Oceti Sakowin (The Great Sioux Nation), painting.<sup>49</sup> The cover, like the poster, represents Penfield's, and his peers', perception of the West as primarily a masculine domain. Remington himself dedicated the book to "the fellows who rode the ponies who made the tracks."

In her pioneering study of Plains Indian pictography, Karen Petersen noted,

Since the purpose of painting was to communicate events or record facts, an economy of expression was employed that amounted to a pictorial shorthand. It consisted of a set of conventionalizations—simplifications of natural forms ... [Only those details essential in communicating the message were included] ... All irrelevant details were omitted."<sup>50</sup>

Conventions or "pictorial shorthand" of Plains pictography identified by Petersen (and emulated in Penfield's design) include an emphasis on specific features, a minimization of traits considered less important, and symbols that could represent abstract ideas *or* concrete objects.<sup>51</sup> Additionally, Plains painters represented the past and present simultaneously in a single image through pictorial devices including—as in the case of the *Pony Tracks* cover—hoof tracks.<sup>52</sup> Native pictographers also simplified color, applying non-naturalistic hues in "clear, flat tones;" horses, Petersen notes, might be depicted in blue or green, perhaps referencing the blue roans prized on the northern Plains.<sup>53</sup> While Penfield's horses are both rendered in black outlines, he traces the Indigenous figure in yellow and cavalryman's profile in red; the whip that serpentine away from the soldier's hand is also red—the same crimson, in fact, as the bloody lettering that sprawls across his poster.

These details of dress, accouterments, and style suggest Penfield based his drawing off of one or more images of high-ranking fighters found in Plains Indian painting. Although his earliest exposure to hide painting and ledger art may have been in museum or government publications, Penfield likely encountered Plains art through his teacher, George de Forest Brush.<sup>54</sup> This seems probable as Brush introduced Penfield to modern European Impressionism and design and a poster in Brush's collection inspired his student's aforementioned use of Gothic lettering in poster designs.

Penfield's appropriation of an Indigenous visual language also reflects Brush's influence. Brush created canvases that used "Indian" subjects to tell broadly human stories.<sup>55</sup> Like other enthusiasts of Indigenous culture of the period, he amassed a collection of artifacts including two tepees that he used as studios and occasionally lived in. And, crucial to this discussion, Brush traveled to Fort Marion, Florida, to visit the Southern Plains artists incarcerated there.<sup>56</sup>

Penfield's cover design recalls figures in Brush's acclaimed 1884 oil on canvas, *The Picture Writer's Story*, also known as *The Picture Writer* (fig. 2.11). In this work, an elder "Indian" artist gestures to pictographs of horses and warriors painted on a hide as two reclining youths look on, seemingly a metaphor for Brush's own role as an art instructor. The arrangement of overlapping pictographic forms of riders and horses on the painting-within-a-painting are echoed by the overlapping pictographic forms of figures, horses, and accouterments in Penfield's cover design.

Mary Lublin convincingly argues that Brush's painting-within-a-painting represents his interpretation of pictography on a buffalo robe owned by fellow painter William de la Montague Cary.<sup>57</sup> If Penfield's cover design derives from Brush's canvas, it represents an interpretation of Plains painting twice removed. Compared to Brush's simpler, more elemental figures, made of

sienna and rust drawn on a painted facsimile of hide, Penfield's forms are embossed in vibrant red, yellow, and electric blue on a brown leather cover. In short, Penfield's characters transform Brush's abstraction of Plains painting into poster style, while employing the same "idealized line," as Lubin describes it, characteristic of pictograms.<sup>58</sup> What Penfield admires, it seems, in Plains Indian painting is the outline—the same "idealized" contour line that he and his art poster predecessors in Paris frequently adopted.

But Penfield's cover also emulates the organizational structure of Cheyenne ledger art. Native American art historian Candace Greene notes Cheyenne ledger painting often depicts two figures in interaction, a compositional structure that "emphasizes the opposition between [the two figures and] promotes comparison."<sup>59</sup> Penfield depicts two characters in opposition, albeit positioned vertically due to the design constraints of the cover, rather than in the bilateral arrangement common in Cheyenne compositions. In Cheyenne drawing, Greene notes, the protagonist or dominant figure typically (but not always) appeared at right and the image read from right to left, toward the enemy or recipient of the protagonist's action.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, in Cheyenne hunting scenes, the hunter generally was placed on the right with the game he pursued on the left. Such a reading would suggest the cavalryman is Penfield's hero, and the (Cheyenne?) warrior above the (weaker) enemy.

However, Penfield's audience was largely urban, privileged, and white, the same audience to which he himself belonged. Thus, while he adopted a Plains pictographic style, his vertically aligned cover seems largely structured according to Western notions of visual hierarchy. The warrior is rendered significantly larger, in more colors, and in greater detail than the cavalryman. Positioned above both the soldier and book title, he assumes the role of protagonist in the Western compositional sense. The smaller cavalryman, positioned lower on the



picture plane and with just enough detail to identify him, commands less attention, according to Western conceptions of visual hierarchy. Thus, Penfield's cover portrays the Native figure, not the cavalryman, as the most important figure in the image.

Penfield also presents the soldier antipathetically, through depicting the man raising his arm as if to whip his horse.<sup>61</sup> While abuse of horses was not condoned in U.S. cavalry nor were whips a regulation military item, Penfield takes artistic license, including what resembles a "bull whip," commonly used to move cattle and horse herds or individual animals in stockyards. Penfield's sympathy for animals was well documented. He frequently depicted animals—especially cats and horses—in poster art and illustrations and, as one historian notes, was "fanatical" in his fondness for these creatures.<sup>62</sup> While Remington's reportage on a bull fight in Mexico for Harper's resulted in his painting of a bloodied bull goring a horse in his oil, *Bull Fight in Mexico* (1889), Penfield denounced a bullfight he witnessed in Spain as violent and cruel.<sup>63</sup>

Penfield's minimization of and relatively plain, if not subtly negative, portrayal of the cavalry rider radically departs from Remington's celebration of soldiering. In the eight military essays included in *Pony Tracks*, Remington continually extols the Army; he describes cavalrymen as "punctilious [and respectful of] forms [who] always do the dignified and proper thing at the particular instant."<sup>64</sup> By contrast, as Fred Erisman notes, Remington portrays Native Americans as "brutal, dishonest, and depraved, a totally animalistic being;" in one essay Remington expresses regret for not having witnessed the Wounded Knee Massacre and denounces the federal government's "sensitivity" toward the "savages."<sup>65</sup> In *Pony Tracks*, Erisman writes, Remington's "sympathies are with the Army and he wastes no love on either the Indian or the bureaucrat;" not until later in the decade would Remington's attitudes—as

expressed in subsequent publications—temper toward Native Americans.<sup>66</sup> I argue, then, that Penfield’s cover design ultimately questions, if not outright challenges, Remington’s vilification of Native Americans in *Pony Tracks* and his portrayal of U.S. cavalymen as the “heroes” of western narratives. It challenges the text it accompanies through visual hierarchy, through depicting the soldier whipping the air if not his horse, and through the appropriation of an indigenous visual language that Penfield clearly admired.

In fact, Penfield may have been among the first of several of Art Students League-trained modernists who found inspiration in Native American art, most notably the Abstract Expressionists and Indian Space Painters of the mid-twentieth century.<sup>67</sup> Like Brush, who viewed his own depiction of Plains “picture writing” as a metaphor for his own work as an artist, Penfield’s cover implies parallels between the communication work of Indigenous pictographers and himself, and between Plains pictography and effective poster design. In fact, Plains pictography embodied qualities Penfield and art poster critics of his time considered essential to effective design. Although they served vastly different cultural purposes, both functioned through narrative. Penfield wrote that successful posters “tell [a] *story* at once”<sup>68</sup> (emphasis mine). Penfield’s posters, as one enthusiastic critic described them, conveyed a “directness of *story* as expressed by the main figures”<sup>69</sup> (emphasis mine). Likewise, oral narrative spurred ledger art and hide painting.

Penfield also undoubtedly admired Plains pictography because it communicated “immediately,” with minimal extraneous detail, in a manner not unlike the poster medium. As Lublin writes, during the late nineteenth century, pictograms,

were perceived to be a ‘more direct expression of ideas to the eye.’ ... Simpler and more descriptive than the abstract, linear characters in Western alphabets, pictograms were considered the beginning of both visual art and written language.... They signaled man’s impulse to create art—to interpret fully plastic forms in space perceived by the eye into two-dimensional pictorial symbols, while highlighting linguistic capabilities, a quintessential human trait.<sup>70</sup>

Likewise, art posters were described as most effective—a “direct expression of ideas to the eye”—when they instantaneously communicated their narrative without additional explanation. Penfield considered posters effective only if they communicated in a single moment. “A design that needs study is not a poster,” he asserted, “no matter how well it is executed.”<sup>71</sup> Period commentator, poster critic, and Penfield enthusiast Charles Matlack Price agreed: “One must not stop to read a poster—it must be seen and understood in its entirety at a glance.”<sup>72</sup> Thus late nineteenth century posters communicated through visual shorthand. By depicting pictographs on the *Pony Tracks* cover, Penfield pictures relationships between storytelling (Remington’s narrative) and Plains pictographs and between Plains artists (pictographers) and himself (poster designer).

Plains painting and drawing not only shared a communication purpose with art posters but also aesthetic values. Price asserted that effective posters made use of flat areas of limited colors with the poster’s “action” occurring at the surface of the picture plane, as if “at the front of the stage.”<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, he celebrated posters that eschewed “three distances”—foregrounds, middle grounds, and backgrounds—and omitted shading and shadows.<sup>74</sup> Likewise, as Karen Petersen has pointed out, Native prisoners at Fort Marion applied color to their drawings in “flat tones,” thereby making use of a “pictorial shorthand” that compressed time and three-dimensional space onto the front of the picture plane.<sup>75</sup>

Ultimately, Price praised Penfield’s work for the very qualities that could be applied to Plains painting and ledger drawings at the time. He applauded Penfield’s robust compositions, with “strong color” applied in “large flat areas” surrounded by “bold outlines” with no “confusing elements” or “puzzling distances or distracting backgrounds.”<sup>76</sup> And he advised poster artists to eliminate extraneous detail, arguing that “the simplest poster is always the most

effective.”<sup>77</sup> Fifty years later, Petersen likewise characterized the Ft. Marion drawings as communicating through the “simplifications of natural forms” and omission of “irrelevant details.”<sup>78</sup>

When Price published his critical study of European and American posters in 1913, Penfield had created another cover design clearly indebted to Native American art. Penfield emulated Northwest Coast formline in a striking illustration that appeared on the April 6, 1907 cover of *Collier's Magazine* (figs. 2.12–2.13). In the enigmatic image, titled *Lord of the North*, a polar bear faces away from the viewer, toward an ice-blue background.<sup>79</sup> A rectangular block, open on the end nearest the viewer, rests in the foreground, spilling a mysterious black liquid—or perhaps a shadow—from the far corner. The box resembles an upturned bentwood box; organic red and black ovoid forms cover the side that faces the viewer. The undulating curves are subtly echoed in the elegant contours that give form to the bear. Penfield's rendering of the overturned box seems inspired by Northwest Coast boxes acquired by the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) prior to 1890 and which he likely viewed while visiting the museum to arrange photography for *Harper's Monthly* illustrations during the mid-1890s. In fact, the tall, narrow form of Penfield's box resembles a Haida sewing box in the museum's collection while his interpretation of formline seems inspired by a Tlingit Brown Bear box and other Northwest Coast boxes in the AMNH's collection (figs. 2.14). These boxes, according to museum staff, were all likely on view during the 1890s.<sup>80</sup>

Here, in one image, Penfield's own pen demonstrates a direct relationship between Indigenous design and his own illustration; the inspiration for the linear quality throughout the page is linked directly to Northwest Coast design. In that sense, the black form spilling from the edge of the box resembles ink flowing from an upturned inkwell, and further suggests a “well of

inspiration” from which Penfield “drew” his own highly conventionalized style. His admiration of Indigenous design is further supported by the fact that the cover bears no relationship whatsoever to the contents of the magazine.

Nearly a century later, when designer-historian David Gibson defined art poster style of the 1890s as containing “large, flat areas of color, showing figures and objects floating in the picture plane rather than with detailed illustrations located firmly in a specified setting,”<sup>81</sup> he might have been describing Plains pictography—or Northwest Coast formline. The 1890s artist-designers, he argued “transformed” the appearance of advertising posters through,

a new visual vocabulary that resulted in the earliest examples of the use of abstraction in commercial art [and thus] established the notion that bold, simplified shapes have an impact well-suited to the advertising poster and helped to create its modern definition.<sup>82</sup>

I contend that the “new visual vocabulary” established by Penfield at the forefront of innovative modernist poster design in New York, and the subsequent adoption of abstraction in commercial art, was indebted to Indigenous sources previously unacknowledged by scholars or even Penfield himself.<sup>83</sup> Penfield’s silence on Indigenous sources may not be surprising. Both he and his champion, Charles M. Price, claimed Penfield was unfamiliar with French posters prior to 1893 even though he certainly was exposed to French design through George de Forest Brush and in his own travels to France. Price argued, unconvincingly, that Penfield’s posters following his trip to Paris in the early 1890s were,

not influenced by French masters to any degree whatever [since all his] training [was at the Art Students League and the] only element of outside inspiration ... came from a source at once unexpected and bizarre ... [the] treatment of figures on the Egyptian sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum, a treatment bold and flat of mass, with cleverly contrasted colors and heavy black outlines—the first posters in all the world.<sup>84</sup>

No doubt Price attempted to bolster Penfield’s (and American designers’) claim to innovation by downplaying French influence. However, in multiple posters, Penfield depicted

calico cats that appear lifted straight from Swiss-French designer Théophile Steinlen's celebrated Art Nouveau posters (figs. 2.15–2.16). As Penfield did not acknowledge Steinlen's influence in writing, perhaps he felt the images communicated the acknowledgement and respect for his Swiss peer for themselves. As one 1899 commentator observed, "Mr. Penfield [has] a naturally modest inclination to express his artistic views rather through his work than conversation."<sup>85</sup> Penfield's admiration for Indigenous design, I argue, must be viewed in a similar light. Through his work, rather than words, he acknowledges parallels between poster artists and Plains pictographers who sought to communicate to their audiences through an abstracted visual language that transmitted the most important information through an economy of highly-conventionalized forms.

Penfield's silence about his trips to the American Museum of Natural History or interest in Native visual languages may also derive from the attitudes of his time, a period when Euro-American accounts of Native Americans, including *Pony Tracks*, often were couched in pejorative terms. During the late 1880s, while Penfield studied at the Art Students League, New York newspaper accounts reported that the Apache prisoners of war incarcerated at St. Augustine had become a popular tourist attraction.<sup>86</sup> Much later, after the captives had been removed, the author of another article reported that the walls of the empty cells at Fort Marion and St.

Augustine, were:

covered with rude pictures of horses and men, no doubt valuable hieroglyphics describing how Squawking Hen fought and defeated the valiant Bleating Goat, but unintelligible to the ordinary visitor.<sup>87</sup>

The racism and ignorance underlying such commentary denigrated not only Native people but also Indigenous visual expression as "unintelligible" and valueless to whites. As Edmund Carpenter noted later:

Before the Depression years, most Whites regarded Native American art as heathenistic, fetishistic, and above all, extremely ugly. Only the anthropologists took it seriously, but they treated it as ‘ethnographic specimens,’ not ‘fine art’.<sup>88</sup>

In the context of such widespread beliefs, Penfield’s cover design not only betrays its maker’s admiration for Plains painting but also challenges the derogatory attitudes toward Indigenous people prevalent at the time and espoused in Remington’s text. By contrast, the embossed gold title, surrounded by representations of Native pictography, draws parallels between Penfield’s design, Indigenous design, and the book as aesthetic objects worthy of veneration, admiration, and acquisition by perceptive collectors.

### **III. The Poster for Penfield**

I posit that Penfield’s “Pony Tracks” poster and book cover chiefly addressed savvy collectors and that, rather than advertise the West of Frederic Remington or Buffalo Bill, they helped their creator construct his own “brand.”

By the 1890s Americans treated major artists as celebrities.<sup>89</sup> As Sarah Burns argues, “an intriguing personality, a distinctive style, with the power to attract and hold attention on exhibition walls, in the social world, and on the pages of newspapers and magazines” became the “most dynamic form of advertisement” for Gilded Age painters.<sup>90</sup> Self-advertisement, she notes,

coincided with the establishment of an entirely commercial and secular art market in which dealers retailed aesthetic products ... relying on ... supply and demand, the luster of famous (or soon-to-be) names, and ... fashion and novelty.<sup>91</sup>

“Fashion” and “novelty” were concepts associated with the posters of Penfield and his contemporaries. Art poster commentators likened Penfield’s posters to visual fireworks. As Charles Price wrote, to be effective, an art poster:

must be well designed [and] chic, bizarre, an inspiration—a flash of thought in the brain-pan, flaring up in a blaze of line and color, however short-lived. It should be pyrotechnic, and should

depend for its impression, like a rocket, upon the rushing flight of its motion, and the brilliant, even if momentary, surprise of its explosion.<sup>92</sup>

Thus, Penfield's color schemes were praised by poster commentators like Charles Hiatt as "pleasantly audacious."<sup>93</sup> In fact, his *Pony Tracks* poster may represent a response to critics like Herbert Stone of *The Chap-Book*, who only months earlier disparaged most of Penfield's book posters as not "pyrotechnic" or "audacious" enough. Stone wrote in October 1894:

Besides his magazine posters, Mr. Penfield has made a fair showing of book posters and even of one or two cover designs, done in the same broad style as his other work. *But his book posters, with one or two exceptions, are not real posters:* he has simply done decorations for ordinary announcement sheets, as in the case of Mr. Davis's 'Our English Cousins' and the 'Women's Conquest of New York,' which, *while being clever, are certainly not to be classed with his magazine designs.*<sup>94</sup> (emphasis mine)

The *Pony Tracks* poster, however, exhibits and to some degree surpasses, Penfield's magazine designs in experimentation through its use of conceptual lettering and its subtly subversive commentary on Remington's book and the West. It applies an art poster style—characterized by limited text and colors, the merger of lettering into layout, asymmetrical composition, and the novel and prominent inclusion of the designer's signature—to book poster design. It also marks a transition in Penfield's work. Prior to *Pony Tracks*, as Stone noted, Penfield's book posters rarely received acclaim, his poster for R. D. Blackmore's *Perly-Cross* (1894), being an exception. After *Pony Tracks*, Penfield designed book posters exhibited "poster style," throughout the rest of the decade. The *Pony Tracks* poster also reflects Penfield's recognition that each image contributed to his "brand identity," a reality he clearly acknowledged by 1905. That year, in a biography for the *Artists Year Book*, Penfield identified his contribution to American art as:

Posters and decorative illustration. Designed the posters for Harper's Magazine for a number of years. These were done in an entirely new style and were imitated extensively and gave rise to the poster craze in America.<sup>95</sup>



Amazingly, Penfield not only claimed himself responsible for an “entirely new style,” excluding allusions to any foreign or Indigenous sources, but he even took credit for fostering the entire poster movement in the United States! His statement also reveals his awareness of just how popular his style was in the late nineteenth century. During a decade when poster artists, including Penfield, became celebrities, the *Pony Tracks* poster advertises Penfield’s style, and his ability to claim others’ imagery as his own. This is evidenced by his reproduction of Frederic Remington’s signature at center and in his own moniker, more clearly inscribed in capitals at lower left. Remington was clearly the better known artist in 1895.<sup>96</sup> By signing his work, Penfield, as poster historian Wilczak acknowledges, adopted the practice of French poster designers Toulouse Lautrec and Jules Chéret, “a distinction not given to earlier American poster artists.”<sup>97</sup> Wilczak also argues that Penfield’s work:

supports the conclusion that not only were these posters a means of advertising, but they were also works of art in their own right. ... Penfield felt justified in promoting his own artwork at the same time he promoted his employer’s product.<sup>98</sup>

Penfield’s signature on the poster was not only an act of self-promotion, but also an expression of his intent that the work be viewed as art.<sup>99</sup> The inclusion of a poster artist’s signature distinguished to viewers and especially, collectors, “art” posters from the scores of unattributed, run-of-the-mill “commercial” posters produced by anonymous lithographers employed by period printing companies.<sup>100</sup>

Other details also suggest Penfield aimed his *Pony Tracks* poster at enthusiasts and collectors. As previously noted, the text—ostensibly the most important part of the advertisement in terms of announcing the availability of Remington’s book—is illegible until the viewer is within reading distance. Similarly, the paper stock’s tactility suggests its function as a collectible object, intended for the hands and eyes of discerning collectors who would notice and appreciate

at close range Penfield's attention to the texture and tint of the paper, even if passers-by did not. Penfield's control over details of paper stock and tint was unusual for poster artists of the period. But in 1895, Harper's art department was housed in the same building as its presses, affording him more input into the production process, from mixing inks to supervising printing, than granted most designers of his time.<sup>101</sup>

Penfield's visual quotations also support the idea that his posters addressed discerning collectors who would catch his references and visual puns. Penfield mimicked artists he admired: Eugene Grasset, Theophile Steinlen, Egyptian muralists, and, as this chapter argues, Northwest Coast carvers and Plains painters, among others.<sup>102</sup> Poster enthusiasts and poster collectors would recognize Steinlen's cats in Penfield's poster calendar and Grasset's Jeanne d'Arc in Penfield's Joan of Arc. Likewise, Penfield's friends and associates at Harper's would recognize his secret inclusion of the young author and Penfield's friend, Richard Harding Davis, in the November 1895 *Harper's Monthly* poster.<sup>103</sup> That image also seems self-referential, a recasting of Penfield's cowboy from the recently printed *Pony Tracks* poster as New York sophisticates (fig. 2.17). The poster depicts a fashionably dressed young couple observing an equally stylish steed at the National Horse Show at Madison Square Garden. To the left, the horse peeks out from behind a stall door, bedecked in an orange and green tartan hood. Although more simply—and less self-consciously—attired in a western bridle and curb bit, Penfield's *Pony Tracks* equine, too, engages the viewer and cowboy through a double window of picture space and black border. The tongue-in-cheek allusions to other artists, friends, and his own work function as sort of visual inside jokes, coded information only recognized by Penfield's most devoted fans.

In fact, despite the obvious care with which Penfield crafted his posters, many of them never reached Harper's intended audience, instead reaching Penfield's audience of poster

collectors. As Finlay asserts, many booksellers “never displayed publishers’ posters at all, saving them in mint condition for favorite customers.”<sup>104</sup> Some publishers acknowledged the collector’s market for such posters and sold them directly to enthusiasts, advertising remainders in journals like *The Chap-Book* and *The Century*. In fact, most book and magazine posters were “never intended to be posted at all in the most literal sense”; with rare exceptions, they were intended for bookshops and newsstands frequented by book buyers.<sup>105</sup> Even then, the sheer numbers of posters printed for the book and magazine trade precluded the display of all but a few and limited the usefulness of the genre as an advertising vehicle.<sup>106</sup> Nevertheless, art posters successfully promoted the artists who made them, if not the books they advertised. Thus Penfield reflected with pride a decade later that his posters “were done in an entirely new style” that “gave rise to the poster craze in America.”<sup>107</sup>

#### **IV. The Poster for Remington**

As I have demonstrated, Penfield’s poster and cover design for *Pony Tracks* complicate Remington’s portrayal of the West in the book. Regardless of Penfield’s awareness or intent, his designs challenge Remington’s portrayal by alluding to alternate (i.e. Indigenous) perspectives of the events narrated in the text and by visually acknowledging the influence of Buffalo Bill’s theatrics on urban perceptions of the American West.

If Remington even recognized the potential conflicts with his vision posed by Penfield’s poster, he possessed little or no control over its content. Extant correspondence suggests that in the end, the book, rather than the poster, concerned Remington the most. If 1895 was a good year for Penfield, it was a banner year for Remington in a decade of “almost continual triumph.”<sup>108</sup>

Not only did Harper's publish the first book he both wrote and illustrated, the year also marked his debut as a sculptor.

Remington was proud, boastful even, of the public reception for *Pony Tracks*. He wrote to American journalist Poultney Bigelow on August 19, 1894, "I ... go to Canada [this fall] when I will have a book [P.T. anthology] by Frederic Remington with royalties, perquisites [sic], and appurtenances [sic] thereto."<sup>109</sup> He also sent a copy of the book to the muckraking journalist and western novelist Alfred Henry Lewis with a letter that expressed his desire to "crow."<sup>110</sup> Remington claimed his boasting was the result of having reduced his consumption of alcohol over the past 18 months. However, as he enclosed his note inside the front cover of *Pony Tracks* (hot off the press in fall 1895), he was also clearly boasting to a fellow western writer about the publication of his first book.

In addition to making his debut as book author and sculptor in 1895, Remington illustrated seventeen articles, six of which he also authored. Twelve of those articles appeared in Harper's publications, seven in the *Weekly* and five in the *Monthly*.<sup>111</sup> The quantity of illustrations Remington churned out for Harper and Brothers during the early and mid-1890s suggest Penfield and Remington must have corresponded frequently (and perhaps, one would expect, about the promotion of *Pony Tracks*). Remington maintained regular correspondence with the writers whose works he illustrated and the art editors of his patron magazines.<sup>112</sup> Penfield's extant correspondence also reveals him to have been a recurrent, if terse, correspondent with the sources of photographs, illustrations, and texts for the *Monthly* and *Weekly*. His numerous brief messages to the photographer Frances Johnston in particular, some canceling photography requests made only the previous day, hint at Penfield's frenetic pace.<sup>113</sup> Extant correspondence between Remington and Harper's *Monthly* author Casper Whitney,

whose serial “On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds” Remington illustrated and Penfield promoted with a poster prior to its first installment in the January 1896 issue, reveals that Penfield and Remington did write each other.<sup>114</sup> The whereabouts of such missives, however, remain unclear today.<sup>115</sup>

Even had Remington written concerning the poster, Harper and Brothers had the final say over the appearance and advertising of Remington’s book, according to the publishing contract for *Pony Tracks*. The agreement, dated January 14, 1895, states the firm would publish the work in “such a style as they deem best suited to its sale.”<sup>116</sup> To that end the book appeared in an edition of two-thousand copies “handsomely printed” on “white heavyweight paper.”<sup>117</sup> Even the great variance in style between Remington’s illustrations and Penfield’s poster was not unusual at the time. Even in rare instances when works by celebrated illustrators like Remington were appropriated for promotional posters, the creators of such images were rarely consulted about the modification of their images.<sup>118</sup>

Despite Remington’s lack of control over the design of the posters and covers of his books, and the fact that he “rarely” advised publishers on marketing strategies,<sup>119</sup> extant correspondence suggests that he was interested and invested in both. In a letter to Harper and Brothers on January 19, 1900, for example, he applauded the silhouetted forest bedecking the cloth shell of *Men with the Bark On*, noting, “The cover is all right—couldn’t be better.”<sup>120</sup> The previous year Remington suggested in a letter to J. Henry Harper, that his book, *Sun Down Leflare*, be priced at \$1.25, and complained that his books were not selling at “the news stands of the hotels and rail-road stations,” but only in bookshops where they were “not available for the popular exposure.”<sup>121</sup>

At times, Harper and Brothers readily acquiesced to Remington's requests. In May 1898, as he churned out copy and illustrations for *Harper's Weekly* with abandon on the eve of the U.S. invasion of Cuba and the War with Spain, Remington penned Henry Harper with undisguised glee: "Dear Sir: --How do you like the work I am turning in now[?] Some more goes today—protect me against the blight of the 'half-page' oh Worshipful One..."<sup>122</sup> Delighted to oblige his productive war correspondent, Harper responded by telegraph: "Mark your double page this week and triple next."<sup>123</sup> After the war, Harper eagerly accommodated Remington's desire for a "small book" of selected stories titled *Men with the Bark On*.<sup>124</sup> The publisher rushed the book into print in just four months, a reflection of the ongoing public demand for his artist-correspondent's work.

In the end, while Remington may not have influenced the design of Edward Penfield's poster and book cover for *Pony Tracks*, Penfield's designs likely had little effect on public perceptions about the West. In fact, Penfield's poster may have merely reinforced New Yorkers' perceptions of cowboys as they concurrently appeared in the popular Buffalo Bill's Wild West. As advertising theorists Beasley and Danesi explain, advertising rarely changes perceptions, but merely reinforces those already held.<sup>125</sup> Besides, Remington's words and pictures had already defined the West for many easterners. As artist and critic, William Coffin, wrote in *Scribner's Magazine* in 1892, easterners unquestionably "formed their conception of what the Far-Western life is like" largely from Remington's images and, should they travel west, they "would expect to see men and places looking exactly as Mr. Remington has drawn them."<sup>126</sup> Coffin's comments support art historian, Sarah Burns' contention that the media held "persuasive power" on public opinion and perception in Gilded Age America.<sup>127</sup> She argues that:

Remington's highly edited, fanatically masculine, and flamboyantly racist imagery primed visitors to see his West, regardless of any evidence to the contrary in the 'real' West that lay before their eyes. Looking for Remington's version of the western scene, they edited their own

perceptions to conform with his. The desire to believe in this west rather than some other (a west of oppressive prejudice against native Americans, for example, or a west of bustling, domestic towns rather than vast, primitive spaces) would also help solidify the authority of Remington's representations.<sup>128</sup>

If viewers conformed their perceptions of the West to Remington's portrayal, then Penfield's insertion of a theatrical, performer-cowboy into the conversation, or his adoption of Plains Indian visual communication would have passed largely unnoticed [except, perhaps, for the modernity of his design]. Or, if not unnoticed, largely unchallenged, by a society already primed to experience, consider, and comprehend posters at a glance, and no longer. As poster analyst C. Matlack Price acknowledged, posters were "all that can be told in the passing of an instant."<sup>129</sup> Despite its subversive qualities, Penfield's poster, in an instant, conveyed a vision of the West that largely concurred with Remington—that is, a West dominated by white masculine adventure and continuously on the verge of violence.

## V. The Poster for Harper's

However, for Harper & Brothers, Penfield's poster and cover for *Pony Tracks*, along with other promotional texts for the book, functioned differently. They reflect, I argue, the publishing house's attempt to reach new readers during a decade rife with financial instability. Penfield designed the posters that earned him fame for *Harper's Monthly* during that very decade—the 1890s. The magazine, like other prestigious monthly magazines of its time, originated as a catalogue for promoting the publisher's wares before those works appeared in book form. First issued in 1850, the *Monthly* was marketed to the elite and upper middle classes and it, like other "literary monthlies and respectable book publishers, organized cultural space around the [values] of elite northeasterners."<sup>130</sup> Thus Penfield's posters for the *Monthly* largely depict white members of the leisure class visiting, reading, and strolling (never working) in parks and other

urban spaces. Literature scholar Richard Ohmann notes that such elite monthly magazines were rarely profitable but produced for their “prestige and [their] ability to attract new authors.”<sup>131</sup>

Times changed, however. The economic recession of 1893, along with the development of new, less expensive printing processes such as the halftone and linotype, contributed to a plunge in magazine prices and an influx of inexpensive new periodicals. The number of magazines published in the United States nearly doubled between 1885 and 1905, and, by 1900, five and ten-cent magazines were common.<sup>132</sup> Aimed at a broad middle-class audience, these mass-marketed publications featured a new, fast-paced and entertainment-oriented style of writing that did not sit well with bibliophiles and elite publishers like Harper’s.<sup>133</sup> In an attempt to boost sales in an increasingly competitive market, book publishers vied for popular authors, increased advertising expenditures, and adopted the new magazines’ editorial practices in an effort to keep up.<sup>134</sup>

It is within *this* publishing context that Remington’s first book emerged, a work previously “boomed” in Harper’s magazines, penned by a celebrity artist (if not-quite a celebrity author), written in a style celebrated for its vigor, and promoted by an “art poster” created by a celebrated—if not quite celebrity—designer. Harper and Brother’s clearly understood the value of Penfield’s and Remington’s name recognition.<sup>135</sup> Illustrations often were a book or magazine’s key selling point and illustrators’ names appeared prominently on 1890s book posters, including Penfield’s *Pony Tracks* poster. Harper’s shrewdly banked on the popularity of both image-makers through an appropriation of Remington’s signature on Penfield’s poster, and Penfield’s style on Remington’s book cover. On the poster, Remington’s signature is as crucial as Penfield’s distinctive style and Buffalo Bill’s popular cowboy. While Remington’s illustrations



fill the pages of the book, Penfield's imagery wraps the cover. Thus, as objects, the poster and book simultaneously appeal to a broader audience—enthusiasts of both artists' work.

In fact, Penfield's poster and cover design for *Pony Tracks*, like the book itself, reflects Harper and Brothers' desperation to attract a middle-class audience through images and books that reflected the robust *new* writing associated with mass-market magazines. In this context, the poster's depiction of a Wild West performer-cowboy (rather than a *vaquero*, more representative of Mexican ranch hands Remington painted and wrote about in *Pony Tracks*) addresses itself to the same broad class-spanning audience that attended Buffalo Bill's Wild West. In other words, Penfield's *Pony Tracks* poster capitalized on William F. Cody's celebrity, as well as Frederic Remington's, and his own, and courted the same urban crowds whose experience of the West was largely defined by acts of heroism or showmanship played out in an arena.<sup>136</sup>

Remington and Harper's also understood *Pony Tracks*' audience to be predominately male. This is immediately evident in Remington's dedication of the book to "the *fellows* who rode the ponies that made the tracks"<sup>137</sup> (emphasis mine). Advertisements and commentary about *Pony Tracks* also consistently described the book as masculine adventure. The title appeared on various book lists for boys, including the *Ladies' Home Journal*'s top fifty books for a boy's library, and top-ten travel titles for boys in 1896.<sup>138</sup> Boston's *Literary World* praised Remington's prose in *Pony Tracks* as "vigorous, ... *manly* and *terse*..."<sup>139</sup> (emphasis mine)

Harper and Brothers reproduced the *Literary World*'s endorsement of the book in its own newspaper advertisements in 1898.<sup>140</sup> Clearly, the publisher aimed *Pony Tracks* at a middle-class audience seeking vicarious adventure and enjoyment through writing that was direct, robust, and "manly." Harper's sought the very same crowds that Cody's cowboys and Indians "fanned into uproar" in Brooklyn twice a day during the show's New York run.<sup>141</sup> Perhaps Harper's saw the

Wild West's departure in 1894 and subsequent absence until 1897 as an opportunity to capture Cody's audience with its own form of masculine "outdoor" drama and entertainment.<sup>142</sup>

While Penfield's *Pony Tracks* poster, with its elements of blood, danger, and death, and its portrayal of a cowboy performer, addresses a broad audience, the embossed book cover addresses a different, distinct audience. Unlike the poster, Penfield's *Pony Tracks* cover addresses Harper's traditional audience of book buyers, consumers who appreciated fine bindings and decorative embossed covers. Prior to 1900, art poster-like covers like it were rare, even at the peak of the poster craze.<sup>143</sup> Thus, the book's art poster-inspired cover design, rendered in strong colors with abstracted forms, and with its gold emboss replacing the bloody lettering of the poster, elevated the volume, like Penfield's signed poster, into the realm of art object, to be revered for its aesthetics. *The Bookman*, a popular literary journal of the day concurred. It proclaimed *Pony Tracks* "handsomely printed" and, in 1896, Samuel Bing's Art Nouveau gallery in Paris included the volume in an exhibition of fine, modern books.<sup>144</sup>

If the book's exterior attempted to attract aesthetes, the publisher's newspaper advertisements reveal a tenacious attempt to simultaneously attract middle and upper-class readers by promoting the book as a form of armchair entertainment for the well-heeled urban gentlemen of the country club and fox hunting set. An advertisement announcing *Pony Tracks*' publication in the *New York Times*, for example, addressed itself to the "young gentleman who sails gaily through the parks or along well-made country roads on a trained cob."<sup>145</sup> Such individuals, the publisher suggested,

may be interested in some of Mr. Remington's dashes over dusty tracks of country ... and he may get some idea of what a "seat" should be when it becomes necessary to "make time" with a lot of yelling, shooting hostiles behind or in front of him.<sup>146</sup>

The promotional copy's references to horsemanship and "yelling, shooting hostiles" were no doubt informed by the Wild West's recent tenure in the city. Harper's promoted the book as an exciting escape from city life —full of dirt, dash, and danger. It argued that "real" horsemanship differed greatly from a quiet ride through Central Park. Early in the opening chapter Remington compares horsemanship along the bridle paths and in the riding schools of New York City with galloping across the rugged "bad lands" of the West.<sup>147</sup> He also expounds at length on the difference between western and English tack, driving home his points with personal and often humorous narratives.<sup>148</sup> Such passages imply that both Remington and Harper's understood that eastern urbanites would find Remington's commentary and his misadventures on the trail amusing and informative.<sup>149</sup>

And they were right. The critical response to *Pony Tracks* suggests that Remington's essays were viewed, if not as high literature, as thrilling entertainment. One critic termed them "quick and vivid pictures" conducted, written, and to be read at a fast pace: "Mr. Remington is full of go, rush, and clatter. You spin along with him at full gallop through the opening chapter."<sup>150</sup> This celebration of and enthusiasm for quickness—quickness of pace, quickness of writing (and reading), quickness of seeing, and quickness of wit—constituted a cultural value at the time when modernity itself was characterized as life lived at an increasingly faster pace.<sup>151</sup> The writer described Remington's stories as action-filled, fast-paced accounts of masculine adventure, studded with "quick" fighting and written with "verve," to be read at a "full gallop."<sup>152</sup> Even the illustrations were praised in terms of speed as "rapid" and lacking "premeditation."<sup>153</sup> Another reviewer termed them "sketches," suggesting Remington dashed off the images as well as the text, despite the fact that none of the reproductions of his illustrations or paintings in *Pony Tracks* resemble sketches.<sup>154</sup> These writers imply that Remington's stories

and “sketches” were not overly planned but sprouted spontaneously from his pen. Remington’s prose then, like Penfield’s designs, were praised for their perceived spontaneity and economy of form. As one critic claimed, Remington’s phrases “tell us as much as another man would tell in a page”<sup>155</sup> Similarly, commentators praised Penfield’s posters for their clear and direct communication that did not require “study.”<sup>156</sup>

Jackson Lears notes that advertisers in the last decades of the nineteenth century assumed that the purchasing audience was “increasingly remote and on the run” and also easily bored.<sup>157</sup> Thus, advertisers shifted from presenting information to consumers to “attracting attention,” and as Sarah Burns notes, “entertaining” audiences through visually exciting promotions.<sup>158</sup> Thus, ad copy celebrated Remington’s light-but-exciting prose in its own entertainment-oriented style. A desire to attract attention propelled the visual fireworks of art posters, which were intended to dazzle the eye but not be meditated on further.

In sum, Penfield’s poster and cover design and Harper’s ad copy for *Pony Tracks* worked together to attract the broadest possible readership. The finely designed and embossed book might speak to bibliophiles (the publisher’s traditional audience) while the poster, with its references to the Wild West, with Remington’s fast-paced narratives, might appeal to new mass audiences. Likewise, while Harper’s advertising texts typically addressed upper-crust New Yorkers, reviews of the book suggested its readership to be a middle-class audience who might best enjoy its “breezy” tone and “spirited” manner.<sup>159</sup>

Unfortunately, however, praise for *Pony Tracks* and the publisher’s efforts to increase sales through celebrity authors and artists failed to deliver Harper and Brothers from bankruptcy in 1899. That year, the publishing house went into receivership and was taken over by a former competitor, McClure Co., at the request of the Harper’s new owner, J. P. Morgan.<sup>160</sup> By 1900,

after publishing six books by Remington in the previous five years, the firm could no longer afford to publish his work in the upscale manner of the past. And Remington himself was pursuing new directions in his art: Impressionism, nocturnes, and sculpture. Within a year, in February 1901, Penfield, too, departed Harper's for his own writing and painting projects. In April 1908, Harper's transferred both Remington and Penfield's remaining contracts to the publisher R. H. Russell.<sup>161</sup>

## VI. Conclusion

*Symbols are not proxy for their objects, but are vehicles for the conception of objects.*<sup>162</sup>

– Susanne K. Langer

Despite Harper's collapse and the waning of the art poster movement, by the late 1890s, both Remington's and Penfield's popular appeal were cemented. On February 1, 1902, after both artist-writers had departed Harper's, *Collier's Weekly* reunited Remington's writing and Penfield's design in its publication of Remington's story, "The Strategy of the Blanket Pony." Remington contributed a double page illustration, but *Collier's* took care to mention in the subhead that the headpiece spanning the space above the title was "by Edward Penfield" (fig. 2.18).

Given his logo prominently inserted at lower right and the outlined figures characteristic of his illustration style, Penfield's authorship of the headpiece is obvious, even without the credit line. Once again, Penfield's design visually communicated the theme of Remington's writing: imminent conflict between the U.S. military and Plains Indians. Much like his *Pony Tracks* cover, Penfield presents a soldier and Sioux figure in opposition, at opposite edges of the page,

framing the packhorse covered in blankets that conceal alcohol—the officers’ trick upon the Native warriors—crossing the space between. Like his *Pony Tracks* cover, Penfield’s image pictures Remington’s text if not from a Native perspective, with a more objective, distant view. In contrast to Remington’s double-page spanning illustration on the previous spread, which positions the viewer from behind the ranks of U.S. soldiers (fig. 2.19), Penfield portrays soldier and warrior on equal footing, equally sized, and both observing the pony, rather than each other. Notably, Penfield represents the Sioux man, wrapped in a Hudson Bay blanket, unarmed, the recipient of not only the soldier’s desire for a fight (as Remington writes), evident in the rifle grasped in the man’s hand, but his treachery concealed within the blankets on the intermediary pony.

The image, like Penfield’s *Pony Tracks* cover, interprets Remington’s text, presenting the events at hand with a more distant, perhaps more egalitarian perspective than Remington’s painting reproduced on the previous spread. Rather than appropriate an Indigenous style of visual communication, he uses his own, by 1902, familiar style: static figures drawn with thick outlines against a simplified background, with an emphasis on animals.

Penfield’s rendering of the paired figures, sharing a narrow swath space and time, rendered with equal attention, could be metaphorical of the two artists themselves: Both were lifelong New Yorkers, with homes in New Rochelle, both were artists turned authors, both had careers launched by Harper’s, and both were keenly influential on the century of image makers that followed them in American design and western American art. And, by 1902, both were famous in their respective arts. In the words of an R. H. Russell advertisement published in *Collier’s Weekly* just two months before “The Strategy of the Blanket Pony,” a new catalogue

featured “illustrations by Frederic Remington, ... Edward Penfield, and the majority of the best artists of America.”<sup>163</sup>

Seven years earlier, Penfield’s poster for *Pony Tracks* evoked Buffalo Bill’s Wild West more clearly than it spoke to any specific passage in Remington’s book. However, it—through crimson lettering and implied narrative—simplified, summarized, and represented how scholars since have defined *Remington’s* West. In the words of art historian Peter Hassrick, Remington’s “heroes were more symbols of the frontier demise rather than harbingers of hope for a new life or world.”<sup>164</sup> By contrast, Penfield’s cover for *Pony Tracks*, informed by Plains pictography, offers a counter narrative to the text it accompanies that not only questions Remington’s perspective but makes visual parallels between art poster design and Indigenous visual communication.

Ultimately, however, the poster and cover design express Penfield’s perception of existing *representations* of the West, not of the West itself. As a “vehicle for the conception” of the West, to quote Susanne Langer, Penfield’s poster, meant to communicate in a single instant, reflects just how intertwined Cody’s West and Remington’s West were in defining popular urban New York perceptions of the American West. Furthermore, Penfield’s poster and book cover, when examined *beyond* a brief instant, do not merely promote the products they signify, but comment on and interpret those topics. Art posters, it turns out, while described as straight forward, simple, and not requiring a second glance, are more complicated—and more *telling*—than their makers and enthusiasts acknowledged.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The book contained essays selected from more than thirty-six works Remington had written for Harper's publications prior to 1895. See Fred Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, Western Writers Series 16 (Boise, ID: Boise State University, 1975), and Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *Frederic Remington and the West: With the Eye of the Mind* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> Some reviewers found the fast-paced prose and economical style the book's most appealing aspect. See Droch, [No Title], *Life* 26, no. 659 (Aug. 15, 1895): 102; "Pony Tracks," *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* 24, no. 714 (Oct. 26, 1895): 261; "Pony Tracks," *The Literary World; A Monthly Review of Current Literature* 26, no. 18 (Sept. 7, 1895): 76.

<sup>3</sup> "Pony Tracks," *The Bookman: A Review of Books and Life* 2, no. 2 (Oct. 1895): 150. Remington's illustrations in *Crooked Trails* received similar, if less enthusiastic, accolades: "Reviews of Books. Remington's 'Crooked Trails,'" *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1898, BR715. Other reviewers accepted Remington's images (and texts) as "truthful" and praised them as such: "The American Soldier," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Aug. 17, 1895, 10; "Bookishness: On the Trail with Remington," *Life* 26, no. 659 (Aug. 15, 1895): 102.

<sup>4</sup> In 1893, Penfield worked as an assistant to Horace Bradley, acting art manager at Harper's. For discussions of Penfield's 1893 poster and his status as the creator of the American art poster movement, see Charles Knowles Bolton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Posters Chiefly American in the Collection of Charles Knowles Bolton with Biographical Notes and a Bibliography* (Brookline, MA: May 1895): n.p.; James H. Chapman, "Our Magazine Histories. Paper I. Harper's," *Quarterly Illustrator* 1, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1893): 62; Joseph Goddu, *American Art Posters of the 1890s* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1989), 25; David W. Kiehl, "American Art Posters of the 1890s," in *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, 11–43 (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), 11–12; C. Matlack Price, "The Cat and the Poster . . .," *Arts & Decoration* 2, no. 11 (September 1912): 392–93, quote on 392; Charles Matlack Price, *Posters: A Critical Study of the Development of Poster Design in Continental Europe, England, and America* (New York: G. W. Bricka, 1913), 239–40; Herbert Stuart Stone, "Mr. Penfield's Posters," *The Chap-Book* 10 (Oct. 1, 1894): 247ff.

Penfield is still referred to as the "father" or founder of the American art poster movement. See Walt Reed, Society of Illustrators / The Museum of Illustration, "1998 Hall of Fame Inductee: Edward Penfield," accessed April 2, 2020, <https://www.societyillustrators.org/edward-penfield>.

<sup>5</sup> Major poster collections that include Penfield's *Pony Tracks* poster include those at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Library of Congress, and the New York Public Library, among others.

<sup>6</sup> The most extensive (and extensively researched) biography, albeit still in progress in 2019, is the work of San Diego-based designer and writer Martin S. Lindsay, "Edward Penfield: Master of Graphic Design," at [EdwardPenfield.com](http://EdwardPenfield.com) (accessed December 30, 2018). See also David Gibson, *Designed to Persuade: The Graphic Art of Edward Penfield* (Yonkers, NY: The Hudson River Museum, 1984).

<sup>7</sup> Price, *Posters*, 235.



<sup>8</sup> Susan A. Wilczak, “The Posters of Edward Penfield for Harper’s New Monthly Magazine: A Reflection of American Society in the 1890s” (master’s thesis, Michigan State University, Lansing, 1996), 27n3.

<sup>9</sup> I address Penfield’s cover design as another form of poster in keeping with poster commentators of the period who viewed book covers, magazine covers, car cards, and billboards as “posters.”

<sup>10</sup> The textured surface is not noticeable in digital images, either. Viewing this poster firsthand at the Library of Congress’s Print Collection was therefore invaluable. The majority of Penfield’s posters viewed by the author at the Library of Congress and Huntington Library were printed on smoother, white stock.

<sup>11</sup> Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, 9. Erisman divides the book’s fifteen essays into three categories: hunting and fishing, ranching in Mexico, and military activities. Three are hunting essays, four describe ranch life in Mexico, and eight concern military life.

<sup>12</sup> Ron Beasley and Marcel Danesi, *Persuasive Signs: The Semiotics of Advertising* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 21–22. Beasley and Danesi’s definition follows that of semioticians Charles S. Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure.

<sup>13</sup> For cultural color associations in advertising, see Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs*, 41.

<sup>14</sup> Penfield’s Roman capitals generally exhibit uniform stroke weights with tiny triangular Latin serifs or flaring terminal strokes.

<sup>15</sup> Lindsay, “Edward Penfield,” at [www.EdwardPenfield.com](http://www.EdwardPenfield.com). Grasset’s poster of the martyr, along with five others in the collection of George de Forest Brush, Penfield’s instructor at the Art Students League, was published in *Century Illustrated* in September 1892. Penfield’s Gothic titling also accompanied posters promoting issues of *Harper’s Monthly* that contained articles on German history and Joan of Arc, respectively. In his July 1895 poster of Joan, Penfield echoes Grasset’s use of Gothic capitals, the martyr’s floral bodice, and flag hoisted aloft. Six posters in Brush’s collection were published in the *Century* article. See Brander Matthews, “The Pictorial Poster,” *Century Illustrated Magazine*, September 1892, 748ff. It is significant that Penfield was a student of Brush at the time and also that this article predated Penfield’s first known poster for Harper’s in early spring 1893.

<sup>16</sup> Stone, “Mr. Penfield’s Posters,” 247ff.

<sup>17</sup> In concrete poetry, the poem’s visual structure and typography inform the meaning of the words. A classic example is Guillaume Apollinaire’s poem, “Il Pleut” (It’s Raining), from his book *Calligrammes: Poèmes de la paix et de la guerre 1913–1916*, in which the lines of the poem run diagonally down the page to visually evoke streams of rain. See Stephen J. Eskilson, *Graphic Design: A New History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 148–49.

<sup>18</sup> Charles S. Peirce, quoted in Susan B. Barnes, *An Introduction to Visual Communication from Cave Art to Second Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Peter Lange Publishing, 2017), 70. According to Peirce, words can serve as both signs and symbols. Signs “announce their objects,” but symbols “lead individuals to conceive of the object.”

<sup>19</sup> Fred Erisman acknowledges, even in Remington’s tales of ranch life in Mexico included in *Pony Tracks*, the “threat of sudden death is strikingly real.” Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, 11.

<sup>20</sup> He also printed on salmon and tan paper in April and June 1894. See Martin S. Lindsay, “The Complete *Harper’s* Posters, 1893–1899,” Edward Penfield website, accessed April 20, 2019, <https://edwardpenfield.com/catalogue/the-complete-harpers-posters/1893/>.

<sup>21</sup> Walt Reed, “Edward Penfield,” Society of Illustrators website, accessed April 2, 2020, <https://www.societyillustrators.org/edward-penfield>.

<sup>22</sup> Rennerts Poster Gallery, “The Very Quiet Complications of Edward Penfield,” Oct. 26, 2016, accessed Oct. 17, 2018, <http://www.rennertsgallery.com/2016/10/26/the-very-quiet-complications-of-edward-penfield/>.

<sup>23</sup> Rather, Penfield visited Paris in 1899 and again in 1892. See Edward Penfield, “The Ancestry of the Coach,” *Outing*, July 1901, 363; Margaret A. Irwin, “Edward Penfield,” in *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920*, ed. Steven E. Smith, Catherine A. Hastedt, and Donald H. Dyal (Detroit: Gale Research, 1998), 244. He travelled to Holland in 1899 and 1902 and Spain in 1907. See Price, *Posters*, 240.

<sup>24</sup> See Penfield, “Ancestry of the Coach,” 363ff.

<sup>25</sup> Email communication from Martin S. Lindsay to the author, December 7, 2018. Lindsay noted that ill health would have prevented western adventures; and to his knowledge Penfield never traveled west.

<sup>26</sup> Royal Cortissoz, “The Designs of the Late Edward Penfield,” *New York Herald-Tribune*, March 28, 1926, D10. Even Remington, one writer suggests, considered Penfield to be a perfectionist. See Frederic Taraba, *Methods of the Masters: Edward Penfield, the Power of Simplicity* (New York: Step by Step Graphics, 1993), 19, 19n12; Wilczak, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Edward Penfield, “preface,” in *Posters in Miniature*, by Percival Pollard (New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1896), n.p.

<sup>28</sup> For Penfield’s role in poster placement, see Eugene Exman, *The House of Harper: One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 94; Wilczak, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Penfield quoted in Pollard, *Posters in Miniature*, n.p. Goddu analyzes Penfield’s drawings to infer his process: After drawing lettering and outlines on the plate, “Penfield would work up the composition of this plate methodically in black and white, progressing from pencil sketch to outline drawing in ink, using pen and brush. Next, different tonal areas would be created with varying textures or patterns until the image was fully realized. Lettering would be added next, and any spatter work or drawing beneath the outline of the text would be eliminated with Chinese White.” He notes that Penfield drew color separations for each color by hand on tracing paper rather than using photographs and mixed inks for each poster run in the pressroom, watching the printing until the correct colors were achieved. Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 54. Again, Penfield achieves the appearance of spontaneity, but mixing colors in the pressroom may be the only truly spontaneous action in his poster-making process.

Likewise, Penfield’s son Walker Penfield described his father’s process in an unpublished manuscript. He described the posters as consisting of preliminary sketches followed by master drawing in pen and ink, colored with watercolor. Tracing paper for each color was laid over this master drawing, and each color inked in black. These tracing papers became a diagram for individual plates. Walker notes that his father blended the inks in the pressroom, “staying with the pressmen until the presses settled down

and the poster prints were coming out just as father desired them to.” Walker Penfield manuscript, quoted in Gibson, *Designed to Persuade*, 9.

<sup>30</sup> See Exman, *House of Harper*, 94; Wilczac, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 22.

<sup>31</sup> The cowpuncher on the *Pony Tracks* poster fails to closely resemble *any* of Remington’s illustrations of western figures printed in the book. Nor does he (or his accoutrements) particularly resemble the cowboys in Remington’s illustrations for Owen Wister’s article, “The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher,” published in the September *Monthly* in 1895, or in Remington’s own article on Florida cowboys published in the August *Monthly* that year.

Penfield had plenty of exposure to Remington’s signature, however, in illustrations to both articles. See Frederic Remington, “Cracker Cowboys of Florida,” *Harper’s New Monthly* 91 (August 1895): 339–45, and Owen Wister, “The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher,” *Harper’s New Monthly* 91 (September 1895): 602–17.

<sup>32</sup> Prior to its most successful season at the Chicago World Columbian Exposition, the show had only performed extended engagements in New York. As Sarah Blackstone has demonstrated, Nate Salsbury’s tripartite plan for growing the Wild West’s brand involved a long stay on permanent grounds (first at Erastina on Staten Island between June and September 1886), performing in Madison Square Garden, and a European tour. See Sarah J. Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 17–18.

<sup>33</sup> He sailed for France on April 27, 1889. See “Off for the Exposition: Buffalo Bill and His Wild West Show Sail for France,” *New York Times*, April 28, 1889, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Penfield notes, “I had the pleasure of making a careful study of [a French post chaise of the 1760s] at the Exposition at Paris in 1889, in a wonderful state of preservation.” Penfield, “Ancestry of the Coach,” 363.

<sup>35</sup> Some sources say he visited Paris in 1891; Lindsay dates the trip to circa 1890–1892. While in Paris he was in contact with Brush. After his return to New York, he almost immediately began working as a staff artist and art editor for Harper and Brothers, rising to department director in 1893. See Martin S. Lindsay, “Edward Penfield: A Chronology,” Edward Penfield website, edwardpenfield.com.

<sup>36</sup> Blackstone, *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business*, 27–29. The show returned to Madison Square Garden, opening its season following another European tour, in 1907.

<sup>37</sup> “The Wonderful Wild West: Out-of-Town People Form a Large Part of the Spectators at Ambrose Park,” *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1894, 11.

<sup>38</sup> “The Wonderful Wild West,” *New York Times*, Sept. 2, 1894, 11.

<sup>39</sup> “The Greatest Summer Show: Buffalo Bill’s Wild West and Its Many Features that Please and Instruct,” *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1894, 12. See also “Delighted Twenty Thousand: ‘Buffalo Bill’s’ Great Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1894, 2. The show opened to twenty thousand spectators at Ambrose Park on May 12, 1894, and closed in October 1894.

<sup>40</sup> See Diane Dillon, “Indians and ‘Indianness’ at the 1893 World’s Fair,” in *George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings*, ed. Nancy K. Anderson, 101–29 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Poster critic and Penfield enthusiast Charles Matlack Price noted that at the turn of the century, “scores” of “Portrait Posters” for theatrical and circus acts were produced featuring single figures. See Price, *Posters*, 297. Such images reflect, to some extent, the popularity and influence of French posters of the period.

<sup>42</sup> See “Greatest Summer Show,” *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1894, 12; film footage, accessed Nov. 19, 2018, can be viewed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J2LDHal1EZ0>.

<sup>43</sup> These and other photographs of Wild West cowboys posing at Ambrose Park and elsewhere are in the Salsbury Collection at the Denver Public Library. Many of the images are available online from the Denver Public Library. See <http://digital.denverlibrary.org/cdm/search/collection/p15330coll22/searchterm/Cowboys%20Buffalo%20Bill%201894/order/nosort>.

<sup>44</sup> “Buffalo Bill in Drama: Four Wild West Epochs at Madison-Square Garden,” *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1886, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Another example of the period is the cover for John Kittredge Banks’s *Rebellious Heroine*. The design seems to be Penfield’s work, or after Penfield. It represents a Penfield-esque interpretation of the interior portrait created by the volume’s illustrator, W. T. Smedley. The Banks and Remington reveal that illustrations were finalized before the cover was designed. In both, Penfield hints at the subject in a linear style recognizably his own. In this sense, Penfield could be seen as “signing” his anonymous covers through style.

<sup>46</sup> As Phillip Earenfight has demonstrated, these drawings exhibited “carefully drawn outlines” whose “crispness” of line “[flattens] the image.” Philip Earenfight, “Reconstructing a Kiowa’s Legacy,” in *A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion*, ed. Phillip Earenfight, 57–96 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 69.

<sup>47</sup> Janet Catherine Berlo, “A Kiowa’s Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Transcultural Perspectives, and the Art of Fort Marion,” in *A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion*, ed. Phillip Earenfight, 140–212 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 158.

<sup>48</sup> See Berlo, “A Kiowa’s Odyssey,” 158, for description of Northern Plains warriors in ledger art. Penfield’s warrior wears leggings or trousers with red stroud breechclouts, and his horse’s tail is tied up with red stroud cloth. The representation resembles a depiction of three high-ranking warriors drawn by Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Kiowa prisoner at Fort Marion. Berlo points out that Doanmoe made a similar image (similar in that the figures fill the page) while working at the Smithsonian in spring 1880.

<sup>49</sup> John Canfield Ewers, *Plains Indian Painting: A Description of Aboriginal American Art* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1939), plate 15 (n.p.). According to Ewers’s analysis of buffalo robes at museums including the AMNH, which Penfield would have had access to, representations of horses that included more naturalistic hocks, a bound tail, and phallus were Crow, Kiowa, or Sioux.

<sup>50</sup> Karen Daniels Petersen, *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 18.

<sup>51</sup> Petersen, 18. Petersen offers the following examples: fifteen heads representing fifteen warriors (parts representing a whole); a wavy line symbolizing the abstract idea of the sacred; many horse tracks to signify many riders (concrete objects)

<sup>52</sup> Petersen, 18.

<sup>53</sup> Petersen, 18.

<sup>54</sup> Penfield may have seen the first published account of southern plains prisoners incarcerated at St. Augustine, Florida, in Sidney Lanier's travel book *Florida: Its Scenery, Climate, and History* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1875). The book also contained the first published drawing by one of the Fort Marion ledger artists on p. 53. Penfield's rendering of the Plains warrior on the *Pony Tracks* cover resembles the illustration's black outlines, splayed horse's legs, bound tail, and the rider's long breechcloth or sash flowing behind.

<sup>55</sup> Penfield trained with Brush between 1889 and 1895. He also was in contact with Brush in Paris in the early 1890s. Brush taught evening life classes and evening antique classes at the Art Students League and also at Cooper Union and was much beloved by his students. See Nancy K. Anderson, *George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2008).

<sup>56</sup> Anderson, *George de Forest Brush*, 13. Brush traveled to Fort Marion, Florida, in spring 1887, assuming that Geronimo would be sent there when the Chiricahua Apaches were incarcerated. As Anderson notes, he did not insist on ethnological accuracy unlike other artists interested in indigenous subjects during his period including Remington who relied on his status as an eye-witness to the West to grant his work "authenticity."

<sup>57</sup> Mary Lublin, "Living for Art: Brush and His Indians," in *George de Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings*, by Nancy K. Anderson, 57–81 (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 64. Lublin importantly identifies the inspiration for Brush's figures in a buffalo robe owned by fellow painter William de la Montague Cary. However, while Brush's pictographs appropriate some aspects of the buffalo robe, they don't all reference the figures on the robe.

<sup>58</sup> Lublin, "Living for Art," 40.

<sup>59</sup> Candace Greene, "Structure and Meaning in Cheyenne Ledger Art," in *Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History*, Janet Catherine, ed., 26–33 (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 26.

<sup>60</sup> Greene, "Structure and Meaning in Cheyenne Ledger Art," 29–32.

<sup>61</sup> Horse whipping (of humans and animals) was a frequent subject in New York newspapers in the mid-1890s. While whipping one's own horse was not considered offensive at the time, the beating of horses was controversial and had contributed to the formation of the Society of Prevention of Cruelty of Animals (SPCA) in New York in 1866.

<sup>62</sup> Wilczak, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 31, and Taraba, *Methods of the Masters*, 117.

<sup>63</sup> Edward Penfield, *Spanish Sketches* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), 123–24. Concerning the horses pierced before his eyes, he wrote, "The sight of the horses sickened me . . . bowled over on their riders . . . [the ring] drenched with gore. . . . I could not look up." He continued, "The death of an old horse was making me feel worse than the killing or maiming of some college man in a foot-ball game . . . I hardly felt strength enough to stay." Penfield notes that his guide, Benito, encourages him to stay with the words "you will get used to it," and while Penfield does stay, he describes the bull fight from that point on distantly, even clinically.

<sup>64</sup> Frederic Remington, *Pony Tracks* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895), 13, quoted in Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, 12. See also Vorpahl, *Frederic Remington and the West*.

<sup>65</sup> Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, 13.

<sup>66</sup> Erisman, 13–18.

<sup>67</sup> See W. Jackson Rushing III, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

<sup>68</sup> Edward Penfield, “introduction,” in *Posters in Miniature*, by Percival Pollard (New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1896), n.p.

<sup>69</sup> Price, *Posters*, 235.

<sup>70</sup> Lublin, “Living for Art,” 40.

<sup>71</sup> Penfield, “introduction,” n.p.

<sup>72</sup> Price, *Posters*, 6. Relationships between Plains pictography, which gained national exposure in the late 1870s due to the Fort Marion prisoners, and posters produced by art poster designers like Penfield have, to my knowledge, never previously been explored.

<sup>73</sup> Price, *Posters*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Price, 5.

<sup>75</sup> Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, 18.

<sup>76</sup> Price, *Posters*, 232.

<sup>77</sup> Price, 232.

<sup>78</sup> Petersen, *Plains Indian Art*, 18.

<sup>79</sup> See *Collier's* 39, no. 2 (April 6, 1907): front cover. The design was also published as “Polar Bear,” in black and white in the *Collier's* portfolio of American illustration, *American Art by American Artists: One Hundred Masterpieces Representing the Best Work in Pen-and-Ink . . .* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1914). It may refer to the Polar Dash,” or attempts during the early 1900s by explorers to reach the north pole. Penfield designed magazine covers between 1900 and 1915 for *Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Life*, and the *Ladies Home Journal*.

<sup>80</sup> Laila Williamson, AMNH Division of Anthropology, emails to the author, March 19, 2019–April 2, 2019. In a message dated March 28, 2019, Williamson noted that “The following [objects] were probably in the Hall in 1906–1907. Tlingit E/782, 19/1007, 19/1285, 19/1286; Haida: 16/231, 16/8499A, 16/8505. All acquired before 1901, many before 1890.” The sewing box, which Penfield’s image seems particularly indebted to, is #16/231. See: [https://anthro.amnh.org/anthropology/databases/common/image\\_dup.cfm?catno=16%20%20%2F%20%20231](https://anthro.amnh.org/anthropology/databases/common/image_dup.cfm?catno=16%20%20%2F%20%20231)

Penfield likely first viewed these objects in the mid-1890s when he visited the museum to arrange photography for illustrations of Caspar Whitney's "On Snow-Shoes to the Barren Grounds: Twenty-Eight Hundred Miles After Musk-Oxen and Wood-Bison," serialized in the *Monthly* beginning in March 1894 and published by Harper's in book form, with numerous illustrations by Remington, in 1896.

<sup>81</sup> Gibson, *Designed to Persuade*, 1.

<sup>82</sup> Gibson, 1.

<sup>83</sup> Scholarship on Penfield tends to note the influence of Ukiyo-e prints, Arts and Crafts craftsmanship, and Egyptian art. Irwin also notes the influences of George de Forest Brush, whom Penfield trained intermittently with between 1889 and 1895 at the Art Students League, and who instilled in Penfield a love for impressionism. See Irwin, "Edward Penfield," 244.

<sup>84</sup> Price, *Posters*, 231.

<sup>85</sup> Charles Belmont Davis, "Edward Penfield and His Art," *The Critic* 34, no. 861 (March 1899): 236.

<sup>86</sup> See "Apaches Not Wanted: Protests from the West Against Their Removal There," *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1890, 7; "Indians to be Removed," *New York Times*, April 27, 1887, 1; "Removing the Apaches," *New York Times*, Sept. 13, 1886, 1.

<sup>87</sup> William Drysdale, "Ancient St. Augustine: An Old City That Is Fast Becoming New," *New York Times*, April 14, 1889, 20.

<sup>88</sup> Edmund Carpenter, "Introduction: Collecting Northwest Coast Art," *Form and Freedom: A Dialogue on Northwest Coast Indian Art*, by Bill Holm and William Reid, 8–27 (Houston: Rice University, 1975), 11.

<sup>89</sup> See Leo Lowenthal, "The Triumph of Mass Idols" [1944], rpt. in *Literature, Popular Culture, and Society*, ed. Leo Lowenthal (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1961), 109–40; Alexandra Davis Weiss, "The Artist-as-Celebrity: Picturing Artistic Fame in Vanity Fair, Vogue, and Harper's Bazaar Magazines, 1921–1951" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 2012), 18–25; Nicholas Green, "Dealing in Temperaments: Economic Transformation of the Artistic Field in France during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Art History* 10, no. 1 (March 1987): 70.

<sup>90</sup> Sarah Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art and Culture in Gilded Age America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 232.

<sup>91</sup> Burns, 232.

<sup>92</sup> Price, *Posters*, 4.

<sup>93</sup> Charles Hiatt, "Art Is on the Town," *The Poster* 1, no. 11 (July 1911): 379.

<sup>94</sup> Stone, "Mr. Penfield's Posters," 247.

<sup>95</sup> Penfield quoted in Gibson, *Designed to Persuade*, 7.

<sup>96</sup> See “The Celebrity: An Interview with Carolus Duran,” *The Chap-Book*, April 15, 1898, 435; Weiss, “Artist-as-Celebrity,” 16.

<sup>97</sup> Wilczak, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 24.

<sup>98</sup> Wilczak, 24.

<sup>99</sup> Penfield signed his posters in a variety of ways, first with the initials EP, and more frequently in the mid-1890s with his full name. Later, he alternated between his initials, full name, or a symbol that resembled Steinlen’s logo, which Kiehl terms the “bull head logo.” Kiehl, “American Art Posters of the 1890s,” 13. Penfield’s style is the “signature” that remains consistent across signatures.

<sup>100</sup> Charles Hiatt, *Picture Posters: A Short History of the Illustrated Placard*, (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1895), xv. *Picture Posters* provides a “history of the medium treated from the point of view of art rather than of commerce.” Hiatt included only signed posters or posters “acknowledged by the artists producing them.” Hiatt’s book functions as a who’s who of poster design with key posters and prices for collectors. He defines the distinction between “art” and “commerce” immediately in the preface: art is signed; commerce is anonymous.

<sup>101</sup> Wilczak, *Posters of Edward Penfield*, 21.

<sup>102</sup> Nancy Finlay, “American Posters and Publishing in the 1890s,” in *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*, edited by David W. Kiehl, 45–55 (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), 50; Goddu, *American Art Posters*, 42–43, n. 26. Kiehl notes that Penfield appropriated a four-panel screen by Bonnard published in *The Studio* (Oct. 1896) in his March 1897 Harper’s poster. See: David W. Kiehl, “A Catalogue of American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *American Art Posters of the 1890s*, edited by David W. Kiehl, 97–183 (exhibition catalogue, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1987), 154.

<sup>103</sup> See Lindsay, “Complete Harper’s Posters,” <https://edwardpenfield.com/catalogue/the-complete-harpers-posters/1895/>. Lindsay notes that Penfield’s portrait, a secret, was leaked February 1896 in *The Poster*.

<sup>104</sup> Finlay, “American Posters and Publishing,” 50.

<sup>105</sup> Finlay, 50.

<sup>106</sup> Finlay, 50.

<sup>107</sup> Penfield, quoted in Gibson, *Designed to Persuade*, 7.

<sup>108</sup> Erisman, *Frederic Remington*, 8.

<sup>109</sup> Allen P. Splete and Marilyn D. Splete, eds., *Frederic Remington: Selected Letters* (New York: Abbeyville Press, 2005), 212.

<sup>110</sup> Remington to My dear Lewis [Alfred Henry Lewis], October 31 [1895], Frederic Remington Letters, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, REG NO. 3826.2889.



<sup>111</sup> Peter H. Hassrick, *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonne, Vol. II* (Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1996), 554–55.

<sup>112</sup> Hassrick, *Frederic Remington*, 13.

<sup>113</sup> Penfield's role was not, after all, merely what he is chiefly remembered for today—poster making—but as the manager of vast quantities of images and the individuals who supplied those images to his employer. For examples of Penfield's business writing, see Harper's Archive, Columbia University; *Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers*, Library of Congress; Richard Rogers Bowker Papers, New York Public Library.

<sup>114</sup> The two men certainly did correspond. On Dec. 7, 1895, after praising Remington's drawings for his Barren Grounds, which Penfield promoted with the aforementioned poster, Caspar Whitney wrote, "I have asked Penfield when he writes you to ask for another page, or page and a half, or half page on similar subjects . . . of course the order would go through Penfield to you." Caspar Whitney to Frederic Remington, Dec. 7, 1895, Box 7, Folder Z28, Series 6, Transcripts from the Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY, Frederic Remington Collection, St. Lawrence University.

<sup>115</sup> I have discovered no letters to date between Penfield and Remington in the Harper's archive at Columbia University, Penfield's business correspondence in the Bowker Collection at New York Public Library, the Frederic Remington collection at St. Lawrence University, or Remington's digitized papers available online from the Frederic Remington Art Museum. Penfield's rather dry correspondence with other illustrators for the Harpers' publication suggests that their relationship may have been more professional and less personal.

<sup>116</sup> Remington's royalties were based on the list (retail) price of the "style of binding" that sold the largest number of copies. Contract Book 9, p. 185, Harper's Archive, Columbia University. Increased sales meant an increase in royalty percentage paid to Remington. For up to 1,500 copies sold, he earned 10 percent of the trade price; for sales between 1,500 and 3,000 copies, he received a 12.5 percent royalty; and if sales exceeded 3,000 books, he received a 15 percent royalty. Remington's royalties and unsold stock were transferred to R. H. Russell in April of 1908, as were Penfield's works.

<sup>117</sup> Harper's memorandum book entry for *Pony Tracks* notes that the book was to be the same size as *Riders of Many Lands*, leaved at 4/5 on white paper, approximately 95 pound stock. Three years later, Remington's *Crooked Trails* would be printed in the same "style" as its predecessor.

<sup>118</sup> Finlay, "American Posters and Publishing," 47. Nancy Finlay also notes that art posters whose aesthetic differed widely from the illustrations in the books they promoted was typical. When posters appropriated internal illustrations of books and articles, they most often simply featured an enlargement of an illustration with promotional text added.

<sup>119</sup> Splete and Splete, *Frederic Remington*, 292.

<sup>120</sup> Splete and Splete, 293.

<sup>121</sup> Splete and Splete, 292.

<sup>122</sup> Splete and Splete, 222.

<sup>123</sup> Splete and Splete, 222.

<sup>124</sup> Splete and Splete, 293.

<sup>125</sup> Beasley and Danesi, *Persuasive Signs*, 35. They write, viewers “accept media images, by and large, only if they suit . . . already-established preferences. It is more accurate to say that advertising produces images that reinforce lifestyle models. . . . Advertisements are not in themselves disruptive of the value systems of the cultural mainstream; rather, they reflect ‘shifts’ already present in popular culture.”

<sup>126</sup> William A. Coffin, “American Illustration of Today,” part 3, *Scribner’s Magazine* 11 (March 1892): 348.

<sup>127</sup> Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 12.

<sup>128</sup> Burns, 12.

<sup>129</sup> Price, *Posters*, 4.

<sup>130</sup> Richard Ohmann, “Diverging Paths: Books and Magazines in the Transition to Corporate Capitalism,” in *A History of the Book in America*, vol. IV, *Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940*, edited by Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, 102–15 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 106.

<sup>131</sup> Ohmann, 106. See also Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1930*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957), 2, 100. For descriptions of Harper’s audience, see Richard Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 124–25; Frederick Allen, *Harper’s Magazine, 1850–1950: A Centenary Address* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 193); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).

Of the general monthly magazines published in 1885, only four (including *Harper’s Monthly*) reached a circulation of more than 100,000 at a sales price of twenty-five or thirty-five cents per copy, only affordable to the upper class. Given its comparatively astronomical issue price of thirty-five cents in 1895 when *Pony Tracks* was published, *Harper’s Monthly* buyers—as the above scholars have noted—remained the white upper class. However, when the price of well-illustrated, general magazines dropped to ten or fifteen cents, conditions changed drastically.

<sup>132</sup> Mott, *History of American Magazines*, vol. 4, 4–5, 11. Mott reports that approximately 3,300 different periodicals were published in the United States in 1885; by 1905, that number had reached approximately 6,000.

<sup>133</sup> Ohmann, “Diverging Paths,” 109.

<sup>134</sup> Ohmann, 109. Book publishers entered bidding wars for celebrity authors, enlarged their advertising campaigns, published material already “boomed” by magazines, and in general imitated new editorial methods. As a result middle-class book reading tended more toward the hurried pace and social urgency fostered by magazines (even while book and magazine industries remained distinct within print culture).

<sup>135</sup> For example, earlier in 1895, Samuel Clemens’s serialized biography of Joan of Arc, promoted with Penfield’s poster, was published anonymously in the *Monthly*, as requested by the author. However, despite his request, by the end of the year, Harper’s promoted the serial with Clemens’s portrait and a

notice of his upcoming Tom Sawyer story. See Lindsay, “Complete Harper’s Posters,” <https://edwardpenfield.com/catalogue/the-complete-harpers-posters/1895/>.

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, “Buffalo Bill in Drama: Four Wild West Epochs at Madison-Square Garden,” *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1886, 5.

<sup>137</sup> Frederic Remington, *Pony Tracks* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), ii.

<sup>138</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson, “A Boy’s Bookshelf,” *Ladies’ Home Journal* 13, no. 11 (Oct. 1896): 16. *Pony Tracks* was listed as no. 42 in the top 100 books that should be included in a boy’s library and included among ten titles concerning “travel” as it concerns the “Western plains and mountains.”

<sup>139</sup> [“All Over the World with Popular Authors,”] *New York Times*, Jan 15, 1898, BR35.

<sup>140</sup> [“All Over the World with Popular Authors”]; quotation is attributed to *Literary World*, Boston.

<sup>141</sup> See “Delighted Twenty Thousand: ‘Buffalo Bill’s’ Great Wild West Show and Congress of Rough Riders,” *New York Times*, May 13, 1894, 2.

<sup>142</sup> The show departed from Brooklyn following its 1894 season and did not return until April 1897. It did not complete another entire season in New York during the 1890s as it had earlier in the decade. See George H. Gooch, compiler, *Route-Book, Buffalo Bill’s Wild West, 1899: Containing Also the Official Routes Seasons of 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898* (Buffalo, NY: Matthews-Northrup Co., 1899). Available online at The William F. Cody Archive, accessed April 23, 2019, [codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.route.1899.html](http://codyarchive.org/memorabilia/wfc.route.1899.html).

<sup>143</sup> Finlay, “American Posters and Publishing,” 50. Not until late in the decade were figurative covers widely adopted among some publishing firms. But by 1910, poster-like covers (like Penfield’s *Pony Tracks* design) that adopted the aesthetics of art posters had largely replaced other forms of decorative book bindings.

<sup>144</sup> “Pony Tracks,” *The Bookman*, 150; “Side Talks with the Philistines: Conducted by the East Aurora School of Philosophy,” *The Philistine* 42 (January 1897): 52. The author finds “entertaining” that the “fine books” on exhibit at an exhibition of modern books organized by Samuel Bing’s Art Nouveau Gallery included titles by “Stomen Kimball” (i.e., Stone and Kimball) and “Boycroft Painting Shop” (i.e., Roycroft Printing Shop). Also listed is *Pony Tracks* in the catalogue to the book exhibition, *The Catalogue des Publications Contemporaines Figurant a l’Exposition Internationale du livre moderne organisée a’ Art Nouveau, Paris, Juin 1896*.

<sup>145</sup> “New Publications. Harper & Brothers Publish To-Day,” *New York Times*, July 23, 1895, 5.

<sup>146</sup> “New Publications. Harper & Brothers Publish To-Day,” 5.

<sup>147</sup> Frederic Remington, “Chasing a Major General,” in *Pony Tracks*, 6–7 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

<sup>148</sup> In “Chasing a Major General,” Remington relates: “The ‘bad lands’ are rough, and the general goes down a hill with even more rapidity than up it. The horses are not the perfect animals of the bridle-path, but poor old cavalry brutes . . . my horse was not an Irish hunter, so my musing took a serious vein.” Remington, *Pony Tracks*, 9.

<sup>149</sup> He comments, “When I came East and frequented a New York riding-academy . . . a smiling professor of the art assured me that cowboys and soldiers were the worst possible riders.” The rest of the essay mingles Remington’s ponderings on eastern (New York) versus western riding while relating his uncomfortable trek across western country: “For a smooth road and a trotting horse, that European riding-master was right; but when you put a man in the dust or smoke, over the rocks and cut banks, on the bucking horse . . . he must . . . not go washing around like a shot in a bottle. In a park or on a country road, where a man has nothing to do but give his undivided attention to sticking on his saddle, it has its advantages.” Remington, *Pony Tracks*, 11. Incidentally, English riding—the sort taught in New York riding academies—is what Penfield typically depicts, as in the case of his rendering of a well-coiffed *Harper’s Monthly* reader placidly riding sidesaddle on his June 1898 poster for the magazine.

<sup>150</sup> “New Publications . . . With Remington in the West,” *New York Times*, Aug. 11, 1895, 27.

<sup>151</sup> Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 1.

<sup>152</sup> “New Publications . . . With Remington in the West,” 27.

<sup>153</sup> “New Publications . . . With Remington in the West,” 27.

<sup>154</sup> “New Publications . . . With Remington in the West,” 27. See also “New Publications. Harper & Brothers Publish To-Day,” *New York Times*, July 23, 1895, 5.

<sup>155</sup> “Pony Tracks,” *The Critic: A Weekly Review of Literature and the Arts* 24, no. 714 (Oct. 26, 1895), 261.

<sup>156</sup> Price, *Posters*, 4; Penfield, introduction in Pollard, *Posters in Miniature*, n.p.

<sup>157</sup> T. J. Jackson Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880–1930,” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1940*, edited by Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 17–18, cited in Burns, *Inventing the Modern Artist*, 232–33.

<sup>158</sup> Burns, 233.

<sup>159</sup> “Pony Tracks,” *The Bookman*, 150.

<sup>160</sup> Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 8; Ohmann, “Diverging Paths,” 103.

<sup>161</sup> Mott, 8; Ohmann, 103; Contract Book 9, p. 185, Harper’s Archive, Columbia University.

<sup>162</sup> Quoted from S. K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art* (1942) in Susan B. Barnes, *An Introduction to Visual Communication from Cave Art to Second Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: Peter Lange Publishing, 2017), 70.

<sup>163</sup> R. H. Russell, “This Gibson Picture Free” [advertisement], *Collier’s Weekly* 28, no. 12 (Dec. 21, 1901), 18. Available online from HathiTrust. Accessed April 4, 2020, at <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015036655762?urlappend=%3Bseq=314>.

<sup>164</sup> Peter H. Hassrick, “‘That Hymn of Divine Crudeness?’ Frederic Remington the Painter,” (Santa Fe, NM: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1991), accessed online April 3, 2020, at <https://centerofthewest.org/2015/01/22/hymn-divine-crudeness-frederic-remington-painter/>.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **A RE-MOVEABLE FIESTA: GERALD CASSIDY'S SANTA FE FIESTA POSTERS, 1922**

For nearly a century, visitors to Santa Fe, New Mexico's La Fonda Hotel, located on the southeast corner of the plaza, have traipsed past a series of original poster designs painted in 1922 by the artist Gerald Cassidy (1869—1934) to promote the Santa Fe Fiesta. While its promoters contended the Fiesta originated centuries earlier, the Museum of New Mexico first officially organized the annual event in 1919.<sup>1</sup> The Fiesta commemorates the 1692 reconquest of New Mexico by Diego de Vargas which returned the province to Spanish rule following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In 1922, the celebration consisted of parades, pageants, and dances, including dances performed by members of nearby Pueblo communities.<sup>2</sup>

Cassidy's Fiesta poster series originally featured large portraits of local celebrities and historic figures along with more generic images of dances visitors could see at the 1922 Fiesta.<sup>3</sup> Today, large, sans serif hand lettering on each poster identifies the subject, from the "Buffalo Dancer" and "Spanish Dancer" to historical figures like "Santiago," "Kit Carson," and "El Tovar" (fig. 3.1). The designs, painted in brilliant crimson, cerulean, teal, deep umber, and white, blend painterly brushwork with the graphic modernism of influential Art Nouveau and German *sachplakat* (object poster) design of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Celebrated in his time as one of the "top three lithographers" in the country and regularly heralded as a "famous" artist in Albuquerque and Santa Fe newspapers, Gerald Cassidy won a

gold prize for his murals at the Panama-California International Exposition of 1915 and completed a number of important mural and portrait commissions during the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>4</sup> Despite these accomplishments, he is largely unknown today outside the American Southwest and the museums whose collections include his richly hued, romantic depictions of southwestern scenery and people. Scholarship on Cassidy is scanty, typically consisting of brief entries in books and exhibition catalogues concerning New Mexico's famed early twentieth century art colonies.<sup>5</sup> When writers have addressed Cassidy's biography, and his Fiesta poster series in particular, misinformation abounds, even in Santa Fe, where Cassidy moved with his second wife, the writer and suffragist, Ina Sizer Cassidy, in 1912.<sup>6</sup> Today, Cassidy's birthdate is often erroneously identified as 1879 and his posters are still incorrectly identified, even in art historical materials provided by the hotel in which they hang.<sup>7</sup>

Misinformation concerning Cassidy and his posters may derive in part from the fact that the bulk of the Cassidys' papers are not in Santa Fe, where these posters are displayed, but at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. As a further complication, Cassidy went by two names. Born Ira Dymond (Diamond) Gerald Cassidy in 1869, for much of his life and career as a commercial artist, he was known as Ira Cassidy. Only after he attempted to give up commercial lithography and become a full-time painter in the mid-1910s did he begin signing correspondence and paintings as Gerald Cassidy.<sup>8</sup> Also counting against Cassidy in the annals of art history is his long career as a commercial illustrator and lithographer; he produced advertisements for products ranging from Beech-Nut Gum and radiators to poster designs for Buffalo Bill's Wild West. While Cassidy completed a number of murals, posters, and paintings for Santa Fe community events, he was not as prolific as some of his peers in northern New Mexico, like E. I. Couse, whose work also bridged advertising, illustration, and easel painting.

Poor health limited his artistic output; tuberculosis or pneumonia led to Cassidy's first trip to New Mexico in 1898 to recuperate.<sup>9</sup> Carbon monoxide poisoning suffered while working on a WPA mural in an unventilated studio in 1934 cut short his life and limited his career as a fine artist to about fifteen years.

This chapter serves in part to correct errors and discrepancies in the historical and biographical record of an important southwestern artist and an influential American commercial artist. Although prominent lithography firms courted Cassidy for advertising poster designs and illustrations during the first two decades of the twentieth century, most of these images have long since lost attribution or were, as was the case with most print advertisements at the turn of the century, never associated with his name. Completed in 1922 and intended for reproduction on posters, billboards, and postcards, Cassidy's Fiesta paintings merit attention as examples of the work of a key advertising artist of the early twentieth century.

Encountering these posters in a hotel lobby raises practical questions: What accounted for their production? What is the significance of the figures pictured on these paintings? Why are some historical figures and others generic subjects? The Art Nouveau framing devices and simplified German *sachplakat* lettering give rise to additional questions. Why might Gerald Cassidy, already a seasoned and celebrated commercial artist, poster designer, mural painter, and developing easel painter, adopt a fin-de-siècle aesthetic that was decidedly *passé*, decades past "nouveau," in 1922? How do these images relate to other works in Cassidy's oeuvre? What do they signify about the region where they were created and the context of their historical moment? And what purposes do they serve today? This chapter addresses these questions and marks the first serious investigation of the posters' production, imagery, and role in the promotion of Santa Fe following World War I.



This chapter relies heavily on Cassidy's correspondence and period newspaper accounts to demonstrate how these works functioned within the broader arc of Cassidy's career and the development of tourism in Santa Fe. In many ways this series most clearly demonstrates a central and underlying argument of this study: that art posters, like commercial art more broadly, are products of collaboration and compromise, and serve different purposes for the multiple stakeholders involved in their creation.

If Edward Penfield engaged in subtle self-promotion through his posters heralding Frederic Remington's book, *Pony Tracks*, and addressed visions of the West shaped by Buffalo Bill and Plains Indian painting in turn-of-the-century New York City, I contend that Gerald Cassidy's Fiesta series served as an even more overt form of self-promotion. These representations formed a catalogue of self-referential imagery that both alluded to other examples of his works and foreshadowed subject matter to which he later returned. By including images of contemporary New Mexico political leaders in the series, he honored and flattered important patrons while quietly bringing attention to the major political issue confronting Pueblo communities in late 1922: the Bursum Bill.

For Santa Fe boosters—both the Fiesta committee that commissioned Cassidy to create a series of advertising posters and the Santa Fe Railway officials who soon purchased them—the paintings functioned quite differently. For Santa Feans and the Fiesta committee, Cassidy's work promoted the city's annual pageant and illustrated in poster-form, the local culturati's belief in and commitment to the creation of what became known as "Santa Fe Style." The AT&SF, however, used the posters to promote the Southwest and the railway's interests more broadly. Both entities sought to increase settlement and tourism in the region.

Apart from their maker's and his client's motives, I further argue that the posters' significance—what they “mean” about the West—is as much indebted to their pastiche of historic design styles as it is to their sales history and subject matter. The posters functioned within Santa Fe's campaign to rebrand itself as the “City Different.” They both shaped and responded to what architecture historian Chris Wilson has termed the “myth of Santa Fe,” a community identity invented during the 1910s and 1920s to promote tourism through the confluence of art and architectural revivals, historic preservation, public ritual, and romantic regional literature.<sup>10</sup> The significance of Cassidy's series lies not only in its contribution to the development of the myth of Santa Fe through subject matter—but importantly and more subtly, through style. The myth constructed by these posters in 1922 continues to “sell” Santa Fe to tourists today.

### **I. The Series for Cassidy**

Gerald Cassidy struggled to counter the assumption that he was a “commercial artist” even as he continued, due to economic necessity, to complete commercial assignments for at least four lithographic firms during the 1910s.<sup>11</sup> After nearly three decades as a commercial lithographer and illustrator, Cassidy expressed in his correspondence of the early 1920s a desire to leave commercial work behind.<sup>12</sup> However, neither his words nor his actions implied the kind of disdain toward advertising art conveyed by another illustrator-turned-easel painter of his generation, Maynard Dixon, who I discuss in chapter 4. While Cassidy classified certain paintings he deemed lacking in universal appeal as “museum” or “exhibition” pieces due to their subject matter, he viewed sales as sales, even attempting to entice lithography firms and magazine publishers to purchase his easel paintings for use in advertising and/or cover designs.

For Cassidy, it seems a mass-produced image that provided national exposure for his work did not degrade its status as fine art. Nevertheless, the artist's correspondence paradoxically suggests he felt insecure about being identified as a "commercial" artist and attempted to reverse this perception in the 1910s and early 1920s. His most obvious early attempt to escape his well-earned reputation as a "hired hand" is evident in his decision to stop signing his work and correspondence "Ira" in favor of his middle name, "Gerald" by 1914.<sup>13</sup>

Cassidy regularly enlisted friends to promote his work outside New Mexico and constantly advised dealers on how best to publicize it, leading some of his patrons and peers to perceive him, at least on first impression, as commercially inclined.<sup>14</sup> When, for example, Cassidy's friend John P. Harrington, endorsed the artist for mural work at the Panama-California Exposition of 1915-17, he wrote Edgar Lee Hewett, director of exhibits for the exposition and director of the School of American Archaeology and Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe: "I took him to be rather commercial when I first knew him, but find on better acquaintance that he is not so at all."<sup>15</sup> Perceptions that Cassidy was "commercial" may have resulted, in part, from his pursuit of opportunities that best advanced his career and sustained him economically. Even as a lithographer and commercial illustrator, he was not overly loyal to any one printing firm, but eager to work for whichever provided him the best salary, even if that meant leaving his brother Asa's firm, H. C. Miner Lithographing Co., for a competitor in New York in 1917. The move to a "much better position with a rival firm," he wrote Hewett on September 19, 1917, "adds zest to my work which is always interesting."<sup>16</sup> Cassidy's economic motives, however, conflicted with his ultimate desire to create fine art rather than the commercial work which he produced before and during World War I. He anticipated the war's end and a return to Santa Fe where he might

put his plans into motion. In the end, however, he never made a clean break from advertising and lithography.

Even when Cassidy attempted to build a career as a fine artist, he struggled to fully escape the perception of being “commercial.” Such notions may have resulted, in part, from what critics and dealers on both coasts considered to be high prices for his work.<sup>17</sup> Cassidy, for example, repeatedly locked horns with Massachusetts collector and exhibit organizer H. B. Eaton, over the asking prices in his first show in Boston in 1921. When none of the paintings sold he finally agreed to lower the prices on his work.<sup>18</sup>

Frustrated by his lack of sales in Boston, Cassidy wrote Eaton in early May 1921, “Can you call the attention of the Forbes Litho. Co. to my exhibition, and get their representative to see the painting? They buy a great many paintings for advertising purposes.”<sup>19</sup> For Cassidy, distinctions between commercial art and fine art, painting and poster design were more blurred than they were for his viewers. In fact, the very quality that made a painting appealing for advertising purposes often worked against him in a gallery setting. This is evident in his confusion over criticism that his work in Boston was “too slick.” “The comments and criticisms are all very interesting and helpful,” he wrote to Eaton in May 1921:

and I wish that you would send also the adverse comments for often more is learned by these than praise. For instance, I would give much to know what the artist really meant when he said that “Cassidy was too slick”. What did he mean by “slick”? And what were the slick edges that needed being worn off?<sup>20</sup>

Criticism that his work appeared “slick” suggests the viewer, himself an artist, equated Cassidy’s painting style with commercial art. That Cassidy felt his Boston paintings were worthy for advertising illustration corroborates this idea. To escape the appearance of slickness or advertising aesthetics, or perhaps the perception of being an advertising artist, would require more than changing his name. It would require a change in technique.

As the passage above indicates, Cassidy sought advice for such change. Working for lithography firms, he was used to collaboration and compromise and was often tasked with completing or refining others' drawings or adjusting his own imagery to meet his clients' needs.<sup>21</sup> He treated the beginning of his easel painting career in the 1920s in much the same way, requesting criticism from Eaton and others in order to make his work more appealing to new clients: fine art buyers.<sup>22</sup> He acknowledged his goal to Eaton, along with his dismay and confusion in pricing his work:

I am at a loss to know just what to say ... I think that I have put the lowest possible price on the most of the pictures... it is very difficult for me to know where or how much to cut ... I want to get my work moving.<sup>23</sup>

The comparatively low prices Cassidy received for large paintings he considered fine art must have been confounding to a professional commercial artist. Ten years earlier, he had earned \$25 to \$50 per week as a freelance artist for Cincinnati's U.S. Lithography firm—whether or not the company sent him any poster or illustration work.<sup>24</sup>

In the transition from commercial to fine artist, Cassidy sought not only higher prices for his paintings, but also the enhanced reputation and credibility that attended placing his work in prominent public and private collections. "I want to get it in the good collections and museums," he wrote Eaton, "and I am willing to make whatever sacrifice it is necessary for me to make."<sup>25</sup> To that end, Cassidy donated perhaps his most important easel painting of the 1910s, *Cui Bono?*, to the new museum of fine arts in Santa Fe in September 1917. Several years later, he gifted a series of lithographs of southwestern subjects to the same museum in 1926.<sup>26</sup>

However, even after exhibitions in Massachusetts and London in 1921, Cassidy still struggled to distance himself from his reputation as a commercial artist. Thus, in 1922, his Fiesta posters commission marked a pivotal point in his career—the moment when he made a

concentrated effort to shed his commercial reputation through, paradoxically, the creation of promotional posters. How Cassidy acquired the job is unclear. His selection may have resulted from his existing patronage relationship with a powerful member of Santa Fe society—the Fiesta Committee’s director, historian, and AT&SF attorney, Ralph Emerson Twitchell. In addition to commissioning Cassidy to paint his portrait in 1919, Twitchell hired him to paint portraits of key figures in New Mexico’s history for the New Mexico Historical Society in 1919.<sup>27</sup>

Cassidy’s selection may also have stemmed from his locally celebrated poster advertising the Santa Fe Drama League’s 1921 production of the play, *Grumpy* starring artist B. J. O. Nordfeldt. Although Gustave Bauman, Will Shuster, Warren Rollins, and Jozef Bakos also contributed hand-painted posters to advertise the play, H. B. Eaton found Cassidy’s poster so appealing that he purchased and removed it from the league before the play’s final performance, requiring Cassidy to hurriedly paint a replacement.<sup>28</sup> (Eaton’s enthusiasm for Cassidy’s poster led him to organize the aforementioned exhibition of the artist’s work in Boston and London.) To Cassidy, the sale of the *Grumpy* poster and upcoming Boston exhibition signaled his [permanent] transition from commercial to fine art: he asserted he would now “devote the rest of my years to painting.”<sup>29</sup>

Although his Fiesta posters served as advertising, rather than fine art, they provided the artist with an opportunity to explore graphic modernism, eschew the highly detailed naturalistic representation of his commercial lithography, and experiment with a style characterized by painterly brushwork, vivid colors, and dramatic, simple compositions. The stylistic simplicity that defined graphic modernism with its movement toward abstraction and simplified forms, compositions, and limited text, paralleled Cassidy’s developing aims for his easel paintings.

Regarding two oils Henry Grant had purchased at the National Arts Club summer exhibition in 1921, Cassidy wrote:

It was most gratifying to me that ... the color, and the simple, direct way in handling was appreciated. This is what I am striving for, color harmony and simplicity in handling. The more experience I have in painting the more I am convinced that pure color, applied in correct relation, is the thing. What is painting, but color, primarily—shown through form.<sup>30</sup>

Eight of the ten posters of Cassidy's Fiesta series depict lone individuals rendered in heroic scale against a flat or lightly textured field of color. Surrounded by rustic organic borders that resemble a southwestern version of viny Art Nouveau framing devices, the oversized figures, negative space, and bold outlines echo Jules Chéret's and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec's late nineteenth century posters of cheery modern women and nightclub performers, respectively. Rendered in profile against ambiguous negative space, their contours surrounded with thick outlines, Cassidy's figures of Buffalo and Eagle dancers seem also indebted to—or at least in dialogue with so-called "traditional Indian painting" developed by young Pueblo painters in the 1910s and 1920s.<sup>31</sup>

While the flat backgrounds, single figures in motion, and organic outlines of Cassidy's posters simultaneously reflect the influence of Art Nouveau and the emergence of modern Pueblo painting, the limited texts painted in geometric sans serif lettering on each poster reference German *sachplakat* (object posters) of the early 1910s. Thus, despite their seeming simplicity, the figures and text are rendered in a style that incorporates two—arguably three—major design approaches that increasingly embraced abstraction and simplicity of form. Modernist *sachplakat* style was embraced by forward-thinking advertising writers like Earnest Elmo Calkins in the 1910s. Reflecting on his life and career, Calkins later wrote of advertising art's adoption of modernism in the early twentieth century:

Realistic art had reached a dead level of excellence. It was no longer possible to make an advertisement striking, conspicuous and attractive by still pictures and realistic groups, however competently painted. Modernism afforded the opportunity of expressing the inexpressible, of suggesting not so much a motor car as speed, not so much a gown as style, not so much a compact as beauty.<sup>32</sup>

In their treatise on American railway posters, Michael E. Zega and John E. Gruber note the prevalence of modern German design in advertising and design magazines between 1915 and 1917, and credit the Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) with adopting—to a greater degree than any other American railway—sachplakat style in their promotional materials after 1913.<sup>33</sup> While William Simpson, the AT&SF's advertising manager, and forward thinking advertisers like Calkins welcomed the eye-catching abstraction and limited text of German modernist design, the approach was viewed with suspicion by more traditionally-minded commercial lithography firms in part because, like the art poster aesthetic adopted by Penfield and his peers during the 1890s, it threatened the elaborate representational imagery favored by the lithography establishment.<sup>34</sup>

Although art poster style—whether French or German in origin—would have appeared outmoded among poster enthusiasts in New York by 1922, it was still perceived by American lithography firms during the 1910s as innovative but risky. As late as 1915, Asa Cassidy, president of the Miner lithography firm in New York City, complained to his brother, Ira (Gerald), that although the company was printing nonstop there was “not much work for the Artists. Everything seems to be running to the Flat Poster Style, and you know there is not much work for the Artists in that style of drawing.”<sup>35</sup>

The rise of the “Flat Poster Style,” as Asa Cassidy termed it, may have signaled a decline in demand for the detailed and elaborate representational illustration of the previous century, but for his brother, it meant aesthetic independence from commercial work, an embracing of modern design, and a shift toward a career as a fine artist. To aesthetes among Santa Fe's tourists,



potential patrons of Gerald Cassidy's easel paintings, his embrace of the flat style demonstrated his familiarity with European modernism and identified him (and his clients) as cosmopolitan.

## II. A Re-Movable Fiesta: The Posters' Production

Deeply involved in preparations for the Fiesta, Cassidy assumed responsibility for the events' decorations and set design in 1920, which involved installing a "wall of saplings" enclosing the street in front of the Governor's Palace; in 1921 he designed floats for the parade.<sup>36</sup> He served as art director for the 1922 Fiesta, held on September 4-6. His sketch of a stagecoach racing into the Plaza adorned the cover of the program as it had the year before, and his painting, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1921) appeared inside (fig. 3.2).<sup>37</sup> He also painted the backdrop for the adobe stage, a set design, writer Duncan Aikman of the *El Paso Morning Times*, described as a "masterly" interpretation of southwestern landscape that included an "exquisite moon, vista of mesa, desert, and distant pueblo."<sup>38</sup>

The spring preceding the 1922 Fiesta, Ralph Emerson Twitchell, director of the Chamber of Commerce and chair of the Santa Fe Fiesta Committee, tasked Cassidy to create four posters to promote the event. After accepting the assignment, in late April Cassidy proposed the committee produce a series of post cards of his images, bound in folders in order to "continuously advertis[e] the Santa Fe Fiesta very effectively, at the same time bringing me some financial return for my work."<sup>39</sup> He also offered to create six additional posters, creating a "series of ten, the subjects to be tentatively as follows: 1. Santiago. 2. Eagle Dancer. 3. Buffalo Dancer 4. De Vargas 5. Matachina Dancer 6. Deer Dancer 7. Comanche Dancer 8. The Director (in Spanish Costume) 9. The Father of the Missions 10. The Overland Stage." He suggested these additional designs could promote both artist and Santa Fe if reproduced on postcards,

posters, and billboards, and only asked that all reproductions bear “the legend in small type: From painting by Gerald Cassidy.”<sup>40</sup>

Apparently, the artist’s proposal convinced the committee, for, in mid-May, Twitchell presented Cassidy’s ten poster designs to Chicago to AT&SF executives and arranged for the production of posters and souvenir postcards, which the *New Mexican* proudly predicted would “make a real sensation all over the country.”<sup>41</sup> The AT&SF subsequently purchased the posters, with some alterations, and exhibited the series at the Kansas City Art Institute.<sup>42</sup> The display caught the attention of the *New Mexican* which reported “[t]he work...brilliant in color and superb in draftsmanship.”<sup>43</sup>

The article revealed alterations to Cassidy’s original proposal. His Comanche Dancer, Deer Dancer, and Overland Stage were replaced by a Spanish Dancer, Navajo, and Kit Carson implying that the Fiesta committee had requested a broader and more diverse representation of figures than the focus on Pueblo dances that Cassidy had originally proposed. (In Cassidy’s original proposal, six of the ten posters featured Pueblo subjects or dancers in comparison to the four Pueblo-themed posters he ultimately painted for Twitchell.) The artist, ever mindful of publicity and potential sales, informed Kansas City painter and friend, L. D. MacMorris, of his museum exhibit at the Art Institute and invited him to spend the summer in Santa Fe:

I want you to see these for two reasons. First because I want you to see this kind of my work. *It is quite different from my oils which you saw here, and also my decorations.* Then I recall that in one of your letters, you said to let you know when I was showing anything in KC and you might be able to do me some good in publicity, so I am taking you at your word, and will say go to it and do your worst! ... If at any time I can reciprocate, don’t forget to call upon me. The Santa Fe advertising department has bought this set, and they are to be used as posters and post cards for continuously advertising the fiesta.<sup>44</sup>(emphasis mine)

Significantly, Cassidy identifies the Fiesta posters as distinct in style from his paintings or mural work. As he indicated to H. B. Eaton, the posters marked his interest in exploring new ideas—abstraction, simplification of forms, and flat color—in other words, modernist design.

Cassidy's letter also makes clear that he believed the AT&SF's goal in purchasing the posters was to encourage rail travel to the Fiesta although the railway's intentions and Cassidy's perceptions were somewhat at odds. Cassidy had already changed three subjects from his original proposal presumably to accommodate Twitchell's and the Fiesta Committee's needs. But the AT&SF required an additional modification: the replacement of Twitchell's portrait in a charro outfit as "Director of the Fiesta" with an alternate design. Cassidy's substitute image, a Zuni Shalako, met with the AT&SF's approval.<sup>45</sup> Of the series, only Cassidy's Shalako poster can truly be considered a commission of the railway.

Cassidy wrote enthusiastically to friends concerning the railway's purchase of his posters, his most important sale in 1922.<sup>46</sup> The Santa Fe's rather paltry offer of \$250 for the series and rights to reproduce it on postcards, however, disappointed him. He wrote to John F. Huckel, V.P. of the Fred Harvey company, who had made the offer:

This has seemed a very small price for these posters, especially when it is remembered that posters for such advertising as this, when used as bill board posters bring from fifty to one hundred dollars each, so I am frank to say that I am very much disappointed at this low offer. That is at the rate of \$25 each only. For post card advertising, however, perhaps you are able to get posters for such a sum.<sup>47</sup>

Ultimately, Cassidy used the low price to bargain for increased visibility of his name on both sides of the postcards—requesting “‘From a painting by Gerald Cassidy’ appear beneath each image and also on the verso, if possible” as well as on any other reproductions of the images.<sup>48</sup> “I am not a commercial artist,” he reminded Huckel:

And most painters do not do such work as this. But I am so keenly interested in Santa Fe and the Fiesta that I wanted to lend my talent to helping it along, and this fact should add to the value of the cards as you well know; I mean the fact that a painter, rather than a commercial artist has done them. ...

With this introduction to the art department of the Santa Fe system, I hope to have the opportunity at some future time of doing some really serious work for your system, and will appreciate it very much if you will keep this in mind. I wish to thank you also for the exhibition of these posters in the Art Institute in Kansas City.”<sup>49</sup>

Cassidy concealed from Huckel his ongoing commercial work for New York lithography firms and as a contract worker for multiple firms in other locales during the 1890s through World War I.<sup>50</sup> And he introduces the subject of further sales to the Santa Fe by offering to do “some really serious work” for the railway in the future. He shrewdly recognized that he could afford to release his Fiesta posters and their publishing rights for a pittance if they paved the way for future, more important patronage by the AT&SF. In fact, the posters provided the opportunity Cassidy had coveted for nearly a decade. As early as 1913, when the artist resided in Ventura, California, he sent the railroad’s Los Angeles assistant passenger traffic manager notice of an exhibit of his paintings at a local studio.<sup>51</sup> However, it was his poster series of 1922 that finally and firmly cemented a patronage relationship between Cassidy and the AT&SF, a relationship that extended beyond the artist’s death in 1934.<sup>52</sup>

Huckel noted Cassidy’s complaint and doubled the railroad’s original offer to \$500. At \$50 per painting, the Santa Fe still received a bargain, paying the same price Cassidy received ten years earlier for advertising illustrations he completed on contract for U.S. Litho/Russell-Morgan of Cincinnati.<sup>53</sup>

Even before the railway purchased the series, Cassidy’s designs received accolades in Santa Fe. The *New Mexican* pronounced them a “knockout” following their early May installation at the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce where they “received the most enthusiastic praise of all who have seen them, and nothing comparable with them in ‘real Santa Fe stuff’ has ever been seen here.”<sup>54</sup>

Immediately after purchasing the series, the AT&SF announced its intent to produce and sell through its corporate associate, the Fred Harvey Co., one million sets of postcards produced from Cassidy’s posters along its route.<sup>55</sup> As the artist requested, each reproduction contained the

printed caption, “From a Painting by Gerald Cassidy” in small type beneath the image (fig. 3.3). Additional fine print listed the title of each painting followed by “Santa Fe Fiesta.” However, *none* of the lettering on *any* of Cassidy’s original Fiesta paintings was printed. Even Cassidy’s signature and 1922 copyright indicia was scrubbed off, replaced with Fred Harvey’s copyright.

Not only did the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey Co. eliminate text to fit the needs of the postcard series, but the original poster designs underwent dramatic changes after the AT&SF purchased the paintings. Black and white photographs of the original Fiesta posters in Cassidy’s personal scrapbook indicate to what extent they were altered after being exhibited in Kansas City and Santa Fe in May and purchased by the AT&SF in early summer, 1922. The words “Santa Fe Fiesta” originally appeared in large Vienna Secession-inspired curving capitals with “Annually In September Since 1712” in smaller capitals below on all ten posters sold to the railway *except* the Shalako image (figs. 3.4–3.5). (Cassidy’s omission of the Fiesta wording on that poster, an image he painted to replace his portrait of Twitchell, suggests that the railway already intended Cassidy to remove or paint out the Fiesta lettering from the other nine images when they acquired the series.)

Cassidy’s scrapbook photographs reveal that his original designs contained not just additional Fiesta lettering, but significantly *more* lettering in general, painted in the aforementioned rounded, elongated Art Nouveau-inspired capitals. Small square capitals, the most understated text on the posters apart from Cassidy’s signature, served as captions that identified each figure. In some cases, Cassidy’s original captions remain visible today—the Santiago, Spanish Dancer, Kit Carson, Shalako, and Navajo posters all contain diminutive square capitals found on Cassidy’s original Fiesta designs. The addition of large, condensed titling on the latter two designs repeat the caption, redundantly, in display-size lettering.

Cassidy's scrapbook reveals that in addition to altered or eliminated text, multiple subjects received a new identity inscribed in large geometric characters. The conquistador, De Vargas, became El Tovar (fig. 3.6). Cassidy's "Franciscan Friar," robed in brown against a field of gold, was rebaptized Fray Marcos, identified with large deep blue letters on either side of his head (fig. 3.7). (The image then referred to Frayles Marcos de Niza, remembered by Twitchell in his *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* "because [he] made reports in writing.")<sup>56</sup>

Not only did Cassidy (or another representative of the AT&SF) eliminate words, but also extraneous brushstrokes. For example, in the conquistador image, halo-like effects surrounding the friar's head in the 1922 photograph are not visible in the poster today, nor are streaky brushstrokes to the right of the horse's knee. Likewise, the curve of earth beneath the horse in the current poster is smoother than that of the original image. In short, the process of refining and simplification, in effect, modernizing the forms, extended beyond the lettering to the contours and brushwork throughout each poster.

But what does this mean? Such refinements, erasures, meddling of letters, and mingling of conquistadors and Franciscans suggests that sometime between purchasing the series and printing the postcards, the AT&SF altered Cassidy's paintings (or requested he alter them) to better fit its needs. By eliminating references to the Fiesta, on one hand, the Santa Fe rebranded and refashioned the series according to its promotional scheme for the broader Southwest rather than promote an event not even located on the railway's main line. By replacing the verbose, decorative Fiesta text with large sans serif, condensed geometric lettering—or in the case of the postcards, *no text*—the refashioned posters instantly became simpler, more abstract, and more graphically modern and better in keeping with the AT&SF's art department's attitudes toward poster advertising.

William Simpson, the Santa Fe's advertising manager, and his assistant, N. H. Reed, embraced the German approach of limited text and bold colors, applying the style to Santa Fe advertising beginning with billboards for the luxury Santa Fe De Luxe train in December 1913.<sup>57</sup> Simpson characterized strong posters as "a smash of three or four colors" with as little text as possible, noting that the "greatest mistake" in poster design was an overabundance of copy: "Advertisers who do that defeat their own ends."<sup>58</sup> By replacing the Art Nouveau of Cassidy's original, rounded capitals with fewer—and more geometric—capitals, the Santa Fe eliminated visual "clutter" and refashioned Cassidy's series into designs more akin to German *sachplakat* while the large gestural figures retained the colorful liveliness of Art Nouveau posters. This merging or comingling of modern poster styles ultimately translated Cassidy's original Art Nouveau posters into a hybrid that reflected the Santa Fe art department's preferences for, as Simpson's assistant, N.H. Reed, put it, the "dashing designs of the French school and the flat color effects of the German poster artists."<sup>59</sup> Thus the railway redesigned Cassidy's posters making them *more* modern to fit AT&SF corporate branding. And, more in keeping with art posters commentators' demand—as discussed in chapter 2—for pithy text and simplified imagery that could be read and grasped at a glance by viewers increasingly on the move.

Although the Fred Harvey Company published fewer than the million sets of postcards originally projected, the series generated an enthusiastic and immediate response in New Mexico's capital city. The *New Mexican* preened:

It is no exaggeration to say that Fred Harvey nor the Santa Fe advertising department have ever put out anything more beautiful or more artistic in the fullest sense of the word than this colorful and brilliant tabloid delineation of the romance and tradition and picturesqueness of old Santa Fe.

The set comes in a handsome decorated envelope showing the De Vargas entry and printed legend headed by the words "Santa Fe Fiesta" in type large enough to be seen across a room.<sup>60</sup>

Although much celebrated in the Santa Fe press, the postcards bearing Cassidy's Fiesta images failed to meet his exacting production standards. The printing, on close examination, was sloppy, with colors out of registration and details smudged, resulting from a rushed job by a poor-quality printer (figs. 3.8–3.9). Disappointed with the final product, Cassidy wrote Eaton in September: "I wish that I might have had the supervision of the work, or as you say that my brother had. However, they might have been much worse. I wish that you might have seen the original posters."<sup>61</sup>

Cassidy's comment suggests that he may also have felt disappointed in the revised posters, as they were not his "original" designs. And while the postcards generated publicity for the artist, his grandest hopes for poster and billboard reproductions to enhance his fame, envisioned in his first proposal to Twitchell in April 1922, were never fully realized. Inexplicably, neither posters nor billboards of the series appear to have been produced in Cassidy's lifetime.<sup>62</sup>

During Santa Fe's "City Different" campaign and among directors of the Fiesta, however, Cassidy's original posters and postcards were greatly celebrated as successful ventures in the city's efforts to attract more tourists. In the *New Mexican's* terms, they amounted a "splendid bit of advertising for Santa Fe and the Fiesta."<sup>63</sup> In fact, Cassidy's aims for the series and those of Santa Fe's boosters were similar: both sought sales—sales of paintings for Cassidy, tourist dollars for Santa Fe—and publicity in both cases. While his correspondence expressed his fondest hopes for national exposure through his Fiesta posters, Cassidy's choice of imagery embodied his view that the series did not merely promote his name, but also his oeuvre. To that end, I will now examine three subjects in the series to help explain how Cassidy's posters, while ostensibly promoting the Fiesta, demonstrated his attempt to build a "brand" characterized by



“color harmony and simplicity,” but also responded to AT&SF and Santa Fe boosters’ needs while commenting on the political issues dividing northern New Mexico early in the 1920s.<sup>64</sup>

### III. The Motorist’s Fiesta: ~~Coronado, De Vargas, El Tovar~~

Gerald Cassidy’s conquistador poster is the most clearly indebted in the series to the work of German *sachplakat* designers Hans Rudi Erdt (1883-1918) and Ludwig Hohlwein (1874-1949) while the Buffalo Dancer and Santiago posters echo the simpler approach of the style’s inventor, Lucian Bernhard (1883-1972), discussed in chapter 1.<sup>65</sup> Early in the 1910s, like Bernhard, both Erdt and Hohlwein deployed flat masses of color, minimal hand lettering, and clear outlines to create advertising posters that were at once visually arresting and dramatically simple in comparison to more ornate Victorian compositions and more painterly Art Nouveau designs. However, in their more complicated images, they fused positive and negative space through merging flat areas of foreground and background color to create dramatic, spatially ambiguous, and visually interesting compositions (fig. 3.10).

Cassidy’s adoption of this approach is evident in the brown form suggestive of earth in the lower foreground that merges into the upright figure of a Franciscan friar with head bowed at left (fig. 3.11). To the right, a bearded conquistador clad in armor and a flowing pink cape rides a white charger. Cassidy intended the horseman to represent, as the 1922 Fiesta Program described him, “the great Spanish Governor and Captain-General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon,” who in Santa Fe’s Plaza, “having re-conquered the Province, re-established the civil and military authority in 1693.”<sup>66</sup> A local playing De Vargas, rode into the Plaza during “The Commerce of the Prairies,” a pageant of New Mexican history in parade form that opened the 1922 Fiesta on September 4. Despite Cassidy’s highlighting of de Vargas in the poster, the

conquistador likely passed unknown to most spectators: the *New Mexican* reported his entrance occurred “without much of a stir ... as there were so man[y] Dons passing by.”<sup>67</sup>

Cassidy’s patron, Twitchell, wrote of the historical figures featured in the parade and on Cassidy’s poster—conquistadors and priests—in his history of New Mexico:

The soldier looked to the conquest of lands and peoples for his king, and the missionary to the conquest of souls for Heaven. Both advanced, now together and then apart from each other .... The soldier brilliantly clad, mounted on his steed, with spear in hand to fight the Indians if need be; and the missionary, dressed in the poor habit of his order, walking on foot and bearing the cross, to console the conquered native, and to show him that there was One who had suffered before him.<sup>68</sup>

Twitchell casts conquistadors as participants in a new crusade, evangelizing (by force) indigenous inhabitants of “New Spain” and conquering lands for their nation. As in the historian’s description, Cassidy’s mounted conquistador, clad in gleaming armor, rides a snowy horse with flowing mane and tack bedecked in teal and red banners. The visual and verbal description evokes turn-of-the-century illustrations of English—rather than Spanish—crusaders and knights-errant on horseback made iconic in the U.S. by illustrators Howard Pyle and N.C. Wyeth.

Popular writers in the early twentieth century frequently depicted western heroes in medieval terms in narratives like Owen Wister’s “Evolution of the Cowpuncher” which pictured cowboys as descendants of Sir Launcelot.<sup>69</sup> “The knight and the cowboy are nothing but the same Saxon of different environments,” wrote Wister.<sup>70</sup> The commingling of European crusaders, Arthurian legend, and the American West occurred in works by late nineteenth century western American artists as well, including Frederic Remington, whose illustration *The Last Cavalier*, in Wister’s article, pictured the cowboy as a modern successor to a long line of knights-errant (fig. 3.12).<sup>71</sup>

Thus, Cassidy depicts the conquistador aboard streamer-bedecked carousel horse as a southwestern parallel to the Arthurian equestrians turned westerners described in late nineteenth century writing and illustration. The mounted figure forms an anachronistic, almost bizarre, reimagining of a seventeenth-century conquistador re-conquering New Spain following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. But the strangeness does not stop there. In fact, while the 1922 poster echoes romantic representations of knights on horseback, it more directly reprises Cassidy's 1921 Coronado murals for the Oñate Theater in Santa Fe that intentionally mashed up Spanish conquistadors, English knights, and American technological advances of the early twentieth century.

The murals, which consisted of two large triptychs commissioned by theater proprietor Jimmy Cassell, Jr., faced each other on either side of the theater auditorium inside Cassell's newly constructed building on the west side of the plaza (fig. 3.13).<sup>72</sup> The murals represented the first encounter between Pueblo warriors and Coronado's army near Zuni in 1549. The *New Mexican* described them as featuring:

Coronado the conqueror, in his traditional golden armor, mounted on a magnificent white steed... beside this charger a grave ascetic, robed Franciscan friar, the deep religious note in the picture stand[s], with book in hand and eyes upon it, a stern and compelling figure with fine strong rugged face ... From the valley below, the mail clad horsemen ride toward their leader.<sup>73</sup>

The parallels between Cassidy's mural and his poster of the following year are obvious: in the poster, the bearded Coronado, now de Vargas, rides a white charger. At his knee, a robed friar gazes down, his hands clasping a white cross rather than a book. "Mail clad horsemen" are suggested by the dark horse at far right, the helmeted head of a soldier at far left just beyond de Vargas's shoulder, and by multiple lances piercing the blue sky above. In both Cassidy's mural and poster, the central conquistador wears armor, with plumed helmet and pink cape flowing

behind. Even the banner-bedecked tack on the poster finds its inception in Cassidy's mural of 1921. Thus, at its simplest, Cassidy's poster design represents a vertical cropping of the central figures of his celebrated Coronado mural painted just nine months earlier. Cassidy's poster then directed Fiesta visitors not just to the performance of De Vargas' arrival during the Fiesta parade, but to the building located adjacent to the grandstand, where they might view the larger version of Cassidy's poster in person.<sup>74</sup>

That Cassidy used his poster to refer to his mural is not surprising as Cassidy considered the Oñate Theater murals major works, and not surprisingly, as good advertising. The only entry he made in his record of important canvases completed in 1921 reads, "Two large Murals, 'The Meeting of the Spaniards and the Indians at Zuni in 1549, for El Oñate Theatre, Santa Fe, \$3,000.'" <sup>75</sup> Following the 1921 Fiesta, he described the murals to San Diego gallery owner Frank C. Orr, whose support Cassidy clearly hoped to attract, as "a big commission [that] should result in much valuable publicity for my work, and should be of much value to a dealer."<sup>76</sup> He also wrote to Eaton, promising to make and send photographs of the decorations, proudly adding, "People go to the show to see the paintings, often, rather than the movies."<sup>77</sup>

The paintings—and Cassell's building—generated enthusiasm in Santa Fe as well. Cassidy's murals made the building more appealing to visitors (read: tourists), the *New Mexican* claimed, for housing "two of the largest and most impressive historical paintings in the west."<sup>78</sup> Given this context, Cassidy's Fiesta poster must be viewed in concert with his murals for the Cassell building and with Cassell's own aims.

Whereas Cassidy's 1922 poster referenced the Fiesta's annual parade, with its enactment of de Vargas entering Santa Fe, his 1921 depiction of Coronado and his entourage represented for Jimmy Cassell, Jr., travelers of a different sort: modern-day motor tourists. In addition to the

Oñate Theater, the building, designed by T. Charles Gaastra and constructed by G. O. Teats, also housed Cassell's car dealership, garage, machine shop, and restaurant. Cassell built the theater and restaurant less with the entertainment of Santa Feans in mind than to attract cross-country travelers waiting out lengthy car repairs in his adjacent garage.<sup>79</sup>

Amplifying the metaphor to grandiose proportions, Cassell named his new building "La Casa de Los Conquistadores." While the designation references Cassidy's Coronado mural, Cassell intended the name to honor to "the new knights of travel motoring through Santa Fe, the new conquerors of distance who believe in the saying: 'To travel is to possess the world.'"<sup>80</sup> In an amazing tangle of commercialism cum colonization, the *New Mexican* likewise described the clientele for Cassell's full-service garage and theater as "Latter Day Conquerors," that is, the "[motorists] of America."<sup>81</sup> In fact, by 1922, tourists' ability to "conquer" time and space through the automobile was understood. During the 1920s, the West experienced an expansion of roads traveled by wealthy tourists seeking, as historian Peter Blodgett notes, "adventure or excitement or recreation rather than profit or permanent residence."<sup>82</sup> Such travelers found modern technology their entrée into history. In the words of one automobile explorer, whose motorized trek through New Mexico before statehood appeared in *Outing Magazine* in 1902, "the machine is conquering the old frontier, carrying the thudding of modern mechanics into the land of romance."<sup>83</sup> The machine's ability to compress time and space was paralleled by such a compression in the Fiesta itself. As the *New Mexican* reported, during the parade, with its thirty-five sections chronicling New Mexican history from prehistory to a fly-over, "Father Time Steps on Accelerator and Centuries Flit By in Minutes."<sup>84</sup>

The "centuries tumbl[ing] over one another"<sup>85</sup> in the parade echoed a similar compression of time evident in new buildings surrounding the Plaza, including Jimmy Cassell's garage. The

*New Mexican* reported that Cassell's \$150,000 building combined "beauty and utility" and was so "architecturally unique" and so "inspiring and picturesque" that it would soon become "one of the familiar landmarks of a city of landmarks."<sup>86</sup> Its apparent quaintness notwithstanding, for the *New Mexican* to herald Cassell's building as architecturally unique and innovative was, in 1921, a bit disingenuous, if not outright contradicted by the Fine Arts Museum across Palace Avenue to its north.<sup>87</sup> Constructed between April 1916 and November 1917, the "New Museum," as Cassidy and his contemporaries called it, was itself an expanded version of the New Mexico building at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition, which its architects had modeled after a pastiche of elements from several Pueblo villages and missions.<sup>88</sup>

Cassell's "architecturally unique" building duplicated the towers of the museum's Saint Francis Auditorium and coalesced in miniature the confluence of Spanish Colonial and Pueblo elements that between 1916 and 1925 formed the common denominators to "Santa Fe Style." That is, one or two-story buildings of adobe appearance with church towers, flat roofs, projecting vigas and canals, carved corbels, exterior porches, balconies, and courts organized in an asymmetrical arrangement.<sup>89</sup>

Given this context, Cassidy's 1922 poster reprise of his 1921 Coronado mural paralleled the conglomeration of history and modernity mashed together not only in the colonialist rhetoric surrounding Cassell's building, or in the Fiesta itself, but in architectural developments in Santa Fe at the time. The confluence of Spanish and Pueblo forms in the Cassell Building and echoed in the pageant's mingling of Indigenous, Spanish, and Euro-American histories found correlation in Cassidy's Fiesta poster that concurrently represented three different conquistadors in a style fusing French, Austrian, and German design with the Southwest.

With the addition of Vienna Secession lettering to his original poster design, Cassidy swapped out the Coronado of his mural for De Vargas, changing both the identity of the conquistador and the meaning of his image. But when the AT&SF purchased his poster series in May 1922, the railway demanded a new protagonist. Cassidy painted out the words “Santa Fe Fiesta” that loomed large on his original design, along with the lengthy texts, “Annually In September Since 1712” and “Entry of De Vargas 1693.” Against the earthy brown of the foreground, he painted two words in gleaming white geometric sans serif capitals, and in the process exchanged De Vargas for another Spaniard more useful to the railway’s promotional agenda: El Tovar.<sup>90</sup>

In replacing the poster’s original texts with the words “El Tovar,” the AT&SF pointedly deemphasized Santa Fe and the Fiesta, highlighting instead Pedro de Tobar (de Tovar), the namesake of the railway’s Fred Harvey hotel perched on the south rim of the Grand Canyon which had opened to passenger-tourists in 1905. De Tobar’s reports of rumors of a large river in what is now northern Arizona led Garcia Lopez de Cardenas to explore the region and ultimately to the Spanish “discovery” of the Grand Canyon in 1540. And Tobar had been in New Mexico. As Twitchell reported in his history of the state, Don Pedro de Tovar, “a young cavalier, son of Don Fernando de Tobar, mayor-domo of the late queen, Joana,” served as standard-bearer for Coronado.<sup>91</sup>

When Cassidy replaced his wordy by comparison Vienna Secession lettering with seven large capitals reading “El Tovar,” he once more demonstrated the interchangeability of conquistadors and the dependence of the image’s meaning on associated text. However, with its reference to hotels and rail travel implied in the words “El Tovar,” Cassidy’s refashioned poster conflated conquerors and passenger train-riding tourists. That is, the meaning of Cassidy’s poster

no longer referred to the Fiesta procession of 1922, or to motorist “conquerors,” but to tourists aboard the “iron horse.” Furthermore, the mammoth-size lettering renders the poster less concerned with representations of history or historical figures (De Vargas or el Tobar) than to the present (El Tovar), a name recognizable to travelers in the region not because of its reference to Spanish expeditions to the Southwest but for the Santa Fe’s Fred Harvey hotel bearing an anglicized version of his name.

In 1925, Twitchell’s limited edition *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico’s Ancient Capital* reproduced Cassidy’s poster embossed on the front cover (fig. 3.14). While no text inside credits Cassidy’s image or provides a title, Twitchell seems to have intended the central figure to represent not Coronado or El Tovar but De Vargas, who receives much attention for his role in New Mexico’s history in the text. The figures stride out of a rectangle of brilliant blue sky (a rectangle that hints at the poster’s vertical form rather than the mural’s horizontal expanse), into the pebbled texture of the cover and, in shallow relief, toward the viewer. The cover design implies that history comes alive, emerging from the past through Twitchell’s words into the viewer’s contemporary space, much like the reenactors that recreated De Vargas’s march into Santa Fe during the Fiesta parade. Like the front cover, with its depiction of De Vargas framed by dazzling sky, spears, and pennants, the text celebrates Spanish conquest. Twitchell dedicated his book to the memory of the Spanish, Mexican, and American pioneers, notably leaving out New Mexico’s indigenous inhabitants.

When viewed in this context, the embossed book cover design, Cassidy’s original Fiesta poster, and the mural it reprised serve to advance colonialism in celebrating Spanish conquest. Such a reading is corroborated by Jimmy Cassell, Jr.’s “La Casa de los Conquistadors.” With such efforts, Twitchell and Santa Fe boosters essentially created a “usable past,” to quote the



period literary critic, Van Wyck Brooks, a history of Santa Fe that privileged Spanish over Indigenous history.<sup>92</sup> Such interpretation occurred repeatedly in early Fiestas which, while incorporating Pueblo dances and an oration by the governor of Santa Clara Pueblo, ultimately commemorated Spanish reconquest and American technological progress. As *Santa Fe Magazine*, the AT&SF's publication for employees and subscribers, noted, by 1926, "everyone in Santa Fe wears Spanish costume during Fiesta week."<sup>93</sup>

As such, the Fiestas served as a form of colonialism through commerce, providing economic gain to the Chamber of Commerce and AT&SF by tourists eager to consume the region and its cultures. However, to merely view Cassidy's representation of an interchangeable conquistador as an extension of the artist's, city's, and railway's attempts to "use history" for economic gain fails to consider his poster series within its broader visual and historical context. Cassidy's murals in the short-lived Oñate Theater (which closed in 1924), did not merely depict Coronado flanked by spears and crosses. Rather, on the opposite wall appear a host of Pueblo warriors arranged behind their cacique, defending their homeland: an expansive valley dominated in the distance by a massive pueblo.<sup>94</sup> Viewers must pan out from Cassidy's De Vargas poster as it was represented—without context—on the cover of Twitchell's book or isolated from the rest of the Fiesta posters, and consider it within the context of the series as a whole. As Cassidy conceived it, the series originally featured a majority of Pueblo subjects.<sup>95</sup> Thus, I contend that an investigation of some of those images—the Buffalo Dancer, Eagle Dancer, and Santiago Naranjo—provides a glimpse into the broader significance and meaning of the posters in 1922.

#### IV. Santiago: Posters, Publicity, And Pueblo Politics

While Cassidy's correspondence implies he created similar subjects across a range of media to publicize his own work, his posters and related images also raised awareness for Pueblo political and social issues and especially worked to promote Pueblo land rights. Cassidy's full-length poster portrait of Santiago Naranjo, like that of the Spanish Dancer in the series, retains only the original small capitals (which omit the Santa Clara governor's last name) inscribed near the bottom of the picture plane (fig. 3.15). No large compressed sans serif interrupts the negative space above, suggesting either Cassidy or the AT&SF considered such an addition unnecessary.<sup>96</sup> As in his representations of the unidentified Navajo and Spanish Dancer, Cassidy provides details of Naranjo's face and hands, surrounded by a more gestural, simplified rendering of the Pueblo leader's dress. Painterly dark outlines characteristic of Art Nouveau posters trace the contours of Naranjo's shirt, leggings, and feather headdress, flattening the image even while the chiaroscuro of his clothing and careful modeling of his face and hands imply volumetric form.<sup>97</sup>

Compared to the dramatic motion, bold text, and bright colors of the other posters, the Santiago poster is striking in its restraint: Cassidy limited the palette to white, black, and red on a buff ground. No brilliant blue sky surrounds the figure. And in contrast to the asymmetry of his dancing figures, Cassidy positioned Naranjo facing forward, standing squarely in the middle of the composition, returning the viewer's gaze. He appears formidable, and in heroic scale: the upright feathers of his headdress break the Art Nouveau-esque border at the top of the picture plane while his beaded moccasins interrupt the undulating border suggestive of earth below. Naranjo wears a white shirt, kilt, and fringed leggings. Red beadwork on his belt, crimson wraps on his headdress, and the red cloth tied at his neck lend color to an almost monochromatic portrait. Limited color, along with the simplified background and the absence of large,

potentially distracting lettering, emphasizes and directs the viewer's attention to the area with the most detail and careful modelling: Santiago's face. Santiago looks out of the picture plane with left eyebrow raised and the right side of his mouth pulled back into a faint smile. His friendly expression suggests kindness, humor, and, with mouth compressed, tact. With an economy of strokes, Cassidy pictures Santiago as a man of wit and intelligence, but also diplomatic reserve.

Such a reading is appropriate. By 1922, the Santa Clara *cacique* (kiva or spiritual leader) in concert with other moiety leaders had appointed Santiago governor of the pueblo five times. Known for his wisdom, outside the Pueblo, Naranjo was often referred to as "The Sage of Santa Clara."<sup>98</sup> He ultimately served as governor of Santa Clara, a position which handled secular affairs and external relations, seven or more times between 1907 and 1930.<sup>99</sup>

A member of the Summer moiety which ruled the Pueblo from 1894 to 1935, Naranjo was an influential and well-known political figure of the early twentieth century and a spokesperson for Pueblo concerns during the 1920s, a period when Santa Clara was divided by factionalism and at risk of losing lands and autonomy.<sup>100</sup> As the Pueblo's secular liaison with outside organizations, Naranjo was nationally as well as locally famous. He appeared in *National Geographic* magazine, hosted visitors to Santa Clara, and along with other Pueblo governors, addressed crowds at multiple Fiestas. In fact, a 1923 article in the *Albuquerque Journal* advised readers to visit Santa Clara not only for the dances but also to meet former governor Naranjo who himself was "worth the visit to the pueblo."<sup>101</sup>

Santiago posed for numerous artists and photographers during the 1910s and 1920s. He sat for portraits by photographer Jesse Nausbaum and painter Julius Rolshoven, and appears alongside anthropologists and artists in photographs made at Frijoles Canyon in 1915.<sup>102</sup> Prior to painting the Fiesta poster in 1922, Cassidy included Santiago's portrait in a series of eight

lithographs of southwestern subjects that he printed in an edition of 50 in 1920 and 1921 (fig. 3.16).<sup>103</sup> In Cassidy's lithograph, Santiago peers out at the viewer, his mouth turned up in a grin and eyes kind, even sparkling with humor. The feather bonnet and earrings visible in the later poster are evident here, too, with the addition of a dark blanket wrapped around the man's shoulders. The soft focus and painterly forms of blanket, clothing, and upright feathers frame Santiago's face, emphasizing the clarity of his expression and facial features. As in his later poster, Cassidy attracts attention to the Native leader's eyes, at the center of the picture plane, which directly engage the viewer.

Cassidy emphasized Naranjo's role during the Fiesta in paintings of the same period. In 1922, he produced a 14 x 20 in. portrait of Naranjo titled *Santiago in Feathered Headdress* (#G-81). The likeness was exhibited in Brockton, Massachusetts, in December 1922, along with *The Buffalo Dancer*, another subject reprised from Cassidy's poster series.<sup>104</sup> In the portrait, poster, and lithograph, Cassidy depicted Naranjo less in his role of Pueblo governor, which would have required depicting a silver-headed cane representative of Pueblo gubernatorial authority, than as the Pueblo's public face at Santa Fe Fiestas, wearing buckskin and a feather bonnet as "Master of Ceremonies."<sup>105</sup> In the written explanation that accompanied *Santiago in Feathered Headdress* to Massachusetts, Cassidy described Naranjo as "one of the best known Pueblo men in New Mexico," who had served as Governor of Santa Clara "many times" and "one of the most influential members of the pueblo Council."<sup>106</sup>

If we understand Cassidy's poster series only as self-promotion, then his Naranjo poster simply exists as one of several images that the artist produced of the Santa Clara governor between 1920 and 1925. That Cassidy saw Santiago's portrait as potentially appealing to Fiesta visitors is evident in his titling of a 1925 portrait not with Santiago's name but with his Fiesta

premonition: *Master of Ceremonies*. However, to merely view Cassidy's sensitive rendering of Santiago's portrait on the 1922 Fiesta poster as an example of artistic cross-promotion and attempt at increasing sales would be remiss. Cassidy's 1922 poster of Santiago also must be considered through the lens of an ongoing Pueblo land debate that existed prior to and following the posters' production in late spring that year. Viewed in this context, Cassidy's multiple portraits of Santiago, his various lithographs of other Pueblo leaders, and his emphasis on Pueblo dances in the poster series acquire pointed significance and connect to white Santa Fe artists' protests against proposed Federal legislation to decrease and divide Pueblo communal lands.

The pueblos faced continual challenges to their land, water, and ceremonies during the 1910s and 1920s. The most serious of these concerns arose in 1922, with the introduction of the "Bursum Bill," that proposed granting non-Native homesteaders living on unoccupied Pueblo lands for ten years title to those lands. Cassidy's patron and Fiesta organizer, Ralph Twitchell, assisted New Mexico Senator Holm O. Bursum in drafting the bill which, if ratified, would have deprived the Pueblos of thousands of acres as well as legal advantages in disputes over water and land rights as such matters, under the bill's terms, would fall under jurisdiction of state courts.

In response to the proposed legislation, members of the All Pueblo Council met at Santo Domingo on November 5, 1922, and selected a delegation of representatives, including Santiago Naranjo, to travel with the Native rights advocate and eventual Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Commissioner, John Collier, to Washington, D.C. in January 1923, to oppose the bill.<sup>107</sup> The General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC), American Indian Defense Association (AIDA), and members of the Santa Fe and Taos artists and writers colonies joined with the All Pueblo Council in a vigorous campaign to defeat the bill. Ina and Gerald Cassidy, along with a number of Santa Fe's literati, signed a letter in November protesting the bill.<sup>108</sup> The artists' involvement

made the front page of the December 2<sup>nd</sup> issue of *American Art News*, which published their closing statement:

We ask this for the sake of the Pueblos, who, though probably the most industrious and deserving of all our Indian wards, are now threatened with the loss of their lands and of their community existence. We ask it even more for the sake of Americans themselves, as a test of national honor.<sup>109</sup>

While his correspondence is almost universally upbeat and noticeably apolitical, Cassidy's position on the Bursum Bill was as clear as the type listing his name in the national arts publication. With Twitchell as a patron, he occupied a precarious position. The influential AT&SF attorney and New Mexico historian had commissioned him to make portraits in 1919<sup>110</sup> and the following year to paint a series of five portraits of prominent figures in New Mexican history for the New Mexico Historical Society.<sup>111</sup> Twitchell was also a close friend of Edgar Lee Hewett, director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, and also headed the committee charged with planning the New Mexico building at the 1915 Panama-California Exposition in San Diego, for which Cassidy completed murals. Cassidy's stand on Pueblo lands at the very least threatened his artist-patron relationship with Twitchell and at the most their longstanding friendship.

Not only did they have a past, but Twitchell served as a key patron for Cassidy at the very moment when the artist was attempting to permanently break from commercial lithography for fine art.<sup>112</sup> As president of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce and director of the Santa Fe Fiesta from 1919 through 1922, Twitchell was partly responsible for Cassidy's considerable involvement in the Fiesta and the visibility of his paintings and drawings on the cover and inside the Fiesta's program.<sup>113</sup> Twitchell's Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce booklet, "The City Different: Descriptive Guide to Santa Fe and Vicinity," like the Fiesta programs, made use of Cassidy's black and white study, *Commerce of the Prairies: The Plaza – the End of the Santa Fe*

*Trail* (1921) on the second page, promoting the artist to tourists visiting the region. And as director of the Fiesta, Twitchell carried Cassidy's posters to Chicago to share them with AT&SF officials in May 1922, leading to one of the most coveted patronage relationships of Cassidy's career. And, despite the AT&SF's decision not purchase it, one of Cassidy's original poster designs featured Twitchell's portrait as Director of the Fiesta.<sup>114</sup>

Although Twitchell provided Cassidy portrait commissions at a crucial juncture in the artist's career and Ina Sizer's appreciative words about Twitchell following his death would suggest the two men were friends or at least friendly, Twitchell's politics and aesthetic tastes were conservative, perhaps more traditional than the Fiesta posters would suggest.<sup>115</sup> Given Twitchell's power and support of Cassidy in the form of Fiesta and portrait commissions and Chamber of Commerce promotions, we must imagine Cassidy occupied a precarious position. He both relied on Twitchell's support and recognized that the lawyer's position on the Bursum Bill countered his and his wife's core values. By including Twitchell in the original Fiesta series, Cassidy flattered his patron, granting him celebrity standing equal to that of Santiago, who, in many ways, represented the face of opposition to the Bursum Bill.

Within this context, Cassidy's decision to send a portrait of Santiago to the Massachusetts exhibition in December 1922, just after signing the artists' petition against the Bursum Bill, should be viewed as a political act. Cassidy's accompanying description—likely written by Ina Sizer Cassidy—not only explained to outsiders Santiago's influential position in the Pueblo community and at the Santa Fe Fiesta, but also mentioned his upcoming appearance before the U.S. Indian Commissioner in Washington regarding the forthcoming legislation affecting the Pueblos.

Cassidy's timely description of Santiago's upcoming trip both raised awareness for the Pueblo cause and countered the time worn trope of the "vanishing race." Santiago, is, as Cassidy or Ina takes care to mention, "hale and hearty *today*" (emphasis mine).<sup>116</sup> The expressive lithograph and paintings corroborate the artist's verbal assessment. Cassidy depicted Santiago returning the viewer's gaze, his features distinct enough to be recognizable as a specific individual. For Cassidy to depict Santiago, along with images of Pueblo dancers and community life in paintings that traveled the United States late in 1922 and early 1923 served not merely as promotion for the artist, but as publicity for the Pueblos' cause.

In fact, Witter Bynner, a poet and head of the publicity committee for the Santa Fe Association on Indian Affairs that organized the artists' protest, reported that "requests for data and for pictures showing the life of the Indians and their pueblos" arrived daily to the committee.<sup>117</sup> Soon, images by members of the northern New Mexican art colonies appeared in circulation in newspapers and magazines nationwide. As art historian Sachsa Scott demonstrates, often paintings made by members of the Santa Fe and Taos art colonies in 1922 and 1923 of Pueblo subjects were linked in public perception to protests against the Bursum Bill and its assimilationist aims.<sup>118</sup> Assimilationists viewed Native culture as past tense, and believed indigenous communities must adapt to white ways. By contrast, artists whose work described Pueblo communities as contemporary people were, as Scott argues, publicly recognized to support Pueblo political interests. Scott contends:

In emphasizing Pueblo political agency, particularly with respect to contemporary political issues, [some New Mexico artists] challenged the long-standing view of Indians as relics of the past, as 'past-tense' peoples. Representing Pueblo peoples as being of the present was central to the anti-assimilationist platform. ... Anti-assimilationists argued that Pueblo people had a living, thriving culture from which Anglo culture could learn.<sup>119</sup>



In this light, Cassidy's description of Santiago as "hale and hearty," his representation of the Santa Clara governor on multiple media between 1921 and 1925, and his emphasis on Pueblo dancers in his original proposal for Fiesta series must be viewed as politically charged. If reproduced on postcards, posters, and billboards across the country, as he originally intended, Cassidy's images would present Pueblo culture as a living and thriving phenomenon that tourists could encounter *in present day* at the Santa Fe Fiesta. These posters and paintings, as promotional images, promised to viewers across the country that Pueblo communities, dances, and individuals *exist now*.

Whereas Cassidy's images of Pueblo dances and community leaders speak of Pueblo survivance and the continuity of cultural tradition, his images possess a certain degree of diplomatic tact. (He did, after all, include Twitchell's portrait in the original Fiesta series.) His wife, Ina Sizer Cassidy, however, spoke more freely. On November 25, 1922, she reported a discussion of the Bursum Bill by members of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs (NMAIA) in *The New Mexican*. She included the association's finding that the Pueblo land dispute was "almost entirely due to the negligence of our government" and credited the situation to a lack of knowledge on the part of legislators who:

failed to realize that the United States had ... pledged [the Pueblos] its protection at the time of the American conquest over Mexico; that the Pueblo Indians had never been conquered by us, and had been in possession of their land as grants direct from the king of Spain and our confirmation of these grants had been a part of our agreement with conquered Mexico. It was the unanimous opinion of the members present that we could not now, with honor to ourselves, take a stand against justice to these pueblo people.<sup>120</sup>

Ina further cited Cochiti Indian John Dixon's narrative (rather than a Euro-American narrative) of how non-Native titles to Indian lands arose. She termed non-Native inhabitants of Pueblo lands "squatters" and pointed out the unfairness of a situation where Pueblo lands were under discussion in Congress and yet Pueblo people were "not entitled to vote." In conclusion, Ina, on

behalf of the NMAIA, appealed “to all friends of the Indian, and to those who believe that our government should fulfill the obligations it assumed at the time we took over this great southwest.”<sup>121</sup>

Santiago and other Pueblo representatives made the convincing argument in Washington, D.C., that the Bursum Bill would seize Pueblo land and negatively affect Pueblo life.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, the promotional efforts on the Pueblos’ behalf put forth by the AIDA and GFWC and national news coverage of the controversy made the American public aware of the conflict. The Bursum Bill was defeated in Congress in 1923. An amended Bursum Bill, the Lenroot Bill, followed closely on its heels. At Santo Domingo Pueblo, John Collier again met with representatives from the All Pueblo Council to select a delegation, that would again include Santiago Naranjo, to travel to Washington in support of Collier’s proposed Pueblo Lands Board Act (PLBA) and against the Lenroot Bill. Present at the meeting, in addition to Pueblo representatives, the Indian service inspector and a stenographer, were, the *New Mexican* reported, “Mr. and Mrs. Gerald Cassidy.”<sup>123</sup>

Following the defeat of the Lenroot Bill and successful passing of Collier’s Pueblo Lands Board Act (1924), which made protecting Pueblo lands the responsibility of the federal government, Cassidy painted two additional portraits of Naranjo in 1925. In one, an 18 x 18 in. oil titled *Master of Ceremonies*, the Santa Clara leader wears a large feather headdress and smiles at the viewer against a backdrop of, presumably, his community. A golden expanse of adobe wall studded with vigas stretches behind him and two members of his Pueblo converse with a mother holding a child in the background (fig. 3.17). Following its exhibition at the art museum in Santa Fe during the Fiesta of September 1925, *Master of Ceremonies* traveled to exhibitions in Rochester, Minnesota; Cleveland; and Chicago.<sup>124</sup> The same year, Cassidy sent a

smaller oil portrait, *Santiago*, to the Grand Canyon gallery at El Tovar.<sup>125</sup> The small sizes and affordable prices of these oils suggest Cassidy painted the portraits with tourists (and travel) in mind.

Regardless of Cassidy's purpose for the paintings, Naranjo himself was aware of how his image stood for Pueblo concerns: he posed in photographs with members of the All Pueblo Council delegation in Washington, D. C. in 1923. The caption for one such image, an Underwood and Underwood photo, "Pueblos bring first protest since Lincoln," explained that the men wore a mixture of traditional and citizen dress, each "carrying a cane given them by Abraham Lincoln as a token of promise of permanent retention of their lands" (fig. 3.18). "Lincoln canes" were presented to nineteen Pueblo governors in 1863 to recognize tribal sovereignty after ratification of the Pueblo Land Patents.<sup>126</sup> In the photograph, Santiago, at far left, accompanied by Waihusing, James Miller, and Jesus Baca, stand in front of the White House after the defeat of the Bursum Bill. The men smile, raising their canes high in a gesture of triumph.

Cassidy's poster images of Pueblo dancers arguably functioned similarly to his poster portrait of Santiago (figs. 3.19; 3.21). Unlike Santiago, however, they do not return the viewer's gaze. Isolated against negative space and divorced from their kivas, Pueblos, and the surrounding dancers that compose Pueblo ritual prayer, Cassidy's images of eagle and buffalo dancers can be seen as functioning paradoxically both against the Bursum Bill *and* in support of the Fiesta's colonialist representation of Pueblo culture as a tourist attraction. They resemble French Art Nouveau posters in the service of commerce. Rendered in appealing colors like Jules Chéret's boldly-hued depictions of modern women on fin-de-siècle swaying on posters advertising

Saxoline lamp oil and other products (fig. 3.20), Cassidy's dancers invite visual consumption. The buffalo dancer, painted in rich blue, white, dark brown, and crimson, steps forward against a teal background. The feathers at his knees and hair lift and flutter with his movement. A writer for the *New Mexican* celebrated Cassidy's depiction of the subject's "action so well portrayed that he seems to move."<sup>127</sup>

Like his portrait of Santiago, Cassidy reprised his Fiesta posters of buffalo and eagle dancers in other paintings. *Eagle Dance* (1927), echoed the subject matter and to some degree the composition of his 1922 poster with the addition of a second figure (fig. 3.21–3.22). In *The Buffalo Dancer* (1922) painted the same year as the poster series, Cassidy rotated the dancer from his poster design 180 degrees, presenting his right profile, instead of his left, with his right arm and hand clasping a gourd rattle close to the picture plane (fig. 3.23). A chalky yellow ground and a frieze of singers and onlookers behind the dancer replace the poster's vibrant teal background. The painting was exhibited concurrently with the Fiesta at the art museum and it, or a similar subject, may have been on view at Bishop's Lodge earlier in the fall.<sup>128</sup>

As anthropologist Jill Sweet notes, many types of buffalo dances occur in Tewa pueblos near Santa Fe in the winter as bison are connected to hunting and snow but they may also appear during "summer theatricals."<sup>129</sup> During the 1922 Fiesta, one of the earliest secular depictions of the Pueblo ritual, the Buffalo Dance was performed by members of Tesuque Pueblo. A visiting journalist, Duncan Aikman, described it as full of energy, of "roaring, rushing fury."<sup>130</sup>

Aikman also praised Cassidy's painting, *The Buffalo Dancer* (1922), along with Ernest Blumenschein's landscapes, as the best work of the Santa Fe and Taos art colonies exhibited at the art museum.<sup>131</sup> Like the poster, Cassidy's painting depicted one, rather than multiple dancers. The dancer lifts one foot, as does the figure on the poster, mimicking the convention developed

by San Ildefonso painters in the late 1910s and 1920s. Whereas the poster's vibrant color, teal body paint on the dancer and gestural strokes suggesting feathers, moccasins, and kilt emphasize abstraction and motion, the painting provides contextual details. Cassidy replaced the poster's flat blue background, and presumably Tesuque dancer, with singers and onlookers dwarfed by the steps and curved wall surrounding the kiva at San Ildefonso Pueblo. Presumably, Cassidy relocated the dancer to San Ildefonso because by 1922, the large kiva at San Ildefonso was iconic in tourist materials: its curved wall and steps appeared at the same angle in a full-page photograph in the 1922 Fiesta program.

By exhibiting two versions of the same subject in Santa Fe during the Fiesta, Cassidy's variations on a theme demonstrated his skill as both a painter and a commercial designer, thereby cross promoting both types of his work. He sent the painting for exhibition in Brockton, Massachusetts, with the portrait of Santiago. A description of the ceremonial accompanied the painting, written either by Cassidy, or more likely, Ina, followed by a description of the artist's portrayal:

Cassidy has chosen to show the one Buffalo as he dances across the plaza in front of the Kiva, (or Indian house of worship), which in this pueblo is round; in the background the chorus plays the age old drums and chant their sacred songs. The scene is laid in San Ildefonso pueblo. The costume is accurately shown, even to the turtle rattle fastened under the knee of the dancer. These ceremonies are the oldest American dramas.<sup>132</sup>

Through the painting and associated text, Cassidy attempts to educate his audience, and build understanding and appreciation for Pueblo ritual by comparing the Buffalo Dance to Christian worship. The dance is related to prayer ("giving thanks") and theatre ("nature dramas"); the Kiva is explained as a place of worship; the singers' words to liturgy ("chorus ... chant their sacred songs").<sup>133</sup> Thus, like the text that accompanied the portrait of Santiago east, the description of the Buffalo Dance introduces distant audiences to Pueblo culture. In building

empathy through making parallels to mainstream religious practice, it encourages support and understanding not just of Pueblo ritual but for the issue of Pueblo land rights unfolding in Washington, D.C. at the time.

Two years later, in 1924, William Simpson acquired *The Buffalo Dancer* for the AT&SF. In payment for the painting, the artist and his wife received \$315 in roundtrip rail travel to New York, a paltry sum compared to the \$1,500 which Cassidy originally priced the painting at in 1922.<sup>134</sup> Simpson sent the painting to Houston where it hung in the railway's ticket office. A decade later it helped illustrate T. M. Pearce's regional anthology, *America in the Southwest*.<sup>135</sup>

Removed from the context of Pueblo politics and the Bursum Bill in 1922 and 1923, the painting on the Houston ticket office wall assumed, perhaps ironically, the function of a poster. Further disassociated from its original context, the image of an unidentified Pueblo dancer at an unidentified Pueblo became simply, an exoticized "other." Rather than promoting Pueblo political issues or generating empathy and understanding for San Ildefonso concerns, the AT&SF enlisted the image to promote rail travel to the Southwest and beyond. Viewers in Texas responded warmly to Cassidy's work and found correlations between his easel paintings and advertising design. In the words of one critic, his canvases represented "nature, glorified" with clouds "almost poster-like in simplicity."<sup>136</sup>

When the AT&SF acquired Cassidy's Fiesta poster of the buffalo dancer two years earlier, that image also had changed in meaning. In contrast to his posters of Santiago and Kit Carson who, motionless, directly engage the viewer's gaze, the figures on Cassidy's buffalo and eagle dancer posters appear in profile, framed by sinuous Art Nouveau borders. This vantage point distances the viewer and subject, presenting the figures flattened, facilitating the viewer's observation. When the AT&SF replaced Cassidy's extensive Fiesta lettering with the simplistic

text “Buffalo Dance” and “Eagle Dance,” it changed the message from advertising the Fiesta to, if not Pueblo ritual writ large, the communities themselves.

Thus the posters’ function and meaning was and remains complicated and unstable, shifting over time and context. In his day, Cassidy’s posters of Santiago and Pueblo dancers could be interpreted as supporting Pueblo land and dance rights according to Scott’s argument. Yet they simultaneously served as “types” to which the artist returned in subsequent paintings, images exploited in his attempts to gain recognition and commissions. The Buffalo and Eagle dancer posters, then, embody the competing messages and seeming contradictions embedded in the series as a whole. Viewed pragmatically, the series functioned as advertising for the artist, generating attention and recognition. Yet it simultaneously promoted a pageant steeped in colonialism: the Santa Fe Fiesta. In advertising rail travel to the Southwest, the images primarily benefited the Santa Fe’s Chamber of Commerce and the AT&SF, truly commercial organizations for whom the consumption of Indigenous culture represented financial gain. Yet, while obviously engaged in advertising and sales, some of these images simultaneously and perhaps more altruistically, asserted to national audiences that contrary to assimilationists’ claims, Pueblo culture thrived on its own terms in northern New Mexico in 1922 and deserved federal protection.

## **V. Conclusion: A Re-Moveable Fiesta & The “Old-New” Santa Fe**

The *New Mexican* proudly reported that the 1922 Fiesta was “the greatest Santa Fe fiesta yet, [and had] put out its best foot before the world with a grace more spectacular and effective than on any other occasion, save, perhaps the San Diego exposition of 1915.”<sup>137</sup> The writer’s comparison of the 1922 Fiesta to the 1915 Panama-California Exposition was appropriate

considering the former event's influence on the development of Santa Fe's architecture and identity.<sup>138</sup> San Diego, as Beatrice Chauvenet explains, showed Santa Fe boosters "what the publicity provided by a civic spectacle could do to encourage tourism."<sup>139</sup> Gerald Cassidy played an integral role in the aesthetics of both exposition and Fiesta. He contributed murals, including his medal winning *The Cliff Dwellers of the Southwest* to the Hall of Archaeology in the Indian Arts Building at the exposition. And his posters, set and float designs, program illustrations, and paintings exhibited concurrently in Bishop's Lodge and the art museum informed the Fiesta's visual appearance at a critical, formational moment in the development of the fiesta and tourism in the Southwest.

The fiesta primarily benefited two entities: Santa Fe's Chamber of Commerce, led by Twitchell, and the AT&SF. Following the 1922 Fiesta and the concurrent first-annual Indian Fair (the precursor to Indian Market), the Chamber reflected on the undertaking and its expense.

Despite a deficit of \$2,832.36, the money was well spent, it, under Twitchell, asserted:

The fiesta and Indian fair give this city a powerful vehicle for publicity purposes and is the means of securing an almost unlimited amount of free advertising in the magazines and newspapers of the country. The Santa Fe railroad spent large sums advertising the 1922 fiesta. Its publicity matter and system publications carried articles, most of them *illustrated*, calling attention to the fiesta and the city of Santa Fe in the most favorable terms. Among other things the company issued a *large poster, in colors*, which most of you have seen.<sup>140</sup> [emphasis mine]

Importantly, as Twitchell or his representative notes, visual images—illustrations and a large poster (by which he probably means a billboard)—were crucial to the AT&SF's and to Santa Fe's promotional efforts. Not only had *images* brought tourists but they had brought the city as a whole the patronage of the Santa Fe Railway. Concerning Cassidy's posters specifically, the writer asserted:

Few towns can sell their publicity, but that is what actually happened in the case of the Gerald Cassidy paintings of fiesta characters. The Fred Harvey system bought the paintings and from



these a million post cards, beautifully lithographed in colors, have been printed up in sets of ten, and placed on sale throughout the country, thus furnishing every-day advertising for Santa Fe and the annual fiesta. It is impossible to even estimate the value of the publicity secured on account of the fiesta. It would cost many thousands of dollars, much more money than even a very large city could raise for such purposes. Its actual cost to Santa Fe is really insignificant in comparison with the amount of advertising secured and results obtained.<sup>141</sup>

While the million post cards seem like an exaggeration, the writer's linkage between Cassidy's Fiesta posters and a positive (economic) benefit to the city is clear. The end result of all this advertising, the Chamber reported, was the "remarkable growth" of Santa Fe's population in the previous two years, the paving of many streets, and the near completion of two major hotels: La Fonda and the De Vargas.<sup>142</sup> Such "improvements" reflect the AT&SF's representation of the town, in its 1912 booklet penned by Twitchell, as "old-new."<sup>143</sup>

For Santa Fe boosters and the Fiesta committee, the series in sum depicted contemporary leaders (Santiago, and before the AT&SF purchased the series, Twitchell) alongside historic figures (Kit Carson, De Vargas, and Fray Marcos), implying that at the Santa Fe Fiesta, visitors could brush shoulders with history. As Charles Parks queried in the *Santa Fe Magazine*: "What other community in the new world can delve into the past of three hundred years ago and enact the self-same scenes on the identical spot on which they occurred, and, what is even more unique, by the lineal descendants of the original participants?"<sup>144</sup> Parks' comment reveals the appeal to tourists and Santa Fe boosters of the "invented history" they were at that very moment constructing. As Wilson writes, such "invented traditions claim historic continuity ... to sustain a historic fantasy ... [to promote tourism]."<sup>145</sup> The fiesta, the architecture revivals of the period, including the short-lived Cassell building and now nearly century-old La Fonda hotel, and Cassidy's posters on its walls, contributed to a mythical and "unifying vision" of Santa Fe's inhabitants and their history.<sup>146</sup>

Cassidy's series parallels the unifying and paradoxical vision of an "old-new" Santa Fe in painted form. Evoking Art Nouveau and German object poster style, they combine poster styles of the previous decades, along with a naturalistic rendering of faces. Cassidy and the AT&SF together merged these historic, even passé approaches into something also "old-new" that romanticized the Southwest concurrently with Santa Fe's own shedding of its Victorian past for a Pueblo-Spanish-San Diego-informed "Santa Fe Style," a contemporary collage derived from ancient Pueblo and Spanish Colonial sources.<sup>147</sup>

The posters' conflation of conquistadors with present-day tourists who might, whether by car or train, "discover" the Grand Canyon, Indigenous cultures, and historical figures in the fiesta, thus "conquering" the Southwest through travel, was in line with the AT&SF's representation of tourist-passengers as modern-day explorers. Yet it remains unclear if Fred Harvey reproduced the posters again after the 1922 postcard series.<sup>148</sup> While posters featuring designs by the AT&SF's favored designers—Louis Treviso, Oscar Bryn, and Sam Hyde Harris—are readily visible in publications and collections today, the relative obscurity of Cassidy's posters suggests that the railway ultimately did not view the series as in keeping with their brand. Although the AT&SF continued to encourage travel to the Fiesta, its surviving advertising posters of the 1910s and 1920s largely focus on the Grand Canyon or, beginning in the late 1920s, its train, the Santa Fe "Chief" rather than the city of Santa Fe as an inducement to cross-country ticket sales.<sup>149</sup>

When the posters were finally reproduced as printed posters posthumously in the late 1960s or 1970s, they changed in meaning again. Produced in a limited edition of offset lithographs by The Desert Collection, they were advertised as "the archetypal figures of the great Southwestern drama."<sup>150</sup> By mid-century none of the figures confronting the viewer in Cassidy's

portraits were living. Removed from their moment in 1922, they became merely a “handsome acquisition” for the “collector, the interior designer, the historian, or any admirer of Southwestern traditions.” They lost their connection to the present, linked only to past “traditions.” By fin-de-siècle standards, they acquired art poster status, disassociated with their connection to tourism, the railway, and Fiesta, and recontextualized as home décor.

When viewed by a client as malleable the poster becomes less about the artist’s solution to a visual problem and more about the clients’ desires and their perception of their audiences’ needs. Straddling commercial and fine art, Cassidy’s poster designs formed a bridge between the artist’s dual careers in advertising and painting, and, thus, between his past and present. They evoke negotiations between past and present in Santa Fe at a time when the construction of the “Old-New Santa Fe,” as Twitchell’s brochure termed it,<sup>151</sup> was at the forefront of conversations in the circle of artists, writers, and anthropologists to which Cassidy belonged. The Santa Fe Fiesta parade, with its intermingling of historic figures, locomotives, airplanes, and contemporary New Mexicans, like the Cassell Building, and Cassidy’s posters, gave such notions physical form. Through them, Cassidy celebrated and promoted his own recent departure from commercial lithography, embarking on a painting career rooted in idealized historic imagery, much like Santa Fe itself. To urbanite, cultured viewers familiar with modern design, however, Cassidy’s posters could reassert the myth claimed by Santa Fe boosters at large and with which the city continues to promote itself: that Santa Fe was and is a place of history, an “old-new” place where time stands still.

## Notes

### Abbreviation

**CFP:** Cassidy Family Papers, 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>1</sup> For period accounts of how the Fiesta originated, see Beatrice Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), 150–51. Mrs. Seligman's account suggests the precursor to the Fiesta originated in 1911 despite claims by R. E. Twitchell and Edgar L. Hewett that the Fiesta was continually celebrated for centuries.

Many contemporary writers have discussed the Fiesta. See, for example, Victoria E. Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Phillip B. Gonzales, ed., *Expressing New Mexico: Nuevomexicano Creativity, Ritual, and Memory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Sarah Horton, "Where Is the 'Mexican' in 'New Mexican'?: Enacting History, Enacting Dominance in the Santa Fe Fiesta," *The Public Historian* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 41–54, 188; Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).

<sup>2</sup> For Pueblo objections to the Fiesta's glorification of the "Reconquest of New Mexico" and "savage" portrayal of Indigenous groups in the staged enactment of de Vargas's march into Santa Fe, see Phillip B. Gonzales, "History Hits the Heart: Albuquerque's Great Cuartocentenario Controversy, 1997–2005," 207–32, in Gonzalez, *Expressing New Mexico*, 212; and Horton, "Where Is the 'Mexican' in 'New Mexican'?", 41–54.

<sup>3</sup> A large map of the Southwest crisscrossed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, also painted by Cassidy, hangs on the La Fonda lobby's west wall, surrounded today by a number of works by contemporary Native and non-Native artists from the region. John Andolsek of Andolsek Restoration, Santa Fe, cleaned and restored the paintings to their original brilliant colors around 2011, after which they were reinstalled in the hotel's lobby. See John O'Hern, "The Inn at the End of the Trail," *Western Art Collector* 52 (December 2011): 52.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Dorothy Harmsen, *Harmsen's Western Americana* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1971); "Cassidy Arrives in Santa Fe for Work on San Diego Fair Staff," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sept. 3, 1914, 5; "Author of Indian Life in Southwest Visiting in City," (*Tucson*) *Arizona Daily Star*, April 15, 1923, 2; "Dean Lockwood Praises Fiesta . . .," *Tucson Citizen*, Sept. 10, 1922, 8.

Cassidy's correspondence indicates that his contract work was often in connection to LeRoy Latham, who moved from firm to firm and contracted with Cassidy at each new venture. Through Latham, Cassidy was contracted by Russell-Morgan of Cincinnati (1908–1909), The US Litho. Co. (1909–1913), and The National Printing & Engraving Co., Niles, Michigan (1912, 1914). He also worked for H. C. Miner Litho. Co., of NYC, where his brother Asa worked, in 1913 (and again, in 1916) and Greenwich Litho. of NYC in late 1913 or early 1914 (and 1917). He produced a series of art lithographs at Latham Litho. and Printing Co. in 1925. See LeRoy Latham to Gerald Cassidy correspondence, Box 6, Hoo-Li, Latham, LeRoy, CFP, and US Litho. to Gerald Cassidy correspondence, Box 22, US-Z, Folder; US Litho. Co., CFP.

Cassidy's portrait commissions included a portrait of Mrs. Edgar L. Hewett (ca. 1917), Col. Twitchell (ca. 1919), Mrs. Herbert Hoover, two portraits of Herbert Hoover, Jr. (1903–1969), and doctors William and Charles Mayo. See Edna Robinson, "Gerald Cassidy 1869–1934" (1977), 7, clipping from

retrospective exhibition catalogue, Box 169, Section I, folder 8, Gerald Cassidy Collection, New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Harmsen, *Harmsen's Western Americana*; Stacia Lewandowski, *Light, Landscape, and the Creative Quest: Early Artists of Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, NM: Salska Arts, 2011); Peggy and Harold Samuels, *The Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West* (New York: Doubleday, 1976); and Edna Robinson, "Gerald Cassidy 1869–1934," Exhibition Catalogue (1977), Gerald Cassidy Collection.

<sup>6</sup> Contradictions exist in his biography ranging from his birth date, which has repeatedly been erroneously recorded as 1879 rather than 1869, to the number and identity of lithography firms he worked for, to the history of the poster series, which is nearly always erroneously described as commissioned by the Santa Fe Railway, to the titles of his award-winning murals at the San Diego exposition. His middle name has been identified as "Diamond" and, in Edna Robinson's essay, "Dymond." See Edna Robinson, "Gerald Cassidy," Gerald Cassidy Collection.

<sup>7</sup> La Fonda Hotel, "Art History Alphabetical by Artist," (October 2019), author's collection. This printout was available in October 2019 from the La Fonda Hotel front desk. See also O'Hern, "Inn at the End," 52; John O'Hern, "In Every Room: A Story of the Art—Highlights of the Art at La Fonda" (Santa Fe: La Fonda on the Plaza, 2012), accessed Jan. 12, 2020, at [www.lafondasantafe.com](http://www.lafondasantafe.com).

Cassidy was born Nov. 10, 1869, in Covington, Kentucky, and died in Santa Fe on Feb. 12, 1934. See Ancestry.com. U.S., Find A Grave Index, 1600s–Current, database on-line (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012), accessed Jan. 12, 2020.

<sup>8</sup> The Cassidy's move to Santa Fe from Denver in January 1912 may have marked his first attempts to change his name, perhaps both to indicate a new life as an artist but also with Ina Sizer, following the death of his first wife. This change was a difficult one to make for some of his close friends and lithography colleagues who continued to address him as Ira in subsequent years. See "Cassidy Arrives in Santa Fe for Work on San Diego Fair Staff," *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sept. 3, 1914, 5; LeRoy Latham (National Printing & Engraving) to Gerald Cassidy, July 2, 1912, and LeRoy Latham (Latham Lithography) to Ira D. Cassidy, March 15, 1926, Box 6, Hoo-Li, Latham, Leroy, CFP. Cassidy's insertion of a Zuni sun symbol before his last name has been occasionally misidentified as a letterform, resulting in paintings attributed to "Gerald P. Cassidy."

<sup>9</sup> Edna Robertson, "Gerald Cassidy," Gerald Cassidy Collection; James Taylor Forrest to Mrs. Gerald Cassidy, Oct. 5, 1962, Box 8, Ne-Pe, CFP. According to Robertson, Cassidy suffered from severe pneumonia in 1898 that resulted in tuberculosis; he was sent to Albuquerque with a life expectancy of six months.

<sup>10</sup> Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 8.

<sup>11</sup> See note 4 for a (partial) list of firms Cassidy worked for during the 1910s.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Cassidy to Hewett, Sept. 19, 1917; Cassidy to Cliff Hardy, April 4, 1921; Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>13</sup> It was a slow transition for some of his acquaintance, particularly LeRoy Latham. See note 8.

<sup>14</sup> L. P. Hathaway, "Cassidy's Indians Please the Critics," *Ventura Free Press*, April 1913, clipping in Carton 17, Scrapbook Vol. 1 (1909–1933), CFP. See also Cassidy to Frank N. Orr, March 9, 1921, and Cassidy letters to H. B. Eaton in 1921; Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>15</sup> The School of American Archaeology is now the School for Advanced Research (SAR). John P. Harrington to Edgar L. Hewett, March 29, 1913, Box 169, Section VI, Folder 1, Gerald Cassidy Collection, New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe. (Original letter is in Box 24, Folder 1913-2, Hewett Papers, Chavez Library, Santa Fe.)

<sup>16</sup> Cassidy to Hewett, Sept. 19, 1917, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1916–1920, CFP.

<sup>17</sup> Hathaway, "Cassidy's Indians Please the Critics," CFP.

<sup>18</sup> Cassidy to Eaton, May 9, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>19</sup> Cassidy to Eaton, May 9, 1921, CFP.

<sup>20</sup> Cassidy to Eaton, May 9, 1921, CFP.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Cassidy to A. W. Hutaf (US Lithograph Co.), Jan. 13, 1912, and Sept. 20, 1912, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1902–1912, CFP.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Cassidy to Eaton, March 4, 1922; Cassidy to Eaton, May 9, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. In the latter letter he thanks Eaton for supplying viewers' feedback, terming it "a compass to go by in traveling."

<sup>23</sup> For examples, see Cassidy letters to H. B. Eaton, March 12, 1912; April 14, 1921; April 18, 1921; and May 9, 1921. His letters to Eaton in 1921 through early 1922 contain an ongoing discussion of prices, the pursuit of lithography firms for sales, and promotional schemes. Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>24</sup> See US Litho., A. W. Hutaf to Cassidy, Aug. 12, 1912, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1902–1912, CFP.

<sup>25</sup> Cassidy to H. B. Eaton, April 19, 1921; Cassidy to Eaton, Dec. 12, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. Cassidy's finances were precarious. In December, he requested from Eaton a loan of \$1,000 to avoid losing his home following the bank failure, to be reimbursed by sales of paintings in Eaton's possession.

<sup>26</sup> Of *Cui Bono*, Cassidy wrote Hewett, "I like it, I think it is a very good example of my . . . figure work, and a museum is the only place for it. If this meets with your approval, and no doubt it will, please present the canvas to the Museum with my sincere wishes for a wide influence and field of usefulness." Cassidy to Hewett, Sept. 19, 1917, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1916–1920, CFP.

LeRoy Latham of Latham Litho., Long Island City, NY, sent the lithography portfolio to the museum at Cassidy's request while the Cassidys were traveling in Europe. Cassidy printed the series at Latham's shop just before leaving for Europe in 1925. The series featured four portraits of Native Americans and four desert scenes. See Latham Litho. to Museum of New Mexico, June 30, 1926, Box 6 Hoo-Li, Latham, LeRoy, CFP.

<sup>27</sup> Cassidy painted portraits of Kit Carson, Governor De Anza, the Duke of Albuquerque, Villagra, and Bandelier, for Twitchell, and a portrait of his patron. Cassidy to Twitchell, Jan. 24, 1919,

Box 12, 1921–1923, Outgoing Letters, 1916–1920, CFP; “Paintings by Gerald Cassidy belonging to the Historical Society of New Mexico,” Carton 6, Subject Files A-D, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, etc., Folder #1, CFP.

<sup>28</sup> “Boston Art Collector Buys the ‘Grumpy’ Poster by Cassidy; Great He Thinks,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Feb. 4, 1921, 2; “Santa Fe Drama League Achieves Triumph in Presenting ‘Grumpy’; Exhibit of New Davey Paintings,” *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Feb. 6, 1921, 4.

The play was advertised with hand-painted posters by members of the Santa Fe art colony including Cassidy, Bauman, Shuster, Rollins, and Bakos. Students attending the Santa Fe Indian School built the stage, and Sheldon Parsons painted the sets. See “Postmaster not ‘Grumpy,’ but Boosting the Show; Indian Boys Big Asset,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 31, 1921, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Cassidy to Cliff Hardy, April 4, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>30</sup> The two paintings that Grant must have purchased are *Red Gum Tree*, painted in New Jersey and which Cassidy found appealing for its “pure color and simple subject matter,” and *Grey Hills*. Grant was associated with Canton Christian College and acquired Cassidy’s work for the school. Cassidy to Henry Grant, March 7, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>31</sup> Like modern Pueblo paintings by San Ildefonso painters Crescencio Martinez, Awa Tsireh, Julian Martinez, and Tonita Peña, Cassidy rendered the Buffalo and Eagle dancer on his Fiesta posters in profile against ambiguous negative space and surrounded their contours with thick outlines. “Traditional Pueblo Painting” is characterized by renderings of dancers and genre scenes in flat areas of outlined color against typically blank backgrounds. As collectors and members of the culturati in Santa Fe, the Cassidys would have been very familiar with developments in Pueblo painting.

<sup>32</sup> Earnest Elmo Calkins, *Annals of an Adman “and hearing not—”* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1946), 239.

<sup>33</sup> Michael E. Zega and John E. Gruber, *Travel by Train: The American Railroad Poster, 1870–1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 39.

<sup>34</sup> See Michele H. Bogart, chapter 1, “The Problem of Status of American Illustrators,” in *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*, 15–78 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

<sup>35</sup> Asa Cassidy to Ira Cassidy, March 17, 1915, Box 2, Folder: Cassidy, Asa R, CFP.

<sup>36</sup> For mention of his roles in the Fiestas, see Cassidy to Frank C. Orr, Sept. 21, 1921, and Cassidy to Eaton, Sept. 24, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. Cassidy’s handiwork for the 1920 stage design was described in the *Santa Fe Magazine*: “The street in front of the historic palace was enclosed by a wall of saplings, while at each end huge gates permitted the entrance of the actors. This enclosure blended with the surroundings and was the work of Gerald Cassidy, a New York painter, and his associates at the Santa Fe school.” See Charles E. Parks, “City of Santa Fe Reenacts Stirring Deeds of the Conquistadores: This Year’s Celebration Firmly Established the Santa Fe Fiesta as One of the Most Beautiful Historical Pageants in the United States,” *Santa Fe Magazine* XIV, no. 12 (November 1920): 29.

<sup>37</sup> The stagecoach image also appeared on the 1921 cover. He later repainted *Commerce of the Prairies* (1921) as *The End of the Trail*. The title, *Commerce of the Prairies*, likely referred to the title of the Fiesta pageant/parade, which itself may have derived from the title of Josiah Gregg’s celebrated two-volume history of freighting on the Santa Fe Trail first published in 1844.

According to Ina Sizer, the inspiration for Cassidy's *The End of the Trail (Commerce of the Prairies)* was the spring 1920–1921 “discussion at that time of plans for restoring the Plaza as it was at the time of the American occupation.” Cassidy's black-and-white sketch for the painting “was used by the Fiesta committee under Col. Twitchell” for Fiesta programs. Ina notes Cassidy undertook significant research, viewing old army posters' representations of historic uniforms and made “dozens upon dozens of sketches” so that “nearly eight years passed in the creation of the painting as it is today.” See “Cassidy Painting True Picture of Plaza in Early Days, Sage of Santa Clara Tells Audience,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 1, 1935, 4.

<sup>38</sup> “Duncan Aikman, “Santa Fe Fiesta Becoming Great National Pageant of America, Says Writer,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 13, 1922, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Cassidy to R. Twitchell, April 28, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1912–1923, CFP.

<sup>40</sup> Cassidy to R. Twitchell, April 28, 1922, CFP.

<sup>41</sup> “Fiesta Posters By Cassidy Are Real Knockout,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 13, 1922, 3. The paper noted the series—including an image of Twitchell “in a life like pose in his ‘charro’ suit and Mexican sombrero [as the] Director of the Fiesta” would be exhibited in Santa Fe after returning from Chicago.

<sup>42</sup> “Santa Fe Fiesta Posters,” *El Palacio* XII, no. 11 (June 1, 1922): 148; Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>43</sup> “Santa Fe Fiesta Posters,” 148. Dates for the 1922 Fiesta, according to same issue, were Sept. 3, 4, and 5. In 1922, Twitchell also served as a regent of the Museum of New Mexico and member of the Managing Committee of the School of American Research.

<sup>44</sup> Cassidy to L. D. MacMorris, May 22, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>45</sup> Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. The whereabouts of the rejected Twitchell poster, which was not acquired by the AT&SF, are unknown to the author. The remaining ten are installed in La Fonda.

<sup>46</sup> He listed the sale in an entry for June 1922 as “Santa Fe Rwy. Mr Huckel, 10 Posters Santa Fe Fiesta \$500.” See “Paintings Sold,” p. 75, Carton 6, Folder 2, CFP.

<sup>47</sup> Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. John F. Huckel was Fred Harvey's vice president and married to Harvey's oldest daughter, Minnie Harvey Huckel. He and his wife were influential in the Santa Fe's efforts to promote the Southwest. See Kathleen L. Howard and Diana Pardue, *Over the Edge: Fred Harvey at the Grand Canyon and in the Southwest* (Tucson: Heard Museum/Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2016): 41, 45, 55, 59, 110.

<sup>48</sup> Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, CFP.

<sup>49</sup> Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, CFP.

<sup>50</sup> Cassidy to Huckel, May 31, 1922, CFP. In fact, in the same letter, Cassidy requested Huckel refer to him not only as a painter of New Mexico but “as a painter from New York as well, for I have lived and worked too long in this great American art center to wish to lose my connections with it. I am a member of the two leading art Clubs there the National Arts and the Salamagundi.”



<sup>51</sup> Jno. J. Byne, Assistant Passenger Traffic Manager in L.A., of the AT&SF wrote back acknowledging Cassidy's notice and claiming he would see the paintings as "Am always interested in paintings, particularly of Western subjects." Jno. J. Byne to Cassidy, May 9, 1913, Box 1, ATSF 1913–1949, CFP.

<sup>52</sup> The railway purchased *The Buffalo Dance* (1922) in 1924, commissioned Cassidy to make a map for Indian-detour materials in 1925, commissioned *Navajos Going to Laguna Fiesta* for installation in the LA City Office based on a sketch in 1926, and commissioned *Pueblo Priestesses* based on a smaller painting of the same subject in 1933. After Cassidy's death in 1934, the AT&SF purchased *Temple of Nar-sus-sah* from Ina in 1945. In addition to reproductions of Cassidy works it owned, the AT&SF reproduced *The Passing Storm*, from the Santa Fe Museum of Fine Art's collection, on its 1949 calendar. See W. H. Simpson to Gerald Cassidy, July 28, 1924; Simpson to Cassidy, Nov. 24, 1925; Simpson to Cassidy, Sept. 9, 1926; C. J. Birchfield to Gerald Cassidy, June 9, 1933; Birchfield to Cassidy, June 16, 1933; Birchfield to Cassidy, June 27, 1933; Birchfield to Ina Sizer Cassidy, Feb. 9, 1935; A. A. Dailey to Mrs. Gerald Cassidy, June 6, 1945; A. A. Dailey to Mrs. Gerald Cassidy, June 15, 1945; A. A. Dailey to Mrs. Gerald Cassidy, April 4, 1949, Box 1, A Misc.—Bo, AT&SF, 1913–1949, CPF.

<sup>53</sup> Cassidy recorded the sale in his Record Book for June 1922: "Santa Fe Rwy. Mr Huckel, 10 Posters Santa Fe Fiesta \$500." See "Paintings Sold," Record Book, p. 75, CFP. Cassidy received \$50 to \$100 per painting sold to lithography firms for advertising purposes ten years earlier. In 1912, he was retained for \$50/week by US Litho. whether or not it had work to send him, with the agreement that he would not work for rival firms. Later in the year, he was dropped to \$25/week for approximately 12 hours of work per week, allowing him to create and market fine art. See A. W. Hutaf to Cassidy, Aug. 12, 1912, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1902–1912, US Litho., CFP.

<sup>54</sup> "Fiesta Posters By Cassidy Are Real Knockout," 3.

<sup>55</sup> "Fiesta Post-Cards by Cassidy to Be Sold by Fred Harvey; K.C. Art Institute Shows Paintings," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 23, 1922, 6.

<sup>56</sup> Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. II (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1912), 189.

<sup>57</sup> "Posters Advertise Santa Fe De Luxe Train," *The Poster* IV, no. 5 (January 1914): 17. See also Zega and Gruber, *Travel by Train*, 39–41.

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in "Posters Advertise Santa Fe De Luxe Train," 17.

<sup>59</sup> "Posters Advertise Santa Fe De Luxe Train," 17.

<sup>60</sup> "Cassidy Fiesta Postcards Unique Santa Fe Advertising," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Aug. 15, 1922, 4. For the smaller print run, see Cassidy to H. B. Eaton, Sept. 12, 1922, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>61</sup> Cassidy to H. B. Eaton, Sept. 12, 1922, CFP.

<sup>62</sup> "Report of Chamber of Commerce Secretary Shows Year's Accomplishments," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 5, 1923, 3.

<sup>63</sup> “Cassidy Fiesta Postcards Unique Santa Fe Advertising,” 4.

<sup>64</sup> Cassidy to Henry Grant, March 7, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>65</sup> As mentioned in chapter 1, Lucian Bernhard is credited with inventing the style in 1905 with his poster for Priester Matches. Bernhard and Erdt were employed along with other young designers for the major Berlin lithography firm of Hollerbaum and Schmidt. The firm’s endorsement of radically simpler compositions in posters contributed to the spread of the style. Sachplakat style, Eskilson notes, must “be understood in terms of the historical dominance of Art Nouveau,” as it represented a “radical” and “direct rejection of the ornamental complexity of Art Nouveau.” Stephen J. Eskilson, *Graphic Design: A New History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), 111.

<sup>66</sup> Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, “Official Program of the Santa Fé Fiesta” (Santa Fe: The Chamber, 1922), [7].

<sup>67</sup> “Commerce of Prairies Is Gorgeous, Spectacular,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 5, 1922, 1.

<sup>68</sup> Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 189.

<sup>69</sup> Kirsten H. Powell, “Cowboy Knights and Prairie Madonnas: American Illustrators of the Plains and Pre-Raphaelite Art,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 42.

<sup>70</sup> Owen Wister, “The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 91, no. 544 (September 1895): 606.

<sup>71</sup> Alexander Nemerov and others have written about the Anglo-Saxon/Arthurian/cowboy conflation. As Nemerov notes, Remington’s *Last Cavalier* (1895), an illustration for Owen Wister’s article “The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher” in the September 1895 issue of *Harper’s Monthly*, “made the relationship between knight and cowboy explicit.” See Wister, “Evolution of the Cow-Puncher,” 602–18, and Alexander Nemerov, “Doing the ‘Old America,’” in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian/NMAA, 1991), 301, 350n25. See also Powell, “Cowboy Knights and Prairie Madonnas.”

<sup>72</sup> Multiple titles have been associated with these paintings. In newspaper articles and Cassidy’s correspondence they are often referred to as “The Coronado Murals.” The title I use comes from Cassidy’s 1921 “List of Important Canvases by Gerald Cassidy,” Carton 6, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder #1, CFP.

The murals are often described as located in “the garage” in his correspondence, perhaps because after the Oñate Theater closed in 1924, it became an expansion of Cassell’s garage. Later, the building was heavily remodeled. It occupies the southwest corner of the intersection of Palace and Lincoln in Santa Fe, facing east toward the Plaza. The murals embarked on an interesting journey after being purchased by Oklahoma City businessman John J. Hardin in 1930. In 1962 he gave them to the State of New Mexico, and they were installed in the downtown post office and Federal Building, where they remain today. See “Coronado and Indians; Huge Murals, Go to Hotel at Hobbs,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 5, 1930, 6; “Museum Donates Large Mural to Decorate New Post Office,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 9, 1962, 31.

<sup>73</sup> “Theater’s Premier Is Felicitous; Gerald Cassidy Murals Feature,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Aug. 20, 1921, 2.

<sup>74</sup> It was not the first time Cassidy reproduced mural work in a smaller commission: in 1915, he sold a copy of his San Diego figure mural to Mrs. George H. Christian, of Minneapolis, for \$500, a large sum for one of his easel paintings at the time. Cassidy clearly viewed Fiesta-goers as potential buyers, placing artwork for sale at both Bishop's Lodge and La Fonda during Fiesta time in the 1920s. See "List of Important Canvases by Gerald Cassidy," Carton 6, Subject Files A-D, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder 1, CFP; Bishop's Lodge to Cassidy, Box 1, A-Misc.—Bo, folder: B-Misc., CFP.

<sup>75</sup> "Important canvases by Gerald Cassidy," p. 2, Carton 6, Subject Files A-D, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder 1, CFP.

<sup>76</sup> Cassidy to Orr, Sept. 21, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP.

<sup>77</sup> Cassidy to Eaton, Sept. 24, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. See also Cassidy to William L. Anderson, Oct. 31, 1921, Box 12, Outgoing Letters, 1921–1923, CFP. Great care had been taken to create a romantic candlelight-like lighting in the Onate Theater. "Casa de los Conquistadores . . .", *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 27, 1921, 2.

<sup>78</sup> "La Casa de los Conquistadores," 2. Teats simultaneously constructed La Fonda across the Plaza, beginning in spring 1920.

<sup>79</sup> "La Casa de los Conquistadores," 2.

<sup>80</sup> "La Casa de los Conquistadores," 2.

<sup>81</sup> "La Casa de los Conquistadores," 2.

<sup>82</sup> Peter J. Blodgett, "introduction," in *Motoring West, Volume 1: Automobile Pioneers, 1900–1909*, edited by Peter J. Blodgett (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2015), 26, 30.

<sup>83</sup> Philip Delaney, "Frontiering in an Automobile," *Outing* 43, no. 2 (November 1902): 119–20, in *Motoring West, Volume 1: Automobile Pioneers, 1900–1909*, edited by Peter J. Blodgett, 117–120 (Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2015). Delaney writes "the whole of King Arthur's court on bicycles could not have started the stir we created in that single automobile" in villages of New Mexico.

<sup>84</sup> "Commerce of Prairies Is Gorgeous, Spectacular," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 5, 1922, 1, 3.

<sup>85</sup> "Commerce of Prairies Is Gorgeous, Spectacular," 1, 3.

<sup>86</sup> "La Casa de los Conquistadores," 2; "Artists Sketch New Cassell Building," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Sept. 24, 1921, 6; "Miss Critcher's Work Popular; Olive Rush, Gustave Baumann, Walter Ufer, Awarded Prizes," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 13, 1926, 2. By summer of 1921, the structure attracted artists seeking to depict its picturesque façade, including Julius Rolshoven and his brother-in-law, Oliver Dennet Grover, a visiting landscape and mural painter from Chicago.

<sup>87</sup> The Fine Arts Museum (aka "New Museum") is now the New Mexico Museum of Art.

<sup>88</sup> Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 130–31. Rapp, Rapp and Hendrickson designed the building based on Acoma and Laguna Mission and Pueblo villages. As Wilson notes, the museum's façade, according to Twitchell, merged the designs of six three-hundred-year-old Franciscan missions.

<sup>89</sup> See Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 136–40. Period newspaper accounts noted that the Oñate Theater’s ticket office was constructed to resemble a miniature Pueblo. See “La Casa de los Conquistadors,” 2.

<sup>90</sup> The postcards were sold in a set for twenty-five cents. The decorative folder holding them also contained the De Vargas image, simplified into red and black ink, with the addition of an inscription to the lower right of the white horse reading, “Entry of De Vargas 1693.”

<sup>91</sup> Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. 1 (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1911), 173.

<sup>92</sup> Van Wyck Brooks, “On Creating a Usable Past,” *The Dial* LXIV, no. 764 (April 11, 1918): 339. Brooks wrote: “If we need another past so badly, is it inconceivable that we might discover one, that we might even invent one? Discover, invent a usable past we certainly can.” “The past is an inexhaustible storehouse of apt attitudes and adaptable ideals. . . . If, then, we cannot use the past our professors offer us, is there any reason why we should not create others of our own.” Thank you to Dr. Mark White for alerting me to this essay.

<sup>93</sup> Quoted in Victoria E. Dye, *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 67.

<sup>94</sup> While period commentators described the Pueblo figures, Coronado and his army were consistently described in more detail or first. There is some discrepancy between newspaper writers regarding the scale and content of the murals. See, for example, “Cassidy Paintings on Walls of New Theater to Depict First Meeting of Indian and Conquisador” [*sic*], *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 14, 1921, 2; “Casa de los Conquistadors,” 2; “Theater’s Premier Is Felicitous,” 2; “Coronado and Indians; Huge Murals,” 6.

<sup>95</sup> Six of the original ten designs featured Pueblo dancers. After the Fiesta committee reduced the number of Indigenous subjects to four posters, Cassidy reinserted a Native subject after the Santa Fe rejected Cassidy’s painting of Twitchell in charro costume. With the subsequent addition of a Zuni Shalako poster, half (five) of the posters featured Native subjects. This substitution is significant considering no Zuni figures featured in the 1922 Fiesta parade or events detailed in the program.

<sup>96</sup> Presumably, Santiago’s real identity was less useful to the AT&SF than the large feather headdress he wore, which could signify “Indianness” much as Hernando Villa’s and Sam Hyde Harris’s stereotypical representations of a warbonnet-wearing Plains Indians chief was adopted to promote the railway’s train, the “Santa Fe Chief,” in the late 1920s. Zega and Gruber, *Travel by Train*, 76–81.

<sup>97</sup> This approach, with its vacillation between flatness and the illusion of three-dimensional space, suggests the influence of portraits by German immigrant designer Winold Reiss, which Cassidy may have viewed in New York during the late 1910s. Weiss’s style derived from modern German advertising approaches. See Hadley Jerman, *Ticket to Ride: Artists, Designers, and Western Railways* (exhibition catalog, Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, Norman, OK, 2016), 61–69.

<sup>98</sup> Cassidy Painting True Picture of Plaza in Early Days, Sage of Santa Clara Tells Audience,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 1, 1935, 4; “Rolshoven Portrait of Old Santiago Naranjo Will Hang in Art Gallery of New Museum,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 26, 1917, 6.

<sup>99</sup> Marilyn Norcini, “The Political Process of Factionalism and Self-Governance at Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 4 (Dec. 2005): 561,

accessed Jan. 21, 2020, at [www.jstor.org/stable/4598960](http://www.jstor.org/stable/4598960). Norcini writes that Santiago was governor seven times in 1907, 1911, 1912, 1916, 1920, 1923, and 1924. A 1930 newspaper article suggests he was appointed in 1930, as well. See “Santiago Wins,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 3, 1930, 5.

<sup>100</sup> Norcini, “Political Process,” 561.

<sup>101</sup> “Five Separate Harvest Dances during August,” *Albuquerque Journal*, Aug. 8, 1923, 2.

<sup>102</sup> Jesse Nusbaum’s 1910 photograph of the leader seems to have inspired Julius Rolshoven’s (1858–1930) oil portrait, which Rolshoven gave to the museum in Santa Fe in 1917. See Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, Negative #061709, New Mexico Museum of Art, 14.23P.

Nusbaum made multiple portraits of the Santa Clara leader. For the 1915 photograph of Naranjo with Frank Springer, Kenneth Chapman, and Carlos Vierra at Rito de los Frijoles, New Mexico, see New Mexico Digital Collections, negative #028087. See also “Rolshoven Portrait of Old Santiago Naranjo Will Hang in Art Gallery of New Museum,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 26, 1917, 6.

<sup>103</sup> The lithograph series included *Santiago, Governor of Santa Clara, New Mexico*; *The Cacique of Zuni*; *Juan Gonzales, Governor of Santo Domingo*; *The Pottery Seller of Santo Domingo*; *Navajo Land, Arizona*; *A Bit of Walpi Pueblo, Arizona*; *Cordova Mission Church, New Mexico*; and *Sand Storm, Southwest New Mexico*. The prints originally sold for \$12.50 each but later for \$25 to \$35 each. See Ina Sizer Cassidy, “List of Work of Gerald Cassidy,” Carton 6, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder #1, CFP.

<sup>104</sup> “List of Paintings,” Record Book, p. 70, Carton 6, List of Paintings, Folder 2, CFP. Neither painting appears to have sold at the Brockton exhibition.

<sup>105</sup> Santiago may not have been master of ceremonies for the 1922 Fiesta. See “Color, Ancient Customs and Romance Will Be Revived in Santa Fe When 210th Annual Fiesta Is Celebrated,” *El Paso Herald*, Aug. 26–27, 1922, 24.

<sup>106</sup> “Legend: List of Paintings sent to SA Stedman Nov. 23–22 for Brockton, Mass, Exhibition,” List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Carton 6, Folder #2, CFP.

<sup>107</sup> However, as Matthew Martinez points out, a pan-pueblo political organization had existed since precontact times. See Matthew Martinez, “All Indian Pueblo Council and the Bursum Bill,” (Jan. 17, 2014), accessed Feb. 16, 2020, at [NewMexicoHistory.org/2014/01/17/all-indian-pueblo-council-and-the-bursum-bill/](http://NewMexicoHistory.org/2014/01/17/all-indian-pueblo-council-and-the-bursum-bill/).

<sup>108</sup> Ina Sizer Cassidy, “Meeting Refutes Charge ‘Paid Agents’ Stirred Up Indians Against the Bursum Bill,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Nov. 25, 1922, 5. Witter Bynner led the publicity committee responsible for this petition. Forty-four writers and artists had signed by November 25.

<sup>109</sup> “Artists Come to Aid of Pueblo Indians, Taos Colony and Other Painters of Southwest Protest Against the Dispersal of Picturesque Indians,” *American Art News* 21, no. 8 (Dec. 2, 1922): 1.

<sup>110</sup> Cassidy to Col. Twitchell, Jan. 24, 1919, Box 12, Outgoing letters, 1916–1920, CFP.

<sup>111</sup> Cassidy’s records indicate the Historical Society paid him \$100 each for portraits of Kit Carson, Governor De Anza, the Duke of Albuquerque, Villagra, and Bandelier, the previous four based on photographs. Mrs. R. E. Twitchell gifted Cassidy’s portrait of her husband to the Historical Society

later. See “Paintings by Gerald Cassidy belonging to the Historical Society of New Mexico,” Carton 6, Subject Files A-D, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, etc., Folder #1, CFP.

<sup>112</sup> See Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*; Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint, “Twitchell, Ralph Emerson (1859–1925),” New Mexico Office of the State Historian, 2020, accessed Jan. 5, 2020, at dev.newmexicohistory.org.

<sup>113</sup> See note 36. Cassidy’s black-and-white study for a later canvas, *The End of the Trail*, appeared repeatedly in Fiesta programs. See “Cassidy Painting True Picture,” 4. Interestingly, Santiago verified Cassidy’s “accuracy.” The writer notes that Santiago Naranjo, “the sage of Santa Clara, believed to be edging 90 years of age, declared . . . that it was an accurate picture of the Plaza as it looked when he was a boy.”

<sup>114</sup> He also advocated for statehood and designed New Mexico’s first flag. See Flint and Flint, “Twitchell, Ralph Emerson (1859–1925),” dev.newmexicohistory.org

<sup>115</sup> Ina Sizer’s comments suggest a positive relationship between the Cassidys and Twitchell. See “Cassidy Painting True Picture,” 4. However, Twitchell’s politics were controversial. As historians Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint note, he angered Hispanos and Pueblo communities by supporting the English-only movement, by screening his film of the Taos Corn Dance, and by coauthoring the Bursum Bill and testifying in its favor before the US Senate committee. See Flint and Flint, “Twitchell, Ralph Emerson (1859–1925),” dev.newmexicohistory.org.

<sup>116</sup> The description notes, “In January he goes to Washington with a delegation to appear before the Indian Commissioner in connection with the pending pueblo Indian legislation before Congress. He is about seventy years of age, and is hale and hearty today.” See “Legend: Paintings sent to SA Stedman,” Carton 6, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder #2, CFP.

<sup>117</sup> Sizer Cassidy, “Meeting Refutes Charge,” 5. Forty-four writers and artists had signed the petition by November 25.

<sup>118</sup> Sascha Scott, “Unwrapping Ernest L. Blumenschein’s *The Gift*,” *American Art* 25, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 31, 45n18.

<sup>119</sup> Scott, 29.

<sup>120</sup> Sizer Cassidy, “Meeting Refutes Charge,” 5.

<sup>121</sup> Sizer Cassidy, 5.

<sup>122</sup> They said, “This bill will deprive us of our happy life by taking away our lands and water and will destroy our Pueblo government and our customs which we have enjoyed for hundreds of years, and through which we have been able to be self-supporting and happy down to this day.” Quoted in Martinez, “All Indian Pueblo Council and the Bursum Bill,” NewMexicoHistory.org/2014/01/17/all-indian-pueblo-council-and-the-bursum-bill/.

<sup>123</sup> “Collier Indian Delegation Leaves on Wild Goose Chase,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 24, 1924, 2.

<sup>124</sup> Cassidy underwent treatment at the Mayo Clinic in Rochester at the time. For exhibition information, see “Record Book,” p. 47, List of Paintings, Carton 6, Folder 2, CFP.

<sup>125</sup> The portrait, G-189, titled *Santiago*, a 10 × 14" oil, was priced at \$100.00. See Record Book, p 49, Carton 6, List of Paintings Folder 2, CFP.

<sup>126</sup> These canes (along with two others) were granted to each governor by the Pueblo's cacique as a symbol of their authority and returned to the cacique at the end of their term.

<sup>127</sup> "Cassidy Postcards Unique Community Advertising," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Aug. 15, 1922, 4.

<sup>128</sup> Cassidy had pictures on consignment at Bishops Lodge in fall 1928, fall 1929, and fall 1931. See Bishops Lodge to Cassidy (correspondence), Box 1, A-Misc.—Bo, folder B-Misch, CFP.

<sup>129</sup> Jill Sweet, *Dances of the Tewa Pueblo Indians* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1985), 85.

<sup>130</sup> Aikman, "Santa Fe Fiesta Becoming Great National Pageant," 4.

<sup>131</sup> Aikman, 4.

<sup>132</sup> "Legend: Paintings sent to SA Stedman, Nov. 23, 1922," Carton 6, List of Paintings, Exhibitions, Sales, Etc., Folder #2, CFP.

<sup>133</sup> The entire passage reads: "Many [Pueblo dances] are given for the purpose of either giving thanks or in asking blessings for the Indians. These dances are in reality nature dramas, and the prayers and supplications of the people are enacted before the shrine, that the gods of life and plenty may see and answer their prayers. . . . The animal ceremonies take place in the fall and winter, when the native game is in the best condition and this Buffalo dance is one of the numerous animal ceremonies given by them in their search for food. It is participated in by two Buffalo, with elaborate headdress of buffalo horns and hide, and a woman dancer who represents the cow buffalo, the mother of all the rest, and then comes the hunter." "Legend sent to S A Stedman, Nov. 23, 1922 for Brockton, Mass, exhibition," Carton 6, List of Paintings, Folder 2, CFP.

<sup>134</sup> The artist priced the nearly five-foot-tall oil at a whopping \$1,500 in the 1922 Brockton exhibit. See Record Book, p. 70, Carton 6, List of Paintings, Folder 2, CFP; W. H. Simpson to Gerald Cassidy, July 28, 1924, Box 1, A Misc.—Bo, Folder: Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe 1913–1949, CFP. The Cassidys left for Europe in 1924 and returned in spring 1927.

<sup>135</sup> See T. M. Pearce, *America in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1933), 135.

<sup>136</sup> Georgia Burlingham, "Gerald Cassidy's Pictures at Southwestern Exhibition Here Rival Best Shown in El Paso," *El Paso Times*, Feb. 13, 1922, 10. Cassidy especially received positive reviews in El Paso, where it was said his work "alone is worth going mile to see." See "Young Men's Business League to Sponsor Art Exhibition . . .," *El Paso Times*, Feb. 12, 1922, 13.

<sup>137</sup> "Report of Chamber of Commerce Secretary Shows Year's Accomplishments," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Jan. 5, 1923, 3.

<sup>138</sup> Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*, 151.

<sup>139</sup> Chauvenet, 151.

<sup>140</sup> In fact, *illustrated* articles in other magazines and newspapers, including Canadian railway advertising, had brought further attention to Santa Fe, the report continued. The deficit was credited to the expense of the grandstand and stage, which would not recur the following year. “Report of Chamber of Commerce,” 3.

<sup>141</sup> Simpson, too, according to the Chamber’s report, found the Fiesta to pay for itself. See “Report of Chamber of Commerce,” 3.

<sup>142</sup> “Report of Chamber of Commerce,” 3.

<sup>143</sup> Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Old-New Santa Fe and Round About* (Chicago: AT&SF, 1912). Titles of Twitchell’s works often combine the words “old” with “new” as in New Mexico.

<sup>144</sup> Charles E. Parks, “City of Santa Fe Reenacts Stirring Deeds of the Conquistadores: This Year’s Celebration Firmly Established the Santa Fe Fiesta as One of the Most Beautiful Historical Pageants in the United States,” *Santa Fe Magazine* XIV, no. 12 (November 1920): 20–32.

<sup>145</sup> Wilson, *Myth of Santa Fe*, 8.

<sup>146</sup> Wilson, 8.

<sup>147</sup> Wilson, 8.

<sup>148</sup> Some writers suggest that Cassidy’s Fiesta posters continued to appear on postcards and posters sold on AT&SF trains and hotels. I have not seen these. See Sandra D’Emilio and Suzan Campbell, *Visions & Visionaries: The Art & Artists of the Santa Fe Railway* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1991), 26.

<sup>149</sup> Zega and Gruber, *Travel by Train*, 39–47, 76–81.

<sup>150</sup> While the advertising insert is undated, the font used in the brochure, Americana, was designed in 1965 and the décor includes Breuer chairs popular in the late 1960s and 1970s. See The Desert Collection, “The Cassidy Prints” [advertising brochure], n.d., Sections I to VII, Box 169, Section II, Folder 8, Gerald Cassidy Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Santa Fe.

<sup>151</sup> Twitchell, *Old-New Santa Fe*.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### **MAYNARD DIXON AND THE BIG PICTURE: PACIFIC COAST BILLBOARD ADVERTISING, 1916–1921**

In 1921, the California painter, color theorist, and advertising sales manager Charles W. Duncan announced, “The time has come when outdoor advertising has possessed itself of real beauty [through] the highest grade of talent available ... Outdoor advertising on the Pacific Coast has blazed the way for the rest of the country.”<sup>1</sup> While prone to flowery language, Duncan was not really exaggerating. His San Francisco-based employer, Foster and Kleiser, congratulated itself in print for its “clean” copy, its “truth-telling” commentary, its “attractive” billboards, and, especially, for its employment of the “best” designing talent.<sup>2</sup> That talent, by 1921, numbered more than twenty designers including Duncan’s brother-in-law, the celebrated western artist Maynard Dixon.<sup>3</sup> Already a nationally acclaimed illustrator, Dixon supplemented his income between 1916 and 1921 with billboard designs and commercial illustrations for Foster and Kleiser. In 1945, one year before his death, Dixon reflected on his career and attributed the turning point in his work—his eschewal of the “illustrative, dramatic [Remington-esque] wild-west” for a more “poetic” and “decorative” (read: beautiful) approach—perhaps surprisingly, to his experience in billboard advertising.<sup>4</sup> However, this crucial, brief period in the career of one of the most well-known artists of the American West has been strangely ill-attended. Although Dixon considered his years at Foster and Kleiser valuable training for mural painting in particular, scholars have largely ignored his work for the outdoor advertising firm.<sup>5</sup> Equally absent from art historical investigation has been a discussion of Foster and Kleiser’s role in the

early careers of a number of key California artists between World Wars I and II. This chapter will touch on that topic while addressing Dixon's billboard designs within the context of his life, oeuvre, and West Coast advertising movements of the early 1920s that promoted "truth," "beauty," and the West itself, alongside haberdashers, coffee, dairies, and tires (fig. 4.1).

If fin-de-siècle art posters—like Edward Penfield's *Pony Tracks* poster—depicted the American West as a place of violence, danger, and masculine adventure, by the early 1920s that image had changed. Concurrently with Gerald Cassidy's romantic portrayal of Southwestern subjects on Fiesta posters in post-World War I New Mexico, a regional poster style developed in California that described the West in terms of beauty. While discussions of artistic billboards also occurred on the East Coast, an analysis of Charles Duncan's writing and period commentary in the San Francisco-based trade journal, *Western Advertising*, suggests that this creation of "beauty" on billboards and posters pervaded the West Coast.<sup>6</sup> Shaped by advertising and lithography firms, local artists, and area boosters, "beauty" on Foster and Kleiser's billboards was characterized by color (both literal and metaphorical), landscape, and romantic outdoor adventure.

Of Dixon's and his colleague's posters, Charles Duncan claimed, "We are bringing art to the streets through the modern billboard."<sup>7</sup> It was hardly a new claim—it constituted a reprise of the fin-de-siècle argument made by art poster enthusiasts nearly thirty years earlier. This chapter considers billboard advertising in San Francisco after World War I as an extension of the art poster movement of the 1890s. It further demonstrates how these "posters," as billboards were referred to in the nineteen-teens and twenties, functioned differently for various stakeholders. For Foster and Kleiser's clients who bought into the firm's promises, billboard advertising resulted in sales by elevating their (at times prosaic) products by association with art.<sup>8</sup> For outdoor

advertising firms like Foster and Kleiser, I argue that billboards' primary function, regardless of the product depicted, was to promote billboards themselves as a positive addition to the rural or cityscape. For California advertising boosters, however, the primary function of artistic billboards, regardless of the product depicted, was to promote California, or the West more broadly. But for Dixon in particular, I argue that billboard design marked a turning point in his technical and aesthetic development. Through an examination of Foster and Kleiser's billboards reproduced in *Western Advertising* and of rare studies made by Dixon that have never received *any* art historical attention, I will address Dixon's approach to commercial art and demonstrate how the compositional strategies he developed as a billboard designer profoundly informed his mature work of subsequent decades.<sup>9</sup>

### **I. Charles Duncan and Maynard Dixon's Recipe for "Beautiful" Advertising**

Dixon's and his colleagues' billboard designs emerged during a shift from so-called "ugly" and "cluttered" advertising of the late Victorian period to the short-lived celebration of billboards as mural art on the West Coast during and just following World War I.<sup>10</sup> Foster and Kleiser's efforts reflected a broader national effort by outdoor advertising firms at the time to aestheticize billboards in order to fend off potential legislation restricting their construction.<sup>11</sup> When the Washington state-based firm established its headquarters in San Francisco in 1915, after buying out California's J. Charles Green Agency, Charles Duncan almost immediately began hiring local artists.<sup>12</sup>

It is unclear if Dixon was his brother-in-law's first hire. Duncan may first have employed Dixon's young protégé, Harold von Schmidt, while the latter was modeling and working in Dixon's studio around 1915.<sup>13</sup> While the constant threat of legislation banning billboards

encouraged Foster and Kleiser to employ art school-trained artists to increase billboards' attractiveness, Duncan went further, qualifying beauty as a specific requirement of the region's advertising. He argued in 1921 that advertisers *owed* their communities beauty and that the "code" of western advertisers, in particular, *demand*ed beauty, for "no medium of advertising has the right to take up the attention of the public unless it pays for that attention in terms of service or beauty."<sup>14</sup> Dixon agreed. In an interview published in the national trade journal, *The Poster*, he commented: "I maintain that ugly advertising has no lasting value to the man who spends his money on it and it has compelled advertisers to turn to beautiful design in order to get themselves back into the good graces of the critical public."<sup>15</sup> He summarized his impassioned brother-in-law's credo as "BEAUTY IS AN ASSET and UGLINESS A LIABILITY."<sup>16</sup>

What then defined "beauty" for Maynard Dixon and Charles Duncan, as far as it appeared on West Coast billboards and posters? In his talks to advertisers, at schools, and in an article series that ran in *Western Advertising* in 1921, Duncan asserted beauty depended on, and emanated from, "color," in both the literal and metaphorical sense.<sup>17</sup> Dixon, no stranger to picturesque language himself, described his friend, brother-in-law, and supervisor as a "dazzle-talker" whose personality, speech, and message was colorful—an "astounding vibration of kaleidoscopic splendor."<sup>18</sup> He summarized Duncan's philosophy toward color—literal pigments, that is—in this way:

While light and shade make all things visible, COLOR attracts us to them. ... Its right use, whether in the lowliest form of advertisement or the finest mural decoration, depends on a perception of its nature and an understanding of its psychological effect, which is as certain and as calculable as the effect of rain and sunlight.

[All] about us—largely unused or misused—there are living COLOR and Character (which make beauty) here awaiting the promoter wise enough to trust the artist who is trained to see and use them.<sup>19</sup>

On one hand, Dixon identified beauty as a byproduct of not just color, but "color and character" together. Furthermore, he believed that beauty stemmed from "color and character...

*here*,” that is, specifically from the colors and character of northern California. Character in this context referred not so much to human traits but to the idiosyncrasies of the place itself.

However, Dixon seemed unconcerned with further defining “character,” or explaining Duncan’s color theory, or the practical applications of these attitudes in advertising. Rather, he underscored the necessity of incorporating artists into advertising, suggesting they alone possessed the ability to understand and successfully translate “color and character” into psychologically manipulative images. Only artists could use color “accurately” to effectively stimulate in viewers an emotion resulting in—and here Dixon made associations to science—“certain and calculable”—results: that is, sales. He described color itself as mystical, a source of attraction. Using color successfully, the artist argued, was a science, a set of facts not recognized or comprehended by businesspeople. Color was, in this sense, not only used by artists to sell products, but also was simultaneously employed by Dixon and Duncan to sell the business world on the particular skills of trained artists.

Duncan adopted more mystical language, describing artists’ value to the business world in part, through their eyes, or more broadly, through *vision* itself. He defined the eye as a source of pleasure *if effectively used*: “We look, but we look automatically. We seldom see ... or [look] just for seeing’s sake.”<sup>20</sup> Dixon, too, commented that the business world, in particular, suffered from a reliance on “safe-going routine,”<sup>21</sup> a habitual lack of *seeing* with metaphorical *vision*. He noted that corporate eyes were rarely “sensitized by daily usage to perceive the mere visual aspects of things seen—not to mention the advertising possibilities of such an aspect through simple optical appeal.”<sup>22</sup> Of course in pointing out this absence or deficiency in the business world, he also provided a convenient solution—not so much that billboard clients acquired the

ability to “see” but that they hired artists whose eyes were “sensitized by daily usage” to make the best use of color.

In Duncan’s estimation, color was not only necessary to create the “optical appeal” critical to “beautiful” and attention-grabbing advertising, but at the height of Prohibition in 1921, he compared color to the “kick in drinks” and claimed tonal value constituted the “difference between flatness and a thrill.”<sup>23</sup> He further prescribed color as “real medicine that purges the soul of depression and dissatisfaction.”<sup>24</sup> Such colorful rhetoric characterizes Duncan’s metaphor and pun-rich commentaries published in period trade journals. Rather than contain precise technical information about the practices Foster and Kleiser’s artists adopted concerning specific colors or combinations of colors, his writing in *Western Advertising* remained vague, rambling, upbeat, impassioned, and enthusiastic wordplay that espoused the gospel of color rather than explained it.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps for that reason, in his introduction to Duncan’s series of articles on color published in *Western Advertising* in 1921, Dixon attempted to translate his brother-in-law’s sprawling “dazzle-talking” into something more practical for the trade journal’s readers, and convincing (through reason) to potential corporate clients. Indeed, Dixon felt compelled to warn the business world that while Duncan’s unusual, and even bizarre presentation may give a “jolt” to corporate executives, his message was logical.<sup>26</sup> The artist simply described Duncan’s approach to color as organized around the structure of negative/cold and positive/warm classifications taught in art school.<sup>27</sup> Foster and Kleiser’s billboard designs of the period perhaps best illustrated Duncan’s ideals expressed in practice. Dixon’s and his colleagues’ posters often feature complimentary colors, strong value contrasts, and crimson lettering or flashes of red that dazzle against pale green, light turquoise, and deep blue backgrounds. They avoid “dreary gray,”

“pale, washed-out blue,” “sickly white,” and other hues that Duncan derided as effecting a “depressing color influence” in office buildings and hospitals.<sup>28</sup>

San Francisco advertising commentators followed Duncan in heralding “color”—both literal and literary—as necessary for attention-getting and distinctive advertising. Rather than proclaiming its restorative properties, however, commentators equated particular colors to the region, suggesting the use of color in advertising was a specifically “western” trait. This celebration of color seems partly self-serving as San Francisco housed a major color lithography industry. One commentator heralded the region’s “yellow and purpled hills” as influential on local advertising imagery.<sup>29</sup> Louis Treviso, a poster artist for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, went so far as to term red the “prevailing color of the West,” and attributed its prevalence on billboards to the prominence of that hue in the West’s landscapes and on its inhabitants’ complexions.<sup>30</sup>

Maurice del Mue’s gouache studies of billboards for Hills Brothers Coffee clearly demonstrate Duncan’s color preferences and the use of red in billboard advertising (fig. 4.2). Further, they illustrate why Duncan may have described the night as possessing “still more beautiful color” than that which “flooded” the world by day.<sup>31</sup> In each layout, Hills Brothers’ iconic red coffee can, introduced in 1914, looms in heroic scale against teal and cerulean backgrounds. The improbably large coffee tin guarantees that even if viewers passing at higher speeds miss the subtly illuminated North African villages, palm trees, mosques, and minarets in the background, they cannot overlook the advertised item. While Hills Bros. originated in San Francisco in the late 1870s, their beans came from Ethiopia; del Mue’s designs allude to the firm’s advertising campaigns that suggested the coffee offered consumers a “taste of the exotic.”<sup>32</sup>

## II. Foster and Kleiser: Constructing an Art Department

While Charles Duncan's chief crusade involved broadly promoting "color" as a cure for a troubled world and, more specifically, for color deficient corporate offices which "drives many a man to drink,"<sup>33</sup> Foster and Kleiser's purpose in producing color-rich advertising was less altruistic. The firm made a concentrated effort to improve public perception of its image throughout the 1910s. As part of an ambitious self-promotion campaign, it sponsored community events, donated billboard space for special causes, contributed-camouflage work during World War I, and regularly touted such activities in local newspapers and trade journals.<sup>34</sup> In 1916, it began producing hand-painted billboards and illuminated signs. Employing well-known local artists to design these signs was one strategy the agency employed to appeal to tastemakers and urban beautification groups who criticized billboards as unregulated, immoral, oversaturated eyesores and successfully imposed city restrictions on the medium.<sup>35</sup>

To that end, Duncan hired Dixon and Maurice del Mue to lead a host of mostly younger artists including Harold Von Schmidt, Louis Siegriest, Roi Partridge, Fred W. Ludekens, and Charles Stafford Duncan.<sup>36</sup> In an overt demonstration of its vested interest in the fame of its designers, the firm identified them by name, including Dixon, in newspaper advertisements promoting sales of its stock even after Dixon departed the firm in 1921!<sup>37</sup> Under Duncan, Foster and Kleiser not only hired talented artists, but packaged their billboard designs in decorative frames. In sum, Duncan argued the firm's advertising gave "pleasure and beauty" to beholders and revoked "the old conception that art was a thing to be confined to the art gallery."<sup>38</sup> The San Francisco arts community agreed, praising Foster and Kleiser's "reformation" of the billboard.<sup>39</sup>

While the firm's efforts were ultimately self-interested, for many ambitious, aspiring young artists, Foster and Kleiser was *the place* to work. The future California plein air painter



and member of the Society of Six, Louis Siegriest, recalled that at the time, commercial art represented “the only way to make a living.”<sup>40</sup> He initially landed an apprenticeship with the firm in 1919 or 1920 through del Mue, and worked there just over two years during Dixon’s tenure, returning in 1931 for another two years when Otis Shepard headed the art department.<sup>41</sup>

Duncan invited Dixon’s protégé, Harold von Schmidt, to work for the firm around 1915.<sup>42</sup> Von Schmidt, who would later become one of the nation’s most popular illustrators, recalled that the management’s fears that legislative action might ban all outdoor advertising as unsightly, led to his hiring.<sup>43</sup> After two years at Foster and Kleiser, von Schmidt was promoted to art director around 1917.<sup>44</sup>

Dixon himself joined the firm the previous year, in part as an effort to start over following his contentious divorce from Lillian West Tobey.<sup>45</sup> Dixon’s correspondence suggests the decision was largely financially motivated. He complained to his friend, author Dane Coolidge, in early 1917: “I’m a wage slave now, designing posters & billboards for Foster and Kleiser - but not for always.”<sup>46</sup> It is noteworthy that Dixon’s public pronouncements about billboard design, Duncan, and Foster and Kleiser were laudatory. But his personal correspondence, while never as cynical about billboard work as about book and magazine illustration, reveals, in brief and subtle asides—as in his letter to Coolidge—his constant desire to be free from the necessity of doing *any* commercial work, even for a firm that created in von Schmidt’s terms, “good pictures.”<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, when he found himself “busted entirely” in December 1917, though still employed by Foster and Kleiser, Dixon was not too proud to take another book illustration assignment for Coolidge at the author’s request.<sup>48</sup>

Although commercial work may not have been the first choice of artists who worked for Foster and Kleiser in the nineteen-teens, they generally referred to the firm with enthusiasm.

Siegriest remembered, “*everybody* was working at Foster and Kleiser” because the firm produced “*real* [hand painted] billboards and posters.”<sup>49</sup> In 1919, Dixon wrote Charles Lummis on Foster and Kleiser letterhead, introducing von Schmidt with the words,

This is my friend Von Schmidt, fellow worker here, & sincere student of the West. We are associated here in trying to make our commercial friends use beautiful instead of ugly advertising, with an eye meanwhile, to wider fields.<sup>50</sup>

His positive, cheery language echoes Duncan’s—one senses that he views his and von Schmidt’s role as ambassadors of art and beauty to the business world as a sort of mission, perhaps even, a calling. He emphasizes that he is not, in fact, wasting his talents, as Lummis may have assumed. Although he had no desire to take on any more illustration work himself, Dixon hoped to convince Lummis to help von Schmidt acquire illustration assignments.

Dixon’s fluctuation between a jaundiced view toward illustration and a celebration of Foster and Kleiser’s efforts reveals his (and other artists’) relationship to commercial work as not purely one-dimensional. To Dixon and the other artists they employed, Foster and Kleiser represented not only a means to an end—a paycheck—but also an opportunity to avoid the crass commercialism usually associated with advertising.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps Dixon’s second wife, the photographer Dorothea Lange, who met the artist in 1919 when he was working for the firm, explained it best. Forty years later, in 1960, she remembered Foster and Kleiser as creating a “golden age,” by “[doing] something unique” in hiring “top people.”<sup>52</sup> At the same time, she described the art department during her former husband’s tenure there as:

a stable of people who behaved abominably. They were paid a lot of money. They showed up when they pleased, they did as they pleased. And they made wonderful billboards. ... They had all the big accounts. These billboards were really quite fine.<sup>53</sup>

Lange’s vivid recollection not only suggested the artists enjoyed autonomy of design, but also the firm’s respect and high wages. She also noted with something akin to pride that the

billboard promoting Sherwin-Williams paint which featured a red-shirted miner (a design that Dixon likely created) was still in use as late as 1960.<sup>54</sup>

While billboard advertising offered Charles W. Duncan an opportunity to espouse his doctrine of color and, as I will demonstrate, provided California advertisers a vehicle for promoting the Pacific Coast as a whole, for Maynard Dixon, billboard design offered financial stability. Furthermore, it provided an opportunity to depict the West in ways that more closely aligned with his feelings on the subject than permitted during his earlier commercial work as a book and magazine illustrator. The freedom of expression granted him at Foster and Kleiser also allowed Dixon to create work that met his requirements for good design. Furthermore, it gave him regional and national renown as an expert on poster art, paving the way for mural commissions and easel paintings in subsequent decades, works compositionally indebted to his years in billboard design. Before discussing his billboards for Foster and Kleiser, how, exactly, did Dixon define “good” design?

### **III. “Truth in terms of beauty”: Maynard Dixon as Graphic Designer**

In 1921, his friend Wilbur Hall, seemingly in a nod to the Romantic poet John Keats, described Dixon’s approach to art—whether mural painting or landscape—as “truth in terms of beauty.”<sup>55</sup> Hall claimed that Dixon:

applies this [concept] to a mural painting or any of his famed western landscapes [no] more sincerely and finally than he does to the pattern and color of a 24-sheet design for an automobile or an honest brand of baked beans. The result is that Dixon’s influence on poster advertising is measurable, and is increasing.<sup>56</sup>

Notions of truth and beauty pervaded Dixon’s attitude toward commercial design as much as they did that of his employer and brother-in-law, Charles Duncan. Both Dixon and Duncan defined beauty as the confluence of “color and character.” However, Dixon’s notion of

“truth” was more personal. During his tenure at Foster and Kleiser, certainly by 1920, when Dixon spoke of “truth” or “honest work,” he was not concerned so much with objective facts as with staying true to his personal aesthetic vision. Thirty years earlier, in 1891, the venerable illustrator Frederic Remington had advised then sixteen-year-old Dixon, “Be always true to yourself—to the way and the things you see in nature.”<sup>57</sup> The advice stuck.

Ten years later, Dixon and his mentor, the Los Angeles journalist and booster Charles Lummis, sparred in writing over the logo, lettering, and layout of covers for Lummis’s magazine, *Land of Sunshine*, renamed *Out West* in January 1902. In fall 1901, Lummis commissioned Dixon to design *Out West*’s new cover and a poster promoting it. Dixon’s approach to design at the time was clearly informed by contemporary aesthetic trends, as evidenced by his 1890s posters for *Overland Monthly* magazine, which reflect the influence of Japanese printmaking and the trend toward minimalism in San Francisco’s iteration of the art poster movement (fig. 4.3).<sup>58</sup> Lummis, however, valued an increasingly outmoded Victorian aesthetic. The complex (cluttered) compositions, limited negative space, decorative lettering, and abundant detail in posters produced for *Land of Sunshine* during the 1890s demonstrate Lummis’s preferences (fig. 4.4). Compared to Edward Penfield’s posters of the same decade discussed in chapter 2, *Land of Sunshine* posters consist of a *mélange* of disparate parts awkwardly gathered on the page.

After Dixon offered several cover designs for *Out West* that met with Lummis’s disapproval, mentor and artist wrangled over the details of lettering and composition. They also disagreed vehemently over the appropriateness of Lummis’s device—a creature Dixon termed a “lion” but what Lummis called a “puma”—as a logo for a magazine devoted to the American West. Dixon argued the “lion” only represented Lummis’s ego, and would be viewed as such by

the magazine's readers, rather than signifying anything specifically "western."<sup>59</sup> Concerning the layout—and lion—he wrote to Lummis on November 1, 1901:

You cant [sic] rush *good design*,--& you cant [sic] crowd in dignity, all at the top of the page... there is no place for your mortise except the bottom of the page, & *scarcely any room left for real design* in the face of so many restrictions in the matter of lettering. So don't [sic] expect too much.<sup>60</sup> [emphasis mine]

This passage is revealing for several reasons. First, it demonstrates that Dixon considered himself a "designer" as early as 1901. He describes his magazine covers as "designed" rather than merely "illustrated" objects. Thus, he applies the same term to his work that was applied by commentators on innovative art posters of the 1890s and, later, to Foster and Kleiser's billboards of the late 1910s.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, Dixon defined "real" (that is, "dignified," or "beautiful") design as possessing a clear, uncluttered layout, not the sort of logo and lettering "crowded" at the top that Lummis favored. Notably, Dixon wanted to banish Lummis's puma to the lower register (if not off the page entirely).

The friction—and Dixon's annoyance—increased. Two days later, after three days of "scheming & experimenting" with the cover design, he wrote his patron:

I ... am sending you the outcome of my labors. I have reached the conclusion that you are not going to get dignity, breadth, & vigor of design & still keep in your mortise, —*which is decidedly cheap, in itself, & belittling to the design*. Beside, the more freedom I have in the disposition of the lettering the better.<sup>62</sup> [emphasis mine]

The clash between client and artist—particularly Dixon's pettiness concerning the puma—was a manifestation of the father-son relationship that had developed between them. Dixon chafed at his inability to have his own way with the lettering, and ridiculed Lummis's puma as "cheap" (!), that is, unworthy of sharing space with the designer's more sophisticated layout. Lummis, however, remained implacable and on Thanksgiving Day, 1901, Dixon sent a new cover design and lettering samples, again expressing exasperation with Lummis's "taste" and inability to be pleased:

Though after what has passed I have little hope of pleasing you, I send the 2 headings & a final effort at a cover design. It is plain that my ideas for decorative stuff don't occur along the lines of your taste.<sup>63</sup>

His patience with his patron almost exhausted, Dixon offered another cover perhaps because in the end, his finances overruled his pride. "If I did not call myself your friend I also would have quit the job long ago..." he wrote wearily, "I have schemed this cover in no less than 24 different ways than I can remember."<sup>64</sup> With time running out, in a subsequent letter, he offered one "final effort," which even included a sketch suggested by his mother (!) jotted in the margin.<sup>65</sup>

Ultimately, Dixon acquiesced to his mentor's wishes. In late December, by way of explanation for the tone of his previous letters, he wrote Lummis with a marked effort toward reconciliation:

It almost seemed as though you expected me to think with your brains. I can't see things with your eyes, & must base my work on my own ideas ... I have got to come at it *by my own road* ... before I can turn it into the 'honest work' you have always demanded. If I can conceive the subject or interpret it *in my own way* & satisfy your demand at the same time that will be the real thing, but *I could not claim credit for a worked-over adaptation of anybody else's idea...*<sup>66</sup>  
[emphasis mine]

In sum, Dixon's correspondence reveals a young artist fed up with aesthetic compromise, but, owing to the needs of his pocketbook, continuing to capitulate to Lummis's demands. As this exchange demonstrates, for Maynard Dixon, personal integrity in design required compositional simplicity and directness. He would later describe "good" advertising as that which, "arrests attention and lucidly states its message."<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, he predicated good—or beautiful—design on the freedom to develop and refine his own ideas, that is, to retain honesty to *his* personal vision, not his client's.<sup>68</sup>

After the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, Dixon left the West Coast, moving to New York the following year. He quickly gained acclaim as an illustrator of popular fiction by such leading western novelists as Stewart Edward White, Clarence Mulford, and Dane Coolidge.<sup>69</sup> However, he again struggled to lend his talents to producing other peoples' ideas, this time about the American West itself. He soon tired of the overly melodramatic and violence-laced depiction of western life that he was often tasked to illustrate in New York. At the same time, he felt disgust for the Wild West show-influenced portrayal of frontier life deemed authentic by Easterners, claiming in 1912 that such performances made it "hard to sell anything that is not faked to the limit."<sup>70</sup>

Fed up after five years as a book and magazine illustrator in New York, Dixon wrote to Lummis in January 1912, "I am being paid to lie about the West. I'm done with all that. I'm going back home where I can do honest work in my own way."<sup>71</sup> Dixon, with his wife, and baby, Constance, in tow, returned to California, where, on the eve of World War I, Dixon's marriage crumbled and he joined Foster and Kleiser's art department. In direct contrast to his previous laments about book and magazine illustration penned to Lummis from New York, he almost immediately celebrated Foster and Kleiser's—and Duncan's—approach to billboards in essays and interviews published in periodicals and included his work in exhibitions of commercial art.<sup>72</sup>

*Western Advertising* often reproduced his billboard designs as well, and by 1921, Dixon had become *the* spokesperson for poster design on the West Coast. Years later, in notes he prepared for an interviewer, he characterized Foster and Kleiser's art department as concerned with "ideas versus stupidities—good work," identified "the bunch" working there by name, and commented that training as a billboard designer provided him, "new experience in design and color-publicity," as well as an understanding of "attention value" and "customer psychology."<sup>73</sup>

What accounted for Dixon's dramatic change of attitude toward commercial work? In part, he seems to have enjoyed Foster and Kleiser's respect and even deference, such respect that in 1918 when he was "crippled with rheumatism" and unable to work for three months, the firm continued to pay him his full salary.<sup>74</sup> Not only did Foster and Kleiser free him of some financial worry, they even arranged his and Constance's summer 1917 trip to Montana, a journey that would inspire subject matter in Dixon's advertising art and easel paintings for years to come. Perhaps just as importantly, the requirements of outdoor advertising forced and freed Dixon to experiment with the simplified compositions, complimentary color, and dynamic spatial arrangements that he sought to develop—but was discouraged from completing—in Lummis's covers, elements that long informed his mature painting. In fact, it was between 1916 and 1922 when Dixon, in the words of his biographer, Donald Hagerty, "[came] to think of himself as an artist rather than an illustrator."<sup>75</sup> It is no coincidence that these years coincided with Dixon's tenure at Foster and Kleiser. In billboard design, I argue, Dixon made the transformation from illustrator to artist both psychologically and in practice.

#### **IV. Little Heap and the Big Picture: The Savage Tires Designs**

In 1920, Dixon began designing billboards and newspaper advertisements for Foster and Kleiser's new client, the Spreckles "Savage" Tire Company of San Diego. The company, named for its founder, Arthur W. Savage, manufactured puncture-proof steel tires that could withstand rough western roads. Prior to Foster and Kleiser's acquisition of the account, Savage's print ads traded on racial stereotypes (fig. 4.5). Newspaper ads produced by New York-based advertising agency H. K. McCann Company, with branch offices in San Francisco, capitalized on the name



of the firm's founder and perceptions of "Indians" as "savage," a trope adopted by multiple tire companies at the time.<sup>76</sup>

The McCann advertisements typically featured crude cuts of a generic Plains "Indian" figure wearing a feather bonnet, wielding a bow and arrows, or some other weapon, and often accompanied by the slogan, "Savages Invade." In 1916 and 1917, the company added the phrase, "Heap Big Mileage," further stereotyping and ridiculing Native images and speech patterns. Early Savage Tire ads reprised reductive portrayals of Indigenous life put forth by pulp magazines and the final gasp of Buffalo Bill's Wild West, still touring in 1915 and 1916, when the McCann-designed advertisements appeared in motoring publications and newspapers across the country.<sup>77</sup>

Savage's existing advertisements, in a sense, were not unlike the melodramatic book illustrations Dixon was tasked to create on the East Coast. Both relied on mainstream notions of western life as fraught with danger and on a reductive portrayal of "Indians" as violent and inhuman. Dixon proposed an alternative to this negative stereotype. While he had no control over his client's name, his images challenged the meaning of the term "savage" as presented in the earlier advertising campaign. They did so by romanticizing Plains Indian—particularly Blackfeet—life as a colorful pageant of outdoor freedom (fig. 4.6). In essence, Dixon exchanged one set of "lies about the West" for another, trading the melodramatic, violent portrayal of Native Americans in popular illustration for a color-rich, nostalgic, and paternalistic portrayal of Blackfeet life in line with Duncan's ideals of "beautiful" advertising. But they were also in line with Dixon's own goals as a painter. "The melodramatic Wild West idea is not for me the big possibility," he admitted in 1913, but rather,

the nobler and more lasting qualities are in the quiet and most broadly human aspects of western life. I aim to interpret, for the most part, the poetry and pathos of the life of western people, seen amid the grandeur, sternness and loneliness of their country.<sup>78</sup>

Dixon's romantic billboard portrayals of a Blackfeet community in expansive western landscapes between 1920 and 1922 express this desire. But they also reflect the artist's nostalgia for his brief escape from personal problems to Montana with his young daughter, Constance, in 1917. Earlier that year Dixon and Lillian Tobey had divorced, on account of Tobey's alcoholism and Dixon's longstanding affair with the actress Sophie Treadwell.<sup>79</sup> Foster and Kleiser and the Great Northern Railway arranged the trip, tasking Dixon to create paintings for Glacier National Park lodges and advertising posters.<sup>80</sup> Dixon jumped at the chance to not only paint in Montana but to remove Constance from Tobey's control. Dixon wrote Lummis on August 24:

I finally got little daughter away with me--& now she is having one great and glorious dirty time. She has 3 horses to ride, a lake to paddle in, & Chick, the guide, who is an old cowpuncher, is devoted to her. The dam country is full of skeeters & horseflies—who are also devoted to her... We intend to stay until after the first snow.<sup>81</sup>

During his trip, he visited another legendary western artist, the painter Charles Marion Russell, at Russell's summer retreat on Lake McDonald and also camped at Red Eagle Lake in Glacier National Park.<sup>82</sup> Dixon looked forward to visiting Blackfeet people, a treat organized by the Great Northern, believing the arrangement would result in "good stuff" (i.e. good subject material and good paintings).<sup>83</sup> In fact, the railroad's general passenger agent, W. R. Mills, intended Dixon's time in Montana to result in a billboard campaign for the Great Northern in California.<sup>84</sup> Father and daughter camped just outside Glacier with six Blackfeet families who sang, danced, told stories, and modeled for him. Both delighted and inspired by the experience, Dixon wrote of the encounter: "The Blackfeet are the best Indians I have seen yet, bar none. Generous, kind, & friendly—when you know them right."<sup>85</sup> The sentiment may have been mutual; Owen Heavy Breast, Dixon's interpreter for the occasion, wrote the artist in January 1920:

I am well & happy also my family. I [hope you're] the same. Snow is very deep here ... very glad to hear from you. I thought you forget me already. ... Best regard to all and [shake] hands with you. From your truly [sic] Friend.<sup>86</sup>

Years later, Dixon recalled the trip, particularly the period spent camping and painting among the Blackfeet as “a high spot” in his life and career.<sup>87</sup> Constance would later recall sobbing when they left in October, “I wanted to stay and become an Indian.”<sup>88</sup> Dixon’s Blackfeet-inspired billboards, in a sense, expressed a similar attitude: a longing, by outsiders, to vicariously “become an Indian” and escape their own reality.

What became of the majority of Dixon’s paintings made in his studio for Glacier Park lodges after returning from Montana in October 1917 remains a mystery: art historians have noted they traveled to the Great Northern’s headquarters in St. Paul, Minnesota and disappeared thereafter.<sup>89</sup> The California billboard campaign for the Great Northern never came to fruition. However, just three years later, Dixon painted color-rich billboard designs featuring a high plains community for Savage Tires that both evoke extant studies he made in Montana and the compositions of later Montana-themed paintings. As Dixon never returned to Montana after 1917, I posit that his Savage Tire paintings made just three years later, like his subsequent easel paintings of Blackfeet subjects like *Home of the Blackfeet* (1936), certainly refer with nostalgia to his “high point” painting and camping on the high plains with his daughter and new Blackfeet friends (fig. 4.7).<sup>90</sup>

How did Dixon combat the use of the term “savage” as a description for Native Americans in the tire company’s preexisting campaigns? Rather than apply the term “savage” to Indigenous people, Dixon’s billboards characterize the tire itself as a wild creature and made the protagonist of these images a young boy.<sup>91</sup> The child, always depicted wearing a large feather bonnet, breechcloth, and moccasins, and referred to as “Little Heap” throughout the advertising campaign, serves as spokesperson for the tire firm, endorsing the quality of Savage D tires.<sup>92</sup>

Little Heap remained in use in campaigns through 1923 after Dixon's departure from Foster and Kleiser in 1921. Throughout Dixon's and Harold von Schmidt's illustrations on print advertising for Savage Tires, Little Heap functions not only as an ambassador for the tire company, but as a sort of educator-evangelist, explaining its tire construction and proclaiming its products' durability to readers across the country (fig. 4.8).

Like the print ads, Dixon's billboard designs together form a narrative. In his circa 1922 gouache study, a mammoth tire rendered in heroic scale escapes the bounds of picture space, looming above the low mesas in the distance as its youthful captor strains to hold the taut end of a lariat (fig. 4.9). In contrast to the high plains of Montana in the subsequent designs, the red orange ridges on the horizon of this scene evoke the mesa lands of northern Arizona or southern Utah for which Dixon felt a strong affinity.

In another layout, Little Heap aims an arrow at, presumably, a competitor's inferior tube (fig. 4.10). The tube rears rattlesnake like, baring its stem-valve, ready to strike. Dixon, and Foster and Kleiser, clearly intended the viewer to empathize with the child. In fact, Savage Tires' Secretary, Treasurer, and Director of Advertising, Royal B. Lee, wrote almost gleefully of Little Heap's selling power:

This graceful little trade figure, with smiling countenance and youthful charm has touched the hearts of many people and awakened the interest that always exists there for a little child.<sup>93</sup>

Promotional news articles further suggested the "little child" was a real person although it seems more likely Dixon was at most, inspired by his ten-year-old daughter, Constance, if not one of her Blackfeet friends.<sup>94</sup>

In contrast to narrative scenes of Little Heap pitted against the tire, Dixon's other extant gouache studies likely intended for Foster and Kleiser's "de luxe bulletins," illuminated and decoratively framed billboards placed in urban areas, pictured Blackfeet life as idyllic, colorful,

and out-of-doors.<sup>95</sup> In one such study, having captured the tire, Little Heap introduces the mammoth domesticated object to a group of seated Blackfeet elders. In another, stories are told about the tire at camp (fig. 4.11). In a third image, Dixon makes overt parallels between the tire's rugged tread and the all-terrain soles—and geometric patterns—on brightly beaded moccasins (fig. 4.12). In this image, a sort of object poster emphasizing the product itself, the tire emblemizes not Blackfeet people so much as their lifestyle, a lifestyle essentialized as being freely on the move. In reality, Blackfeet people no longer enjoyed such freedom of movement. The reservation system, allotment, and successive reductions of their homeland during the nineteenth century had established political, social, and economic boundaries that, by 1920, constrained their movements in myriad ways. Such boundaries are not evident in Dixon's gouache studies. Instead, Dixon represents the Blackfeet community embracing tires, or, put another way, embracing an object of modernity symbolic of their own mobility across rugged country. In print ads and news articles, Little Heap traveled with the tire, "on tour of the West," as one Colorado paper reported, visiting such iconic locations as Half Dome at Yosemite National Park (fig. 4.13).<sup>96</sup> Meanwhile, perhaps ironically, in 1920, tourism boosters and national parks promoters sought legislation in Congress to improve roads across the Blackfeet reservation. These efforts were not for the benefit of the Blackfeet community, but motorists seeking entrance to Glacier National Park on the reservation's western edge. Tourism proponents complained that in 1919, only 916 automobiles crossed the nearly impassible twenty-six mile stretch of reservation roads to the entrance of Glacier in comparison to the 10,737 cars flooding Yellowstone that year.<sup>97</sup>

For those motoring tourists, affluent consumers able to afford Savage's high priced tires, Dixon's vibrant images were intended to drum up wanderlust and convince urban consumers that

by outfitting their car with Savage Tires, they too could roam rugged western landscapes (fig. 4.14).<sup>98</sup> The ads appeal to viewers' desire for freedom and adventure in vast western landscapes, rather than by romanticizing the product itself. This correlation between tires, wanderlust, and outdoor adventure similarly appeared in Dixon's billboards promoting automobiles and train travel—images that effectively transformed wheeled transportation into a romanticized replacement for the horse. His 1918 design promoting the Southern Pacific's motor excursion along the Apache Trail in Arizona, for example, subtly makes connections between horse, train, and automobile (fig. 4.15).<sup>99</sup> Billboard designs like that for Pierce-Arrow, with its Penfield-esque representation of a cowboy on horseback galloping alongside motorists zooming across a dry hillside “in cow country,” more overtly depicted the automobile as a vehicle for western adventure, the modern equivalent to the horse (fig. 4.16).

These two billboards, like Dixon's Savage Tire designs carrying narrative and lifestyle imagery (rather than simply depicting the object being sold) were likely positioned on Foster and Kleiser's “De Luxe” illuminated bulletins in urban areas, where passers-by were more likely to encounter them repeatedly. Concerning these billboards, tire executive Royal B. Lee clearly accepted Duncan's case for beautiful advertising, confiding in *Western Advertising* in 1921, “[In these pictures of Indian life], our message is carried by associating our product with a work of art.”<sup>100</sup> By contrast, billboards placed along rural highways focused on the tires rather than on the Blackfeet narrative, an emphasis necessitated by higher traffic speeds and viewers' shorter time to grasp the image.<sup>101</sup>

It is no accident, then, that in Dixon's billboards depicting Blackfeet country for Foster and Kleiser, where narrative is prevalent, so is a sense of vastness of *western* space expanding beyond the confines of the billboard itself. These seemingly “limitless” spaces were intended for

placement on urban hoardings where they might open as a picture window from urban sprawl into appealing western landscapes. The implication of boundless space extending beyond billboards' edges was, according to the Santa Fe Railway's poster designer, Louis Treviso, iconic of California (or western) advertising as a whole. Treviso wrote in January 1921 that western advertising art conveyed:

the sense of bigness or vastness of the West. Distances are great, mountains are high, trees are enormous, ocean expanses are vast. The enormity of things pall mere man and at the same time bids him do great things.<sup>102</sup>

Dixon too, was concerned with “vastness” of space. He remarked in notes to his biographer in 1936, “I want to see man hooked up to something bigger than he is. Even my cowboy and Indian paintings are always a part of a big scene, and that scene has a spirit beyond the obvious landscape.”<sup>103</sup>

While Dixon was not referring to billboard design in 1936 when he described the “big scene” beyond the boundaries of his canvases, the panoramic-like billboard format he explored twenty years earlier fostered these same compositional and thematic ideas. In fact, he applied the vastness of billboard space to easel paintings as early as 1916, the same year he began working for Foster and Kleiser. That year, he painted *Warriors*, an expansive stretch of canvas that depicts brightly clad Plains warriors riding over a low golden ridge (fig. 4.17). The image unmistakably prefigures the assembly of Plains Indians on horseback who ride behind an enormous tire across another arc of yellow grass in his *Savage Tires* billboard of ca. 1920 (fig. 4.6)

In billboard advertising, Dixon found a mass medium where he could portray the West in a way that more closely resembled his own feelings on the subject than possible in his designs for Lummis or book illustrations of previous decades. While his billboard campaign for the Great

Northern never came to fruition, likely due to the reduction in railway advertising as a result of World War I, his Savage Tire billboards undoubtedly derived from his trip to Montana. Perhaps for this reason—Dixon’s late summer excursion to Blackfeet country—Savage Tires’ executives claimed their billboards constituted “faithful portrayals of Indians and Indian life.”<sup>104</sup>

This “faithful portrayal” initially stemmed from, as the tire company’s advertising manager explained it, Dixon’s and von Schmidt’s use of “appropriate setting” and “careful attention to correct portrayal of the subject.”<sup>105</sup> While the “appropriate setting” Lee refers to seems to be “the natural rugged environment,” what he meant by “correct portrayal” is ambiguous; it probably referred to “accurate” detail. However, what is clear is that Savage Tires found romantic stereotypes of Indigenous life expressed with a “generous use of color” and touted as “authentic” made for good advertising.

After Dixon left Foster and Kleiser in 1921, Savage Tires made a dubious attempt to create even more “authentic” portrayals of Native Americans by hiring amateur archaeologist Harry Edgar “Indian Two-Guns” Miller (1879–1951), a “full-blood” Apache, according to the company (although he was of Scottish and Mohawk descent), to write and illustrate their new print ads from an “Indian” perspective.<sup>106</sup> Ultimately, rather than creating “faithful portrayals of Indians and Indian life,” Dixon, Miller, and their employers merely added more layers to earlier stereotypic pan-Indian depictions propagated by Wild West shows and advertising.

Billboard design *did*, however, offer Dixon an opportunity to explore “aesthetic honesty” through developing compositional structures that would reach fruition in the Dynamic Symmetry of his mature paintings of the 1930s. He trumpeted design that exhibited a “clean-cut idea of the advertised article” with a “balanced composition and arrangement of the color masses.”<sup>107</sup> Typically, Dixon built “balanced” asymmetrical billboard compositions on a four-column grid,



with large foreground “color masses”—whether tire or cowboy—occupying one or two column widths on the front edge of the picture space (fig. 4.18). In Dixon’s *Spur Cigarettes* design, for example, the cowboy occupies the third “column,” if one divides the composition into four vertical quadrants. The shallow diagonal formed by the wall behind the cowboy is ubiquitous in Dixon’s billboard designs and subsequent paintings. He habitually broke the horizon line and such shallow diagonals in his billboards and later paintings with heroic-scaled figures. Here, the cowboy’s tilted hat and spectator’s gloved hand together interrupt the horizontality of the diagonal, drawing attention to the cowboy’s grin and creating interesting, dynamic negative spaces around the two men. Cropped by the billboard’s edges, large foreground objects in Dixon’s compositions—like the cowboy—extend, in the viewer’s imagination, beyond the boundary of picture space, into the viewer’s space. Low horizons, shallow diagonals, and large foreground objects that interrupt the canvas’s horizontality to activate negative space appear repeatedly in Dixon’s subsequent paintings.

Dixon’s easel painting *Saddle Horses Grazing*, for example, completed shortly after the artist’s departure from Foster and Kleiser in 1921, could easily be mistaken for a billboard promoting California (fig. 4.19). A row of eucalyptus trees forms a decorative foreground screen right at the surface of picture space that, like the *Spur Cigarettes* cowboy or *Savage* tire, divides surrounding space. The composition of his iconic Depression-era painting, *Forgotten Man* (1934), even more clearly mirrors Dixon’s billboard design for “Blackfoot Tread” (fig. 4.20). *Forgotten Man*’s high vantage point, low diagonal (the curb), large foreground form, and rhythmic pattern of feet at the top of picture space echo both the billboard’s structure and content. The negative space reserved for text on the billboard translates to the empty expanse of

curb, sidewalk, and street in the later painting that emphasizes the man's isolation from the crowd bustling past.

While Dixon's "Forgotten Man" paintings of the 1930s differ in subject from his billboards, they reprise the compositional structures of the earlier advertisements (fig. 4.21). In his paintings *Free Speech* (1934–1936) and *Roadside* (1938), Dixon deploys silhouetted figures rendered in heroic scale, rhythmic patterns, low diagonals, dramatic value contrast, and active negative space that echo his billboard layouts (figs. 4.22–4.23). Likewise, in *Home of the Blackfeet*, painted in 1936, two decades after Dixon began working for Foster and Kleiser, we see a billboard transformed into a painting. One of Dixon's Savage Tire billboards, no longer extant, but reproduced in miniature on the pages of *Western Advertising*, resembles an early, cropped version of *Home of the Blackfeet* (fig. 4.24–4.25). Pan up and out from that narrow swath of Montana plains with teepee and figure grasping the ubiquitous tire in Dixon's billboard, and the view is quite similar to the sweep of grassland, distant mountains, cabin, horse, and teepee in the later painting. And yet, Dixon, and subsequent scholars, have consistently overlooked the relationship between Dixon's billboard designs and the modern aesthetic that increasingly informed his compositions beginning in the late 1910s.

Despite these parallels between billboard design and easel paintings, Dixon attributed key elements of his compositional development to an epiphany experienced one evening in San Francisco in 1921.<sup>108</sup> And yet, the stronger colors, simplified subjects, and positive-negative spatial relationships that characterized his easel and mural work from the early 1920s onward did not emerge full grown but instead were gradually perfected in his billboard designs of the late 1910s. Even though he commented regularly on design in *The Poster* and *Western Advertising*, Dixon himself seems to have discounted his design of colorful billboards Foster and Kleiser

installed along urban streets and rural highways in western states as “painting.” In fact, he later described the period between 1916 and 1921 as years when he did “very little painting.”<sup>109</sup> The transitory nature of his billboard images soon rendered them all but invisible, reinforcing Dixon’s own attitude that during his span of five years at Foster and Kleiser, he produced no real work. Today all that remains of Dixon’s billboards are rare gouache studies, copy prints hidden in archives, and minute images printed on the pages of period trade journals.

#### **V. The Other Product on Foster and Kleiser Billboards: A Vast (and Colorful) California**

Rare images of Foster and Kleiser’s wares, including the Savage Tires series, suggest that Dixon’s and his colleagues’ billboards pitching railways, clothing stores, and cars typically featured color-rich pastoral outdoor subjects. Often, the firm’s billboards depicted cheerful images of (white) Californians enjoying outdoor activities like foxhunting and swimming (fig. 4.26). Even Dixon’s 1917 billboards for Coca-Cola placed the narrative largely out-of-doors (fig. 4.27).

In one design, lively groups of figures eat, drink, flirt, gossip, and smoke on a broad veranda. A debonair waiter in the foreground turns, looking over his shoulder and directing the viewer’s gaze to the modestly sized Coca-Cola logo suspended at top right above a groom holding two horses. The horses’ English tack and the jodhpur-wearing crowd together suggest the setting to be a Southern California polo match, or horse sale, and, on the verge of Prohibition, the beverage in the stemmed glasses resembles wine.

The tagline “Relieves Fatigue” features prominently under the Coca-Cola logo in an image of young people observing, with varying degrees of attentiveness, a tennis match. A young woman at far right springs backward, reaching her racquet for the ball, lofted high and

amateurishly by one of her opponents, a stout woman and thin man. The leaping woman, evidently, has imbibed the fatigue-relieving beverage. In the foreground, a woman holding a glass of Coca-Cola, looks on, amusement on her face. The scene implies that Coke not only relieves “fatigue” and enhances energy, but imbues consumers with cheer, charm, and good humor.

A third image further illustrates this notion. In contrast to the previous outdoor settings, the action takes place in a restaurant with expansive windows. The “sport” at hand is not polo or tennis but social conversation. A young man with ruddy cheeks raises an empty glass and leans back in his chair, meeting the gaze of the waitress behind him. She leans away from the table near her, and toward him, her cheeks flushed. Meanwhile, the young man’s date, who wears a large hat and sits with her back to the viewer, speaks to a smartly dressed, bespectacled young man standing to her left. The animated exchange between these two figures may explain the blushing man’s anxious glance at the waitress, his supplication for additional liquid fortification. At a nearby table, three figures engage in deep conversation. Two raise near-empty glasses in the air, their hands interrupting and activating the negative space that rhythmically separates each figure group. The gestures and expressive glances exchanged across tables and aisles lend a cheery, nearly audible, liveliness to the image. In fact, the viewer can almost hear the sound of clinking glasses, animated conversation, laughter, the thock! of the tennis ball, and clopping of hooves throughout the billboard series.

Coca-Cola itself receives little actual real estate on Dixon’s designs; rather the artist “sells” the soft drink through images of a superficially sophisticated and active lifestyle. The “character” of these images is one of cheerful optimism, wit, and vivacity. In fact, in 1917, with the country on the verge of prohibition and joined the fight in WWI, Dixon presents Coca-Cola

as a viable alternative to alcohol: classy enough for a polo match, energy-imbuing enough for sport, and liquid courage for an awkward date. The clean drawing, flat fills, and lively subject matter reflect poster designer Edward Penfield's lasting influence—these images could also be described as depicting the “various pleasant pursuits of pleasant people,”<sup>110</sup> that is, presumably wealthy white young people enjoying themselves at leisure.

In the broader context, in these images, the viewer/consumer observes California socialites interacting enjoyably and *observing each other* outdoors. Nature is markedly present even in the billboard whose action takes place *inside* a restaurant. Picture windows span the background and piles of flowers spill from two large urns in the foreground; the natural world physically frames even this, interior, scene.

In publications and self-promotional materials, Foster and Kleiser repeatedly portrayed themselves as creators of billboards containing outdoor scenery. It would be difficult to ascertain today what percentage of the firm's billboards *actually* depicted natural settings compared to indoor activities or products. However, in booklets trumpeting their wares to potential clients and in illustrations of their work published in *Western Advertising*, images of outdoor, particularly California, scenery predominate. In Foster and Kleiser's 1925 publication, *Outdoor Advertising on the Pacific Coast*, geared toward Los Angeles markets, illustrations shrewdly pictured billboards containing expansive landscapes alongside those heralding shoes, hats, or other consumer goods.<sup>111</sup>

One image appeared both as an illustration in Charles Duncan's article, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” published in *Western Advertising* in February 1921 and in the aforementioned booklet sent to potential Los Angeles clients in 1925. It features two billboards of iconic California scenery hinged together to form a diptych. In the billboard at left, Yosemite National

Park's iconic monolith, Half Dome, looms behind a pastoral image of grazing dairy cows (fig. 4.28). Large lettering identifies the product, "Borden's MILK," in a horizontal band beneath the landscape, and a mammoth-size can of milk—like Dixon's Savage tire or del Mue's coffee tin—dominates the right foreground, as tall as the distant rock face. The words, "Made at Modesto" float in the pale green sky at upper left. Perhaps the oddest thing about this tranquil image is not what is *included* (the enormous can of milk, for instance), but what is *absent*. While Half Dome is visible from Modesto on a clear day, it is one hundred miles away, and dwarfed by adjacent peaks and valleys of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Foster and Kleiser's artists eliminated the mountains, divorcing the iconic landmass from its actual surroundings and enlarging it to heroic scale, much like the milk can. By so doing they presented a distinctive profile that viewers in Los Angeles, or out of state, might recognize. Golden light illuminates Half Dome's western crags while the rest of the monolith is cast in deep shadow, silhouetted against the mint green sky. Pink light bathes the western faces of distant hills. The quiet and serene landscape at twilight promotes California's Central Valley as powerfully as the billboard endorses the more prosaic, but less romantic, tinned milk.

The same pale green sky floods the background of the billboard for Sonora phonographs (fig. 4.29). The billboard exudes romantic fantasy. A man and woman at far right relax on a porch, presumably enjoying the view and twilight setting. There, reality ends. An over-sized phonograph, presumably enlarged like the Borden's milk can for visibility at a distance or at high speeds, occupies the deck to their left. Two ethereal female figures clad in gauze chassé away from the phonograph into open air above low rolling hills. Floating above the ground, these figures suggest sound waves—perhaps ballet orchestration—wafting across the air. The soft hues and feminine subject matter exemplifies Duncan's ideal of outdoor advertising that

communicated not with brash colors and the “blatant appeal of the past,” but with a “new voice, softened and mellowed by the touch of the artist’s hand.”<sup>112</sup>

Viewed together, these designs suggest expansive space: the low horizon of the Borden’s billboard and distant hills of the Sonora billboard visually unite into one continuous horizon line. Surrounded by an architectural white frame and lattices, they together resemble a grand “picture” window opening from the city into a bucolic green space populated by serene figures, music, and cattle. Such images represented Duncan’s ideals in practice:

We are... bringing art to the streets, through the modern billboard...if a display stimulates an impression of beauty and at the same time leaves in the onlooker’s mind the message of the advertiser, the advertising contact is completed and the message gets attention. The human eye resents ugliness just as surely as the human ear is offended by ugly sounds. Modern outdoor advertising must be beautiful to be effective and today, this form of advertising offers perhaps the greatest opportunity for artistic expression.<sup>113</sup>

On one hand, these billboards reflect Foster and Kleiser’s appeal to would-be critics of outdoor advertising by presenting images akin to landscape paintings or genre scenes, combined with references to other forms of “high” art—ballet and classical music. However, in portraying themselves as producers of such scenery in self-promotional materials, Foster and Kleiser also aligned with regional advertisers’ and area boosters’ larger objective to promote the region, not just its products, to a national (and especially, East Coast) audience.<sup>114</sup> The view of Half Dome simultaneously situates Borden’s, a national purveyor of milk which had recently established a plant inside California, for local audiences, and in an Edenic West Coast setting to out-of-state viewers. Remove canned milk and oversized phonograph from these images and what remains is a grand, idyllic advertisement for California.

In fact, San Francisco advertising boosters viewed billboards’ primary purpose to be a display of the region’s aesthetic appeal. California’s “character” was, according to regional pundits, what distinguished the Pacific West from the rest of the country. Editors of *Western*

*Advertising* advised, “Get [Southern California] into your layouts.”<sup>115</sup> Concerning northern California, they suggested, “The mountains back of our valleys are lofty, covered with eternal snows. Get them into the picture. . . .They’ll give our advertising distinction.”<sup>116</sup> Western mountains were described as *youthful*, recognizable in advertisements by their “sharp” contours and their “jagged teeth of granite not worn by time” that stood out in “bold relief against the sky.”<sup>117</sup> Thus, the “distinction,” or “character” of a beautiful outdoor advertisement, according to Duncan, depended on the inclusion of local landscapes or scenery, particularly mountains, represented in color.

Dixon’s pastoral view of sporting life on a billboard promoting the Oakland, Antioch, and Eastern Railway seems to directly respond to *Western Advertising*’s charge to “Get [mountains] into the picture” (fig. 4.30). Four men rendered in heroic scale, their hats escaping the bounds of the board at top, stride toward the right. Their legs crisscross negative space, creating a visual rhythm echoed by the pattern of train windows in the middle ground. Beyond the train, mountains reprise the triangular form of men and dogs in the foreground. The dogs’ eager and playful energy and the absence of limp fowl suggest the “Good Hunting” announced in the billboard’s headline means more than the sport at hand. In fact, the men purposefully step in unison, as if marching. Their hunting garb and puttees evoke World War I military uniforms. Dixon’s design suggests they are veterans of the recent war, exchanging battle for leisure, and finding solace, comradeship, healing, and renewed vigor in nature. As with the Coca-Cola billboards, the actual product, in this case train travel, is rendered small and distant, receiving less emphasis than outdoor pursuits in the California landscape.



## VI. Location, Location, Location

If vibrantly hued images of romantic adventure in outdoor *western* settings characterized Foster and Kleiser's house style, and met Duncan's requirements for "beauty," a billboard's physical "setting" was equally important. To distance their product in public perception from the ubiquitous advertising posters plastered across urban areas earlier in decade, and to further associate their images with fine art, Foster and Kleiser framed and illuminated their billboards.

The company flanked their mammoth "De Luxe Bulletins" with decorative columns resembling voluptuous women and surrounded them with manicured lawns and flowering gardens (fig. 4.31).<sup>118</sup> These figures, literally sprouting from flower beds, overtly represented California's bounty, "the fat of the land" and "obvious muchness" as Dixon once put it.<sup>119</sup> Viewers were invited to not only desire the produce, products, and lifestyles depicted on Foster and Kleiser's billboards, but also the constructions surrounding them.

Foster and Kleiser's largest, most expensive, billboards were hand-painted three times a year, reinforcing the notion that these images indeed constituted unique artworks—not merely advertisements.<sup>120</sup> Much like poster enthusiasts during the fin-de-siècle poster craze of the 1890s, Duncan celebrated such constructions as egalitarian "picture galleries for the people."<sup>121</sup> However, his employer and clients aimed their messages at affluent elites—and those middle-class folk who aspired to be like them—*rather than to the general public*. Foster and Kleiser shrewdly confided to potential clients, that the "perfect bulletin" exhibited its wares to the "highest class of traffic," and was more valuable—and priced accordingly—if "located in a community of wealth" rather than on a street traveled primarily by "a poorer class of people."<sup>122</sup>

In fact, only those billboards in the "best locations" were embellished with the latticework and gardens depicted in the firm's promotional materials and articles in *Western*

*Advertising*. What constituted an ideal setting for a “beautiful” outdoor poster? Two full color illustrations of Foster and Kleiser billboards in urban settings accompanied Duncan’s article, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” in the February 1921 issue of *Western Advertising* (fig. 4.32). The first resembles a German object poster and simply contains a flat-brimmed straw hat, jauntily angled against a red background. Desmond’s, the name of the prominent Los Angeles department store, appears in an ornamental script, reversed out of the background in white at lower left.<sup>123</sup> Called a “boater” or a “skimmer,” the hat itself, while not an image of the outdoors, implied outdoor activity-in the sun.

The billboard occupies the corner of a busy intersection and is surrounded by large multi-story houses, flowering shrubs and trees, and a manicured expanse of grass whose rich green color contrasts pleasingly with its compliment: the red of the sign. Set on the corner of a well-to-do neighborhood, the billboard is visible to many affluent potential customers. Furthermore, these are presumably not patrons who would be impressed with the “bombastic and flamboyant appeal, ... size, and assertiveness” of previous billboard styles but who would respond to advertising messages “couched in terms of beauty.”<sup>124</sup>

Although the layout of the previously discussed billboards for Borden’s Milk and Sonora phonographs depicts a gritty urban setting, the billboard—according to Foster and Kleiser—improves the scene not only by filling a vacant lot but also by bringing a facsimile of nature and art into the urban environment. The green grass planted before the signs and the minty sky in the panels appears fresh and clear, especially compared with the charcoal gray of the building at right and the purple-gray haze of polluted air barely visible above the red brick apartment building behind the lot. The image serves as a sort of double propaganda for billboard advertising: it not only depicts the city as polluted and dismal, but the billboards as fresh and

lively. The text, “Clear as a bell,” describing the Sonora phonograph, in this setting, also describes the billboards as well. Their depiction in this particular urban setting, represents the style of advertising that Dixon claimed could capture the viewer’s “imagination and memory,” and thus most benefit the product. He wrote:

The poster that means most ... drives home the message of the advertiser ... with such grace and beauty of design and color that its appeal lingers in the mind. ... The advertiser forces the public to remember that first vivid impression of his advertising by giving him a thing so beautiful, pleasing and unusual that he cannot easily forget it. The observer’s mind ... recalls the advertisement again and again.<sup>125</sup>

Part of what makes this billboard design so effective for California corporate clients and city-dweller viewers is that the nature depicted, is a specific one—an identifiably California landscape. The billboard heightens the viewer’s sense of pride in both the landscape and the products that emerged from it (although Borden’s was not a California company). Half Dome’s iconic face and surrounding verdant fields are especially *memorable* in *this* setting, where they disrupt the gray of the city. Similarly, the couples at leisure in the Sonora billboard might well strike a chord of envy positioned in a location where passers-by are not at leisure but more likely out shopping or traveling to and from work.

This image, ultimately a piece of propaganda promoting the billboard industry as much or more than it promotes milk and phonographs, implies that outdoor advertising *improves* a city by inserting color, nature, and feminine forms into the rectangular grunge of city. Beauty, in these images, is nature, softly colored, controlled, “clear as a bell” and framed with dazzling white neo-Classical female figures. Billboards were not mere advertisements, but propaganda making a bold visual claim that they decorated a city, beautified a city, organized a city, rather than cluttered and diminished it. “The poster board,” Dixon asserted,

can hold its legitimate place only by carrying a class of design which will add to and not detract from the beauty of the town or landscape in which it is placed. In this sense, as originally, the poster is by nature a mural decoration.<sup>126</sup>

Foster and Kleiser's effort to fashion themselves as purveyors of sophisticated graphics for discriminating aesthetes is even more obvious in the accompanying illustration of the billboard advertising Desmond's department store with a straw boater jauntily angled against a field of red. Here, the object is less to beautify the city through a view of picturesque nature and farmland, but to depict modern design, an "object poster" surrounded by a garden. It becomes, in Dixon's words, a "mural decoration" for an already decorative scene of grand houses and immaculate lawns. Foster and Kleiser's self-promotional materials represent these billboards as fashionable objects surrounded by fashionable people. The manicured lawns surrounding both billboards suggest beauty resides not only in the grand western landscapes portrayed on the signs, but from nature controlled.

Period photographs suggest, however, that billboards in picturesque settings may have been the exception rather than the rule. A circa 1924 photograph of Los Angeles, for example, depicts four Foster and Kleiser billboards perched on stilts above roofs at the intersection of Western and Wilshire Boulevard, blocking the sky, palm trees, and Santa Monica Mountains from view (fig. 4.33). In another photograph from the same period, billboards add to the discordant clutter along Glendale Boulevard (fig. 4.34). None of these billboards clearly reflects the "beautiful" outdoor scenery depicted in the renderings with which Foster and Kleiser—and Dixon and Duncan—represented themselves as "decorating" the city. And yet, by 1918, they had sold their community on the merits of painted billboards. In the words of Laura Bride Powers, art writer for the *Oakland Tribune*, "San Francisco and her sister-cities are leading the world in street advertising. And what in the old days was an eternal cause for apology, has become a civic pride and inspiration."<sup>127</sup>

## VII. Conclusion

Although he contributed cover designs to periodicals like *Touring Topics* and produced murals that echoed his billboard compositions throughout his career, Maynard Dixon's tenure at Foster and Kleiser was brief. In December 1917, after returning from Montana and "8 months [of] freedom," he admitted to Coolidge that his return to commercial work, went "down mighty hard."<sup>128</sup>

The following years, Foster and Kleiser opened new branches in 1918 and 1919, its markets spreading across California, Oregon, and Washington. The firm continued to expand through 1923, adding new departments of photography, wall-painting, and signage. Although Dixon remained circumspect about the reasons he ultimately left Foster and Kleiser in 1921, it appears that he believed that the changes wrought by growth and reorganization would soon ruin the company's art department.<sup>129</sup> In the end, for Dixon, billboard design served as a temporary and effective means of both making a living and honing skills that informed his subsequent career as an easel and mural painter. While he publicly praised Foster and Kleiser and spoke highly of Charles W. Duncan, his private letters suggest that he never intended to remain a hired hand. Attention gained as a poster designer and commentator ultimately cemented his reputation as an artist, freeing him from the financial necessity of producing commercial art.

In late 1921, Harold von Schmidt and Joseph Sinel also decamped the firm, their departure garnering the attention of *Western Advertising*, which reported in January the following year that the two artists had opened a studio with Judson Starr, David Hendrickson, and Maynard Dixon.<sup>130</sup> Von Schmidt, too, recalled "having problems" prior to leaving the firm. Although he found Walter Foster (1871–1944) innovative and modern in his thinking, the artist clashed repeatedly with his partner, George William Kleiser (1874–1952), who was, in Von

Schmidt's view, stubborn and "very old fashioned."<sup>131</sup> After one especially heated row between the two, the artist found himself unemployed.<sup>132</sup>

Thanks to Dixon's and von Schmidt's newspaper and billboard designs, Savage Tires enjoyed short-lived success in the automotive market. The firm's claims to "authenticity" in its portrayal of Native Americans in its advertising were both dubious and short-lived. Spreckles Tire Company folded in 1927.

*Western Advertising's* publisher, Ramsey Oppenheim, pronounced 1921, Dixon's last year at Foster and Kleiser, a "year of achievement... in which the East recognized that there was an 'Advertising West!'"<sup>133</sup> Not only had West Coast advertising agencies increased in number from 130 to 185 firms, but many East Coast newspapers and magazines had opened branch offices in San Francisco and other western cities.<sup>134</sup> And due in part to Dixon and his colleagues' billboards, California companies including Hills Brothers' coffee and Savage Tires had "invaded" markets as far east as Minnesota, Kansas, and Texas. Allure and adventure were critical to their appeal. "Romance is not dead!," Oppenheim exclaimed, "The romantic West still yields to magic influences!"<sup>135</sup>

If western advertising had indeed "arrived" by 1922, it had done so largely through the work of Maynard Dixon and his fellow artists at Foster and Kleiser. In September 1921, *Western Advertising* featured a section on "western poster art" that included at least six unattributed examples of posters and billboards by Dixon and a number of other examples that reflected Duncan's house style (fig. 4.35).<sup>136</sup> In these works featuring romantic and outdoor adventure, color (in their original form), and western products, the development of a "western" approach to poster design is perhaps most evident. They also visibly reflect what Louis Treviso described with enthusiasm early in 1921:

Commercial art in the West typifies all of the best there is in art anywhere. The West is an art center and the spirit of this artistic sense has found adequate expression in ... our progressive advertis[ing]. There is a glory and a beauty in the natural environment and in the life of the West that can be expressed only in an art that is peculiar to this region.

The atmosphere of this region now permeates the advertising of enterprises that have grown up in this land of opportunity. ... The West is a land of romance, local color, adventure, freedom, originality and all those things that enter into real Americanism. It is far enough removed from the influence of Europe to develop a flavor all its own.<sup>137</sup>

Ultimately, the colorful billboards designed by Dixon and his colleagues and erected by Foster and Kleiser through the early 1920s functioned differently for various stakeholders. While ostensibly promoting tires, beverages, rail travel, or milk, in sum they sold the West, as Treviso suggests, as a land of opportunity, optimism, and adventure. In fact, on the heels of the international trauma of World War I and in the midst of Prohibition, I assert that these billboards together advertised *the West itself* more than any individual product.

For Maynard Dixon, they formed a laboratory in which to explore subject matter of interest to him and to develop compositions that informed the remainder of his career as an easel painter. For corporate clients like Savage Tires, Dixon's and his colleague designs elevated their product through, as Royal B. Lee put it, "works of art in the service of commerce."<sup>138</sup> Savage's leadership clearly bought Foster and Kleiser's argument that they too could increase sales through striking posters. By depicting itself as a benefactor of color, beauty, and nature in drab urban settings, Foster and Kleiser, through the work of Dixon, von Schmidt, del Mue, and others, protected its own position in the market. The artwork Dixon and his colleagues created provided the firm sufficient ammunition to battle billboard critics while participating in the overarching goal of local boosters: to promote California through the advertising of its products.

Through color-rich images, Maynard Dixon, Charles Duncan, and their colleagues at Foster and Kleiser contributed to the development of a West Coast advertising style characterized by harmonious color combinations, limited text, and idyllic views of outdoor life.

Foster and Kleiser's employment of contemporary artists served as a precursor to the advertising efforts of prominent mid-century firms such as the Container Corporation of America that used modern art to elevate its own corporate image beginning in the late 1920s. But, ultimately, through work by Maynard Dixon and other artists, Foster and Kleiser 'sold' the notion that billboards represented beautiful additions to the landscape *so successfully* that a century later, the American West remains inundated with not-so-aesthetically-appealing billboards today.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Charles W. Duncan, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 1 (February 1921): 20–21.

<sup>2</sup> Duncan, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” 20–21; Charles W. Duncan, “The Picture Gallery of the People,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): 5.

<sup>3</sup> Louis B. Siegriest, interview by Paul Karlstrom, Oakland, CA, April 5, 1975, transcript, Archives of American Art Oral History Collection, Smithsonian Institution. According to Siegriest, twenty-two artists worked in the art department when he was hired. Duncan married Dixon’s sister, Constance, in 1910.

<sup>4</sup> Maynard Dixon, unpublished manuscript for Scripps College retrospective, Tucson, 1945, Box 1, Folder 2, #75/81c, Maynard Dixon Correspondence and Papers, 1896–1945, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley, CA.

<sup>5</sup> Maynard Dixon, unpublished manuscript for Scripps College retrospective, 1945.

<sup>6</sup> Bogart discusses concurrent attempts to beautify billboards in New York. See Michele H. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> Duncan, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” 21.

<sup>8</sup> Royal B. Lee, “Capitalizing the Indian in Posters,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): 18.

<sup>9</sup> The author’s presentation on Dixon’s billboard designs at the Southwest Art History Conference in Taos, NM, October 2017, appears to be the only art historical research on this subject to date.

<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon mirrored trends on the East Coast. See Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*. For a discussion of fine artists’ involvement with billboard advertising on the East Coast, see especially chapters 3 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> See Charles R. Taylor and Weih Chang, “The History of Outdoor Advertising Regulation in the United States,” *Journal of Macromarketing* 15, no. 1 (1995): 47–59.

<sup>12</sup> Foster and Kleiser opened in Seattle and Portland in 1901 and moved their headquarters to San Francisco in 1915. The firm first issued illuminated and painted billboards in 1916. See G. W. Cliser, “Notable Kleisers,” accessed March 15, 2018, notablekleisers.blogspot.com.

<sup>13</sup> Walt Reed, *Harold von Schmidt Draws and Paints the Old West* (Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1972), 26.

<sup>14</sup> Duncan, “Picture Gallery of the People,” 5. See also George French, “From Design to Copy,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 70. French wrote, “Attractiveness of an advertisement to the eye is its primary test of effectiveness. . . . Any advertisement, no matter how good are the goods exploited, how fair the policy of the advertiser, how great the needs of the readers, has to be read to be

effective. The essential quality of the advertisement which makes people look at it, and after that read it, is its looks. If it is not attractive . . . it will not be noticed, and if it is not noticed it will not be read.”

<sup>15</sup> Wilbur Hall, “The Trend and Goal of Poster Art: An Interview with Maynard Dixon,” *The Poster* XII, no. 3 (March 15, 1921): 4.

<sup>16</sup> Maynard Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 2 (March 1921): 44.

<sup>17</sup> Duncan’s celebrated local lectures on color’s influence led *Western Advertising* to pronounce him “entitled to a Ph.C!” In the early 1960s, photographer Dorothea Lange remembered him as the “wonder-boy” of San Francisco’s bohemian crowd, although he was all but forgotten at the time. He also gave lectures on color in advertising in Portland, Oregon. See “Announcing a Series of Articles on ‘Getting a Kick’ Out of Color by Charles W. Duncan,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 2 (March 1921): 44; Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 3 (April 1921): 14; “Monday Evening,” *Oregon Sunday Journal*, May 25, 1919, 1; and *Dorothea Lange: The Making of a Documentary Photographer, An Interview Conducted by Suzanne Riess* (transcript, University of California Regional Oral History Office, Berkeley, 1968), 111. (This oral history, published in 1968, derived from Riess’s interviews of Lange conducted in 1960 and 1961; Lange died in 1965.)

<sup>18</sup> Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” 44.

<sup>19</sup> Dixon, 44.

<sup>20</sup> Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 3 (April 1921): 14.

<sup>21</sup> Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” 44.

<sup>22</sup> Dixon, 44.

<sup>23</sup> Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14. Duncan claimed he received a “greater ‘kick’ out of a sunset, than out of a Scotch highball.” The goal of his series of articles was encourage readers to use their eyes and enjoy the “beneficial effect upon our well-being and contribute more pleasure to daily life.”

<sup>24</sup> Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14, 16.

<sup>25</sup> Duncan, 14–16. See also Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color—II,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 4 (May 1921): 12; Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color—III,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 5 (June 1921): 26–27.

<sup>26</sup> Maynard Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” 44.

<sup>27</sup> Dixon, 44.

<sup>28</sup> Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14.

<sup>29</sup> See [Louis Treviso], “Western Commercial Art,” *Western Advertising* 2, no. 12 (January 1921): 29; *Western Advertising* 1, no. 12 (January 1920): 12. One of the three black-and-white illustrations accompanying Treviso’s 1921 article, which introduced an advertising art section to the magazine, while unattributed, is Dixon’s, originally created for *Sunset* magazine, a cropped close-up of his poster design “Navajo Indian From Life.”

<sup>30</sup> [Treviso], “Western Commercial Art,” 29.

<sup>31</sup> Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14.

<sup>32</sup> Hills Bros. Coffee, “History” (2012–2020), accessed April 13, 2020, <https://www.hillsbros.com/history/>.

<sup>33</sup> Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14, 16.

<sup>34</sup> In Portland, Oregon, the firm even built a movie theater! For the firm’s attempts to create positive community responses, see “New Picture Theatre to Cost \$100,000 for 6th Near Washington,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, Feb. 8, 1913, 1; “Boy Scouts Are to Help Advertise Big Old Clothing Drive,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, April 4, 1919, 14; “Campaign for New Members Proceeds with Much Success,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, July 22, 1918, 14; “Board Signs Worst Here, Says Owner,” *San Francisco Examiner*, July 15, 1915, 6; “Rotarians Oppose Billboards along Columbia Highway,” *Oregon Daily Journal*, Sept. 9, 1914, 5; G. W. Cliser, “Foster and Kleiser—The History of Outdoor Advertising,” in “Notable Kleisers,” accessed March 15, 2018, notablekleisers.blogspot.com.

<sup>35</sup> Billboards had been under attack since the nineteenth century. Restrictions varied from city to city according to city ordinances. See Taylor and Chang, “History of Outdoor Advertising Regulation,” 47–59. For examples of the discussion in California, see Chauncey S. Goodrich, “Billboard Regulation and the Aesthetic Viewpoint with Reference to California Highways,” *California Law Review* (January 1929): 120–34, (March 1929): 214–31; Clarence Hunt, “Growls from the Grizzly” [Editorial Page], *Grizzly Bear* 12, no. 5 (March 1913): 6; “Council to Discuss New Billboard Law,” *Los Angeles Evening Express*, May 27, 1918, 3; “Foster and Kleiser to Help ‘Beautify’ Our New Plaza,” *Santa Cruz Evening News*, December 2, 1919, 1.

<sup>36</sup> Foster and Kleiser, *Poster Advertising on the Pacific Coast* (San Francisco: Foster and Kleiser, 1923): n.p.

<sup>37</sup> “Are These Names Familiar,” [Advertisement], *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 17, 1923, 15.

<sup>38</sup> Duncan, “Modern Outdoor Advertising,” 21.

<sup>39</sup> Laura Bride Powers, “Art,” *Oakland Tribune*, Sept. 29, 1918, 6.

<sup>40</sup> Louis B. Siegriest, interview by Paul Karlstrom, Oakland, CA, April 5, 1975, transcript, Archives of American Art Oral History Collection, Smithsonian Institution.

<sup>41</sup> Louis B. Siegriest, interview by Paul Karlstrom, April 5, 1975.

<sup>42</sup> Reed, *Harold von Schmidt*, 26. Von Schmidt’s chronology suggests he won the electricity poster design contest (1916) about a year later, which would suggest he began working for Foster and Kleiser in 1915, shortly after the firm took over the J. Charles Green Agency, previously California’s major billboard advertising firm.

<sup>43</sup> Reed, *Harold von Schmidt*, 26.

<sup>44</sup> Reed, 33.

<sup>45</sup> Donald J. Hagerty, *The Life of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 2010), 122.

<sup>46</sup> Maynard Dixon to Dane Coolidge, Feb. 19, [1917], Box 3, C-H 82, Dane Coolidge Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning artists' changing perceptions of the status of commercial art, see Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*.

<sup>48</sup> Maynard Dixon to Dane Coolidge, Dec. 10, 1917, Box 3, C-H 82, Dane Coolidge Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>49</sup> Louis B. Siegriest, interview by Paul Karlstrom, April 5, 1975.

<sup>50</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles Lummis, Feb. 14, [1919], Folder MS.1.1.1138 D, MIMSY MS.1.1., Correspondence with Maynard Dixon, 1912–1916, Charles F. Lummis Correspondence Series Papers, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA.

<sup>51</sup> During this period he also gained attention for lectures and writings about commercial art, separate from his career as an illustrator. He lectured to the Commercial Artists' Association of San Francisco in March 1921 on the "Influence of Modern Art on Advertising," *Western Advertising* 3, no. 3 (April 1921): 43.

<sup>52</sup> Dorothea Lange, interviewed by Suzanne Riess, in *Dorothea Lange: The Making of a Documentary Photographer* (transcript, University of California Regional Oral History Office, Berkeley, 1968,) 94.

<sup>53</sup> Lange, interviewed by Riess, in *Dorothea Lange*, 95. Lange commented that after she met Dixon, he "worked one day a week for them for a while and then not at all and went to his studio and decided he would devote himself not to doing any more ads but to being a painter. He did enough ads, though they were not billboard ads, designing ads, to keep him going. They paid him very well for everything that he did, and though he always thought he had financial stringencies, he never had real ones."

<sup>54</sup> Lange, interviewed by Riess, in *Dorothea Lange*, 94. Lange said, "That's what Maynard Dixon was doing at that time when I first met him. Oh, do you know, some of them they're still using, like Sherwin-Williams' miner with the red shirt. I see Foster and Kleiser's work, trademarks and things, all over."

<sup>55</sup> Hall, "Trend and Goal of Poster Art," 3. Keats closed his famed poem, "Ode on a Grecian Urn," with the oft-quoted and disputed phrase: "Beauty is truth, truth beauty,—that is all / Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know." Truth and beauty are running themes in Dixon's correspondence, commentary, and poetry.

<sup>56</sup> Hall, "Trend and Goal of Poster Art," 3.

<sup>57</sup> Frederic Remington to Maynard Dixon, Sept. 8, 1891 [photocopy], 85/101C, Maynard Dixon Papers, Folder 9, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>58</sup> Rare posters in the Huntington Library's collection that advertised *Land of Sunshine* (renamed *Out West* in 1901) reflect Lummis's aesthetic sensibility. They are extremely fussy in comparison to Dixon's designs.

<sup>59</sup> See Dixon correspondence with Lummis October–December, 1901. Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Nov. 1, 1901; Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Dec. 29, 1901; Charles F. Lummis Correspondence Series Papers, Correspondence with Maynard Dixon, Autry Museum of the American West.

<sup>60</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Nov. 1, 1901, Charles F. Lummis Correspondence Series Papers.

<sup>61</sup> Historians of commercial art tend to date the inception of the term “graphic design” to the 1920s, but already in the 1890s, commercial artists identified themselves as doing something unique from illustration when they “designed” posters (or, a decade later, magazine covers).

<sup>62</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Nov. 3, [1901], [Photocopy of original in Southwest Museum Collection], Box 1, Folder 1, 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Correspondence and Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>63</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Thanksgiving Day [Nov. 28], 1901, Folder MS.1.1.1138 B, MS.1, Correspondence with Mr. Maynard Dixon, 1901–1902, Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA.

<sup>64</sup> Dixon to Lummis, Thanksgiving Day, 1901.

<sup>65</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Dec. 29, 1901, MS.1, Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection.

<sup>66</sup> Dixon to Lummis, Dec. 29, 1901.

<sup>67</sup> Hall, “Trend and Goal of Poster Art,” 4.

<sup>68</sup> Grant Wallace, “Maynard Dixon, 1875–1946,” [unpublished typescript], (W.P.A. Federal Writers’ Project, 1937): 19, BANC MSS 90/18c, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>69</sup> Hagerty, *Life of Maynard Dixon*, 105.

<sup>70</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, New York, Jan. 29, 1912, Folder MS. 1.1.1138D, Correspondence with Mr. Maynard Dixon, 1912–1916, Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA.

<sup>71</sup> Dixon to Lummis, New York, Jan. 29, 1912.

<sup>72</sup> Introduction to Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” 14; Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” 44; Hall, “Trend and Goal of Poster Art,” 4; “Fine Arts Exhibit,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 1 (February 1921): 19.

<sup>73</sup> Maynard Dixon, “Chronological Outline and Reminiscences,” (typescript manuscript), 6, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. Dixon prepared this manuscript as notes for Federal Writers’ Project biographer Grant Wallace in 1936. Dixon listed his colleagues as “The bunch: Weber, von Schmidt, del Mue, Stafford Duncan, Sinel, Grebs, Partridge, Magenta, Sugar Babe, Bobby Lee, Otis Shepard.”

<sup>74</sup> “1918,” in Dixon, “Chronological Outline and Reminiscences,” (typescript manuscript), Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library.

<sup>75</sup> Donald J. Hagerty, “Maynard Dixon and a Changing West,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (Summer 2001), 41. Hagerty implies that it was the Montana trip to the Blackfeet reservation in 1917 and his mural projects of the 1920s that led to Dixon’s change of thinking about himself; Hagerty does not mention Foster and Kleiser.

<sup>76</sup> For an examination of multiple tire advertising campaigns that made use of stereotypical representations of Indigenous figures, see Pau Medrano-Bigas, “The Forgotten Years of Bibendum. Michelin’s American Period in Milltown: Design, Illustration and Advertising by Pioneer Tire Companies (1900–1930)” (PhD diss., University of Barcelona, 2015; English translation, 2018), 2524.

<sup>77</sup> The earlier Savage ads appeared in *Sunset*, *Motor West*, and *Touring Topics*, and in newspapers across the West.

<sup>78</sup> “In the Realm of Art and Artists,” *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 12, 1913, 4. For a discussion of Dixon’s approach in comparison to another famous western artist of the period, Charles Marion Russell, see Thomas Brent Smith, “Old Timer and Friend Dixon,” *True West Magazine*, Sept. 25, 2010, accessed April 13, 2020, at <https://truwestmagazine.com/old-timer-and-friend-dixon/>.

<sup>79</sup> For more about Dixon’s and Treadwell’s relationship, see Hagerty, *Life of Maynard Dixon*, 15, 86, 105, 125–26, 233, 237. Dixon seems to have lamented the end of the affair in “Above,” “Alone,” and other poems penned in the late 1910s. Treadwell also bears a striking resemblance to the woman wearing a fur coat in the upper right of Dixon’s billboard design for Spur Cigarettes, just above the text “he knows,” made not long after Treadwell rejected Dixon’s plea for her to stay with him in California. See manuscripts of his poems in Box 2, Folders 1-3, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>80</sup> Hagerty, *Life of Maynard Dixon*, 126.

<sup>81</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Aug. 24, 1917, Folder MS 1.1.1138E, MS.1, Correspondence with Maynard Dixon, Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection, Autry Museum of the American West.

<sup>82</sup> Smith, “Old Timer and Friend Dixon.”

<sup>83</sup> Maynard Dixon to Charles F. Lummis, Aug. 24, 1917, Lummis Manuscript Collection, Autry Museum of the American West.

<sup>84</sup> W. R. Mills, Asst. General Passenger Agent for the Great Northern, wrote Dixon from Glacier Park on Aug. 25, 1917, to suggest whom he might want to see in Blackfeet country and suggested Owen Heavy Breast as interpreter; he also wrote that he’d like to talk about “designs for bulletin boards in California.” Box 1, Folder 2, #75/81c, Maynard Dixon Correspondence and Papers, 1896–1945, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>85</sup> See Maynard Dixon to Dane Coolidge, Dec. 10, 1917, Box 3, Letters to Coolidge (C-Di), C-H 82, Dane Coolidge Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. Dixon wrote: “You know very well that I would be glad to illustrate any story of yours—though I have long since lost interest in illustrating as an ambitious indoor sport. But I am busted entirely—anything in the shape of a job would come all right. I am with F & [K] again making signs—& have other work to do—but somehow

after 8 months freedom it goes down mighty hard. You know Consie went with me to Montana & was queen of the camp—She enjoyed every minute—mostly horse—back. Did not think too much of the Mts, but the Blackfeet are the best Inds I have seen yet, bar none. Generous, kind & friendly—when you know them right. . . . Go & take a look at those buffalo hide tepees for me in the Nat. Hist. Museum [in NY]. . . . I'll be holding down the billboards when you get back.”

<sup>86</sup> Owen Heavy Breast to Maynard Dixon, Jan. 29, 1920, Box 1, Folder 2, 75/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, 896-1945, Bancroft Library. Heavy Breast (Blackfeet) closed his letter, “I send send [*sic*] best regard to all and shak [*sic*] hands with you. From your truly Friend. Owen Heavy Breast To M. Dixon.”

<sup>87</sup> Maynard Dixon, “Chronological Outline and Reminisces,” (typescript manuscript), p. 6, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>88</sup> Donald Hagerty, *Desert Dreams: The Art and Life of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 1993), 92. Dixon’s poetic response in his poem “Sweat Lodge” was similar: “Face down, under the sky, I hide my tears in the honest grass of the prairie.” See Maynard Dixon, *Rim Rock and Sage: The Collected Poems of Maynard Dixon* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1977), 75.

<sup>89</sup> Dan Flores, “Maynard and Montana,” in *Visions of the Big Sky: Painting and Photographing the Northern Rocky Mountain West*, by Dan Flores, 159–65 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010); Hagerty, *Life of Maynard Dixon*, 130.

<sup>90</sup> Dixon, “Chronological Outline and Reminisces,” (typescript manuscript), p. 15, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>91</sup> Lee, “Capitalizing the Indian in Posters,” 18. Lee wrote: “Twenty-four sheet posters bear their part in the general scheme, and in these a character known to motorists as Little Heap has been playing a leading role. This graceful little trade figure, with smiling countenance and youthful charm has touched the hearts of many people and awakened the interest that always exists there for a little child.”

<sup>92</sup> Medrano-Bigas, “Forgotten Years of Bibendum,” 2525–2526.

<sup>93</sup> Lee, “Capitalizing the Indian in Posters,” 18.

<sup>94</sup> “‘Little Heap,’ the Tire Emblem, Is Real,” *Pasadena Post*, Aug. 28, 1920, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Lee, “Capitalizing the Indian in Posters,” 18.

<sup>96</sup> “Little Heap Is on Tour of West,” *Fort Collins Express*, July 2, 1922, 11.

<sup>97</sup> “26-Mile Stretch of Road Blocks Plans,” *Independent-Record*, Feb. 9, 1920, 8. This is a continuing discussion even in recent years, although discussions have moved away from supporting tourists and supporting inhabitants of reservations. See “Examining Tribal Transportation in Indian Country, Field Hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs,” US Senate, 111th Congress, Second Session, Oct. 15, 2010. Senate Hearing 111-917. US Government Printing Office, accessed April 12, 2020, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CHRG-111shrg65034/html/CHRG-111shrg65034.htm>.

<sup>98</sup> “Pneumatic Tire Prices,” *Automotive Trade Journal* 26 (1921/1922): 111.

<sup>99</sup> The highly advertised Apache Trail, so named by the Southern Pacific in 1915, consisted of a rough stretch of road skirting Lake Roosevelt that was constructed as a supply road for the building of the Roosevelt Dam.

<sup>100</sup> Lee, "Capitalizing the Indian in Posters," 18.

<sup>101</sup> Lee, 18.

<sup>102</sup> [Treviso], "Western Commercial Art," 29.

<sup>103</sup> Wallace, "Maynard Dixon, 1875–1946," 19.

<sup>104</sup> Erol R. Slaughter, "'Indian' Miller, Artist and Copywriter," *Western Advertising* 4, no. 2 (March 1922): 7.

<sup>105</sup> Lee, "Capitalizing the Indian in Posters," 18.

<sup>106</sup> In contrast to Dixon's modeled views of Blackfeet figures, Miller's illustrations consisted of calligraphic line drawings, spare, yet not completely pictographic in quality. They quasi resemble figure drawing on Greek pottery or ancient glyphs on Eastern Woodlands material culture. For information about Miller, see Medrano-Bigas, "Forgotten Years of Bibendum," 2525; Thomas Arthur Repp, *Route 66: The Romance of the West* (Lynnwood, WA: Mock Turtle Press, 2002); "The Advertising of Savage Tires," *Motor West*, Dec. 15, 1920, 76.

<sup>107</sup> Hall, "Trend and Goal of Poster Art," 4.

<sup>108</sup> See Dixon, "Chronological Outline and Reminisces," (typescript manuscript), 16, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. Donald Hagerty describes Dixon's epiphany in *The Art of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2010), 109–10. Hagerty writes following Dixon's epiphany, "Suddenly he started to recognize the magic of pattern, the music of space and order. . . . He started experimenting with the suppression of detail . . . using stronger colors and emphasizing . . . space, rearranging compositions . . . into decorative patterns."

<sup>109</sup> See Dixon, "Chronological Outline and Reminisces."

<sup>110</sup> Charles Matlack Price, *Posters: A Critical Study of the Development of Poster Design in Continental Europe, England, and America* (New York: George W. Bricka, 1913), 235.

<sup>111</sup> Foster and Kleiser, *A Presentation of Poster Advertising on the Pacific Coast: Together with Important Statistical Information and Specifications and Pries of Standard Set Showings in the Cities and Towns in California, Oregon and Washington . . .* (San Francisco: Foster and Kleiser, 1923).

<sup>112</sup> Duncan, "Picture Gallery of the People," 5.

<sup>113</sup> Duncan, "Modern Outdoor Advertising," 21.

<sup>114</sup> Ramsey Oppenheim, "1921—a Year of Achievement," *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 7.

<sup>115</sup> "Advertising both the Product and the Country," *Western Advertising* 2, no. 2 (May 1920): 18.



<sup>116</sup>“Advertising both the Product and the Country,” 18.

<sup>117</sup> [Treviso], “Western Commercial Art,” 29.

<sup>118</sup> Foster and Kleiser, *Poster Advertising on the Pacific Coast*, n.p. The booklet claimed: “To obtain full advantage of these superior locations, we have designed a high character of structure, architecturally correct . . . supported at the ends by ornamental figures typifying Abundance, above which are architectural caps supporting large electrically lighted globes [in white enamel finish]. . . . A gold-leaf strip an inch and a half in width [separates the color image from the neutral gray mat].”

<sup>119</sup> Dixon, “Charlie-Ads-Color,” 44.

<sup>120</sup> Foster and Kleiser, *Poster Advertising on the Pacific Coast*, n.p. The bulletins were “illuminated from dusk until midnight and [painted] three times a year.” Clients were permitted to change the design with each repaint. Laura Bride Powers describes how the designs were transferred from original maquette to full-size board: “Most of the attractive billboards are painted upon strips of metal that . . . slip into grooves. . . . First the artist makes the drawing in color—often it is not more than a 6 by 12 (inches). This is sent back to the mechanical department to be photographed on paper, and raised to the size it will assume on the billboard. Then the outline is pricked into little holes, the paper laid over the sheets of metal we see later on the dead wall, charcoal is rubbed through the perforations, and lo! There is the figure or design ready for the artisan-painter to block in—the predominating tone first. And before him is the artist’s original sketch. From this he gets his color scheme. . . . The metal sheets come back to the shop, the paint is knocked off and worked up again into a perfectly good dope for more street art.” Bride Powers, “Art,” 6.

<sup>121</sup> Duncan, “Picture Gallery of the People,” 5.

<sup>122</sup> Duncan, 5. Duncan’s audience was largely two-fold: the business clients he hoped to court, and those clients’ consumer base. Only those billboards in the “best locations” were embellished with latticework and gardens. Foster and Kleiser’s self-promotional books and advertisements suggest that these locations were in wealthier neighborhoods. Their prices were based on a multiplication of the base price times attention value; attention value was figured by scores given for angle of the bulletin, location, and “buying power,” which was described as “class distinction applied to advertising.”

<sup>123</sup> For a history of the store, see “Desmond’s in Seventy-Sixth Year,” *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 21, 1937, 8.

<sup>124</sup> Duncan, “Picture Gallery of the People,” 5.

<sup>123</sup> Hall, “Trend and Goal of Poster Art,” 4.

<sup>125</sup> Hall, 4.

<sup>126</sup> Bride Powers, “Art,” 6.

<sup>127</sup> Maynard Dixon to Dane Coolidge, Dec. 10, 1917, Box 3, C-H 82, Dane Coolidge Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>128</sup> His typescript chronology notes, “Reorganization of F & K. Degradation of Art Dept. foreseen. Rheumatism again; quit F & K.” Dixon, “Chronological Outline and Reminiscences,” (typescript

manuscript), p. 16, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Maynard Dixon Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

<sup>129</sup> “Artists Leave Foster and Kleiser,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 90. Reed, *Harold Von Schmidt*, 33. Von Schmidt, Dixon, Joseph Sinel, David Hendrickson, and Judson Starr together formed the Advertising Illustrators. Sinel had, as von Schmidt remembered, walked out from Foster and Kleiser at the same time as von Schmidt; von Schmidt had hired him. The group “did very well for four years,” but von Schmidt’s first marriage was falling apart, and after four years, he left California for New Mexico, and later New York. Louis Siegriest, who had worked with Dixon and the others in the late nineteen-teens, had the presence of mind to collect a few samples of their work.

<sup>130</sup> Reed, *Harold von Schmidt*, 33.

<sup>131</sup> Reed, 33.

<sup>132</sup> Slaughter, “‘Indian’ Miller,” 7; Medrano-Bigas, “Forgotten Years of Bibendum,” 2525.

<sup>133</sup> Oppenheim, “1921—a Year of Achievement,” 7.

<sup>134</sup> Oppenheim, 8. He writes, “We have seen the expansion of old-time Coast campaigns into wider fields that are rapidly bringing these accounts into the ‘national’ class. Among these the coffee advertisers stand out preeminently with Folger, M. J. B. and Hills Bros., as far east as Minnesota, Kansas and Texas. Savage Tires, too, have invaded about as far east as these states. . . . For the first time since the war, the railroad companies began advertising on a liberal scale.”

<sup>135</sup> Oppenheim, 7.

<sup>136</sup> “Western Advertising’s Gravure Section,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): [27–34]. Reproductions of Dixon’s designs included his billboards for the Oakland Antioch and Eastern Railway, Pierce Arrow, Carroll Hats, and Savage Tires. Other images that resemble Dixon’s work include billboard designs for Bull Durham and Mt. Tamalpais/the Muir Woods.

<sup>137</sup> [Treviso], “Western Commercial Art,” 29.

<sup>138</sup> Lee, “Capitalizing the Indian in Posters,” 18.

## CONCLUSION

To go into lengthy detail and make a long drawn out story in order to say something about posters would be a useless waste of words and very unlike the principle which makes a good poster.<sup>1</sup>

—Robert Beebe, 1921

So wrote a distinguished American designer, illustrator, and art director. According to Beebe, a contemporary of Maynard Dixon, Gerald Cassidy, and Edward Penfield, a dissertation such as this, devoting many words to “good” posters, represents, at best, foolishness. And yet Beebe’s assertion—echoing poster critics of his age—that “good” posters are mere “impressions” meant to be instantaneously “grasped and digested,” precluded such objects from being seriously considered in the first place.

Beebe, and his contemporaries, perhaps made their argument too well, entrenching lasting perceptions among both the artists who created these works and the art historians who have long overlooked them, that posters, while visually appealing, merit no thoughtful study. A goal of this dissertation, by contrast, has been to combat the notion that “good” posters have simple objectives, as well as aesthetics. Rather, I contend that, as Edward Penfield himself implied, the appearance of simplicity conceals much.<sup>2</sup> In investigating art posters at greater length, we discover religion in Buffalo Bill’s prophetic declaration “I am Coming”; find Buffalo Bill’s Wild West in Penfield’s cowboy; encounter Pueblo politics in Cassidy’s Fiesta series; and recognize the promotion of California in Dixon’s socialites enjoying Coca-Cola. Such posters’ *appearance* of simplicity and instantaneous communication demands we afford them a longer look.

And yet investigating commercial art of the past century proves challenging. Correspondence and other business records of commercial artists and their corporate clients is scant. Too often, such materials were discarded, lost in fires or to the ravages of time, or buried away in libraries or archives. Posters often shared (and still share) the same fate, concealed in archives, rather than in museums where they might receive more attention.<sup>3</sup> Posters, even those that are signed, are often treated as anonymous objects in library databases and finding aids. That *original artwork* by Maynard Dixon, Maurice del Mue, and Harold Von Schmidt exists within the Bancroft Library at the University of California but until recently was not designated as such in the library's catalog, proves my point. Discovering Dixon's gouache billboard studies there marked a defining moment in the course of this study. Prior to my visit in 2016, the series had been attributed to the Southern Pacific's poster designer, Maurice Logan, in the library's online finding aid.

A dearth of archival material, few published sources on poster history, and the geographic separation of most poster collections from their related archives makes, as Michael Zega, John Gruber, and other design historians have observed, research on early twentieth-century posters difficult but not impossible.<sup>4</sup> Digital files and online finding aids continue to enhance research on commercial art in general—not just art posters.

This dissertation offers a methodological framework for addressing not only posters but commercial art more broadly. I begin by asking investigators to ignore the demands of a century ago that viewers not “see” posters. I propose instead that art posters and other works of commercial art be viewed as images that do not merely “sell” products but that also comment on and interpret the objects or ideas they supposedly promote. In viewing posters as the intersection of multiple viewpoints and the physical embodiment of a process of collaboration and

compromise, we gain insight into how they functioned not merely for the clients funding them, but for the artist and those other parties invested in their creation.

As this study reveals, art posters are embedded with complex and at times contradictory meaning. In the very least, they promote their maker along with that object, event, or idea literally displayed on their brightly hued surfaces. In the words of one American artist-designer in 1926, commercial art represented “as much an advertisement for the artist as to the advertiser. The more attractive, the more artistically the artist can present [their] subject, the greater demand will be for [their] type of work.”<sup>5</sup>

Yet, art posters of the American West do more than promote a region and its artists and products. At the turn of the twentieth century, they both responded to and contended with William F. Cody’s nineteenth century version of the American West. Edward Penfield’s *Pony Tracks* poster reveals that Buffalo Bill’s Wild West directly influenced commercial artists’ perceptions *and portrayals* of America’s western outback. Penfield’s lithograph demonstrates just how influential the West of Buffalo Bill and Frederic Remington were in defining popular urban New York impressions of life beyond the Mississippi. And yet, rather than merely celebrating Remington’s vision, Penfield’s designs for *Pony Tracks* mediated, interpreted, and criticized it. Instead, Penfield cleverly celebrated Indigenous visual communication and a perceived connection between Plains pictography and art poster style.

Style matters, both in Penfield’s cover design and Gerald Cassidy’s Santa Fe Fiesta posters. Cassidy’s series demonstrates in tangible form how posters emerged from a process of collaboration and compromise to serve different stakeholders. As the “completed” works changed hands from artist to the Fiesta commission to the Fred Harvey Company, Cassidy altered his paintings’ original style and subject matter, rendering the lettering more modern and

changing the identity of key figures. These alterations shifted the posters' meaning from one that promoted both the artist and a specific Santa Fe event to a more general representation of the broader Southwest. Thus, what Cassidy's posters "mean" about the West at any given time is as much indebted to the adjustment of their design style as it is to their subject matter and historical context.

Likewise, Maynard Dixon's billboard designs served varied purposes for artist, client, and contractor. While Dixon viewed commercial art commissions with a jaded eye, his employer's clients viewed his designs as elevating their rather prosaic wares by association. While Foster and Kleiser viewed his designs as a way to manipulate public attitudes favorably toward outdoor advertising, California advertising boosters saw the function of artistic billboards, regardless of the product depicted, as promoting California and the West more broadly. While ostensibly promoting tires, beverages, rail travel, or milk, West Coast billboards also sold the region as a place of opportunity, adventure, and grandeur.

And yet, the posters, paintings, billboards, and book cover discussed in this study concern not the West itself so much as perceptions of the West. They ultimately reflect their makers' perceptions of longstanding *representations* of the West—*ideas* expressed by Buffalo Bill's Wild West, in Santa Fe pageants, or western fiction—but not of the West itself. Design, as historian Jim Watson asserts, is concerned with perception, not reality: "All advertising is propaganda."<sup>6</sup>

Close observation, and the mining of archives to uncover the hidden goals and agendas of commercial art, can expand this study to additional topics related to the American West. Further research might address, for example, literary posters created to promote San Francisco magazines in the 1890s. While New York continues to receive the most attention in terms of the

art poster movement, San Francisco enjoyed its own poster craze, of which Maynard Dixon played a pivotal but overlooked role. This kind of study might also bear fruit in an investigation of specific series of western American railroad posters produced between 1900 and 1930. Like Cassidy's Fiesta posters, such images merged western subject matter with the simplified compositions of early twentieth-century German advertising posters.<sup>7</sup>

U.S. government support of poster designers during the Depression era particularly in western states offers another promising avenue of inquiry. After working at Foster and Kleiser and before he became a noted California plein air painter, for example, Louis Siegriest created a series of posters promoting an exhibition of Native American art at the Indian Court during the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939. An investigation of the artist's designs and his representations of Indigenous art and artifacts would doubtless expand this dissertation's scope and interpretation.

But why study these objects at all? What relevance can art poster representations of the American West created a century or more ago have for this moment in American history, art history, and the history of the American West? Carefully looking at art posters and researching the interactions between their producers, sponsors and audiences gives us a deeper understanding for the works, their artists, their subject matter, and their meanings. Learning to look in this way also equips us to more critically consume "commercial" messages and images presented to us today. Indeed, today's promoters of New Mexico and California still hold to tenants set forth by *Western Advertising's* editor, California and New Mexico boosters, and their disciples in the early 1920s.

In 2020, the motto of New Mexico's "New Mexico True" promotional campaign asserts the state provides "Adventure that Feeds the Soul."<sup>8</sup> Instituted in 2011, the True Campaign

continues the appeal Cassidy, Cassell, and Twitchell articulated to motorists and rail passengers with its emphasis on historic engagement amid the binaries of old-new, or in this case, false-true:

We are all travelers. We seek what is true and we push past what we know to be false. The question is: where to go? What place is true and good and real?

Where is true found . . . and false forgotten? Where? New Mexico, True.<sup>9</sup>

The campaign positions New Mexico's landscapes and Indigenous population as authentic oases in a desert of the false and counterfeit. The campaign's website portrays an Indigenous woman wrapped in a crimson blanket and facing away from the viewer (fig. C.1). Taken at a low angle, she towers in heroic scale, nearly silhouetted against the sky. Rays of sunlight streak across the image and white sans serif type emblazoned across her midsection reads "New Mexico True Brand." The image's representation of an Indigenous woman looking away from the camera suggests, like Gerald Cassidy's posters, a view for outsiders', potential tourists', consumption. It portrays—or objectifies—New Mexico's Indigenous population as authentic ("true"), isolated against the sky, much like Cassidy's Pueblo figures, seemingly oblivious of the viewer. Even the sans serif type, with its geometric precision and crisp outlines, echoes the similar lettering Cassidy applied to his refashioned posters, thus modernizing them for the Santa Fe Railway. Furthermore, it intimates a similar audience as that lured west by Santa Fe boosters and the AT&SF in 1922: tourist-travelers. The medium may have changed in the one hundred years since Cassidy painted posters promoting the Fiesta but both the style of representation (isolated figure against the sky) and the colonialist message it conveys (romance and promises of a quasi-authentic experience) has remained remarkably, and troublingly, constant.

As Ramsey Oppenheim, publisher of *Western Advertising*, exclaimed a century ago, "Romance is not dead!"<sup>10</sup> In fact, "romance" and "beautiful" advertising as Charles Duncan,



Maynard Dixon, and Foster and Kleiser's artists defined it in their color-drenched billboards of California views continues to drive California promotion today. "Get the mountains into the picture," Louis Treviso advised in *Western Advertising* in 1921.<sup>11</sup> In 2020, California's tourism's campaign, "Dream Big," features expansive photographs of California scenery, golden sunsets over the Pacific Ocean, and craggy mountain ridges (fig. C.2). While Duncan prescribed color as an antidote to the drudgery of office work and the trauma of World War I, California's tourism campaign today, with its emphasis on expansive vistas bathed in golden orange sunsets, often displayed against a soundtrack of serene music, prescribes scenery of the Golden State in digital form as a "brief respite from the news of the day," not-so-altruistically recommending viewers in a period of COVID-19 pandemic to "dream with us" about future travel plans.<sup>12</sup> The website promises "beautiful scenery" as a cure for the world's current troubles just as Charles Duncan and San Francisco advertising boosters preached a gospel of color and California landscapes to war- and work-weary Americans.

In 1921 Charles Duncan wrote, "We look, but we look automatically. We seldom see . . . or [look] just for seeing's sake."<sup>13</sup> His words might be applied today, a century later, not just to scholarship on commercial art but to the visual communication that surrounds us. What might we discover if only we looked closely, not only at the tangible images of our collective past, but at the commercial imagery that continues to pervade our visual experience in ever more abbreviated form.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Robert Beebe, “Some Essentials in Poster Design,” *The Poster* 12, no. 10 (Oct. 15, 1921), 37. Beebe writes: “I have always entertained the idea that a poster, if defined in one word, is an *impression*, not an illustration, a study, or a portrait, but a thought expressed in its most simple fashion by line, mass and color—only that which has direct bearing upon an idea and that can be grasped and digested in the passing of an instant. . . . One must not stop to read a poster—it must be seen, understood, and believed in its entirety in a glance.”

<sup>2</sup> Edward Penfield, Introduction to *Posters in Miniature*, by Percival Pollard, n.p. (New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1896).

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Goddu, *American Art Posters of the 1890s, November 25, 1989–January 6, 1990* (New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1990), 7. Goddu footnotes that due to collectors’ and dealers’ classification of posters as “ephemera,” posters have traditionally received poor conservation.

<sup>4</sup> Michael E. Zega and John Gruber, *Travel by Train: The American Railroad Poster, 1870–1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), vii; David W. Kiehl, ed., *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), 11–12. As Kiehl notes of the 1890s poster age, “Few records survive for these large firms, and even less information is known about the artists they employed.”

<sup>5</sup> W. Langdon Kihn, “Art and Advertiser,” in *The Eastern Edition of Arts and Crafts*, vol. 1 (New York: Lee & Kirby, 1926), 52.

<sup>6</sup> Jim Watson taught History of Visual Communications at the University of Oklahoma in Spring 2002; his course led to my longtime interest in design history. Watson frequently stated, “Design is about perception, not reality.” See Jim Watson, “Design School: Setting the Stage: Some Fundamental Lessons of Design,” accessed April 18, 2020, <https://www.jamesrobertwatson.com/index.html>.

<sup>7</sup> In particular, posters for the Southern Pacific—the most prolific producer of posters of all the western railroads—merit closer attention. I am particularly interested in Maynard Dixon’s portrait of Pima model Parley Louis that appeared on a poster heralding the February 1903 issue of *Sunset Magazine*. Like Buffalo Bill’s “I am Coming” poster, Dixon’s art poster—informed graphic portrait of Louis transcended its status of poster to become a logo for *Sunset*. It merits attention not only for its role in the development the widely held misperception among Anglo-Americans that Indigenous communities faced certain extinction early in the twentieth century, but also as an example of the development of conventions for twentieth-century logo design that grew from art poster aesthetics.

<sup>8</sup> New Mexico Tourism Department, “New Mexico True Brand,” accessed April 17, 2020, <https://www.newmexico.org/industry/work-together/nm-true-brand/>.

<sup>9</sup> New Mexico Tourism Department, “New Mexico True Brand.”

<sup>10</sup> Ramsey Oppenheim, “1921—a Year of Achievement,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 7.

<sup>11</sup> [Louis Treviso], “Western Commercial Art,” *Western Advertising* 2, no. 12 (January 1921): 29.

<sup>12</sup> California Tourism Department, “Dream With Us” (2020), accessed April 18, 2020, <https://www.visitcalifornia.com/attraction/dream-us>.

<sup>13</sup> Charles W. Duncan, “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color,” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 3 (April 1921): 14.

## Bibliography

### Archival Collections

- Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser. BANC PIC 1981.023—C. Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley.
- Artist Posters Collection ca. 1883–1910. priHHC\_ART. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- Artist Posters, Prints and Photographs Collection. POS—US. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
- Buffalo Bill Collection. American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Available online at <https://digitalcollections.uwyo.edu/luna/servlet/uwydbuwy~60~60>.
- Buffalo Bill Online Archive. Buffalo Bill Center of the West. Available online at <http://library.bbhc.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/BBOA>.
- Cassidy Family Papers. BANC MSS 67/1. Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley.
- Charles F. Lummis Manuscript Collection. MS. 1.1.1138D. Autry Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA.
- Dane Coolidge Papers. BANC MSS C-H 82. Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley.
- Edgar L. Hewett Papers. Chavez Library, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM.
- Elwyn Irving Hoffman Papers, 1893–1947. mssHoffman papers. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- Frances Benjamin Johnston Papers. Manuscript/Mixed Material. <https://lcn.loc.gov/mm79027995>.
- Fred Lockley Papers, 1849–1958. mssLockley papers. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- Gerald Cassidy Collection (Papers). New Mexico Museum of Art, Santa Fe, NM.
- Harper & Brothers Records, 1817–1929. MS#0555. Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, NY.
- Jennie Cook Davis Papers, 1885–1992. mssDavis papers. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- Lithography Art Collection. Robert L. Parkinson Library & Research Center. Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI.
- Louis E. Cooke Manuscript Collection. Tibbals Collection. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida. Available online at [https://issuu.com/theringling/docs/archives.cooke\\_cody/1?ff](https://issuu.com/theringling/docs/archives.cooke_cody/1?ff).
- Maynard Dixon Correspondence, 1906–1974. MANUSCRIPT3744. California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, CA.
- Maynard Dixon Papers. BANC MSS 85/101c. Bancroft Library, University of California—Berkeley.

Maynard Dixon Papers, ca. 1896–1946. BANC MSS 73/81c. Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

Maynard Dixon–Donald J. Hagerty Collection, 2012. MANUSCRIPT4142-4164. California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, CA.

Newspapers.com.

Richard Rogers Bowker Papers. New York Public Library, New York.

William F. Cody Archive. University of Nebraska–Lincoln. Available online at <http://codyarchive.org>.

### **Books, Articles, Dissertations, Theses, and Websites**

“Advertising both the Product and the Country.” *Western Advertising* 2, no. 2 (May 1920): 18.

Allen, Frederick L. “*Harper’s Magazine*” 1850–1950, *A Centenary Address*. New York: The Newcomen Society, 1950.

Allred, Christine. “Harper’s Indians: Representing Native America in Popular Magazine Culture, 1893–1922.” PhD diss., University of California–Los Angeles, 2001.

“Announcing a Series of Articles on ‘Getting a Kick’ Out of Color” by Charles W. Duncan.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 2 (March 1921): 44.

“Artists Come to Aid of Pueblo Indians.” *American Art News* 21, no. 8 (Dec. 2, 1922): 1.

“Artists Leave Foster and Kleiser.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 90.

Bargiel, Réjane, and Ségolène Le Men, eds. *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret De l’affiche au décor*. Paris: Les Arts Décoratifs/Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2010.

Barnes, Susan B. *An Introduction to Visual Communication from Cave Art to Second Life*. 2nd ed. New York: Peter Lange Publishing, 2017.

Beebe, Robert. “Some Essentials in Poster Design.” *The Poster*. Oct. 15, 1921, pp. 37, 43.

Berlo, Janet Catherine. “A Kiowa’s Odyssey: Etahdleuh Doanmoe, Transcultural Perspectives, and the Art of Fort Marion.” In *A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion*, edited by Phillip Earenfight, 140–212. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

———, ed. *Plains Indian Drawings 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996.

Blackstone, Sarah J. *Buckskins, Bullets, and Business: A History of Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

- . *The Business of Being Buffalo Bill: Selected Letters of William F. Cody, 1879–1917*. New York: Praeger, 1988.
- Blodgett, Peter J., ed. *Motoring West, Volume 1: Automobile Pioneers, 1900–1909*. Norman, OK: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2015.
- Bloom, Lansing F., and Paul A. F. Walter, eds. “Ralph Emerson Twitchell.” *New Mexico Historical Review* 1, no. 1 (January 1926): 78–85.
- Boeringer, Pierre N. “The Advertiser and the Poster.” *Overland Monthly* 28, no. 163 (July 1896): 41–52.
- Bogart, Michele H. *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.
- Brodhead, Richard. *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Brooks, Van Wyck. “On Creating a Usable Past.” *The Dial* LXIV, no. 764 (April 11, 1918): 337–41.
- Burns, Sarah. *Inventing the Modern Artist: Art & Culture in Gilded Age America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Calkins, Earnest Elmo. *Annals of an Adman “and hearing not—.”* New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1946.
- . *The Business of Advertising*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1915.
- California Tourism Department. “Dream With Us.” 2020. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.visitcalifornia.com/attraction/dream-us>.
- Chapman, James H. “Our Magazine Histories. Paper I. Harper’s.” *The Quarterly Illustrator* 1, no. 1 (Jan.–Mar. 1893): 56–62.
- Chauvenet, Beatrice. *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe’s Vibrant Era*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Cirker, Hayward, and Blanche Cirker. *The Golden Age of the Poster*. New York: Dover, 1971.
- Cliser, G. W. “Notable Kleisers.” Accessed March 15, 2018. notablekleisers.blogspot.com.
- Cody, William F. *The Wild West in England*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.
- Davis, Charles Belmont. “Edward Penfield and His Art.” *The Critic* 34, no. 861 (March 1899): 232–36.
- Delaney, Michelle. “Advance Work: Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West.” PhD diss., University of Strathclyde, 2018.
- . *Art and Advertising in Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019.
- Dixon, Maynard. “Charlie-Ads-Color.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 2 (March 1921): 44.

- . “Chronological Outline and Reminiscences” [typescript manuscript]. Maynard Dixon Papers, Box 2, BANC MSS 73/81c, Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.
- . Unpublished Manuscript for Scripps College Retrospective, Tucson, 1945. Maynard Dixon Correspondence and Papers, 1896–1945, #75/81c, B1, F2. Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley, CA.
- D’Emilio, Sandra, and Suzan Campbell. *Visions & Visionaries: The Art & Artists of the Santa Fe Railway*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1991.
- Doss, Erica. “Between Modernity and the ‘Real Thing’: Maynard Dixon’s Mural for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.” *American Art*, Fall 2004, 8–31.
- Duncan, Charles W. “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 3 (April 1921): 14.
- . “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color—II.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 4 (May 1921): 121.
- . “Getting a ‘Kick’ Out of Color—III.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 5 (June 1921): 26–27.
- . “Modern Outdoor Advertising.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 1 (February 1921): 20–21.
- . “The Picture Gallery of the People.” *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): 5.
- Dye, Victoria E. *All Aboard for Santa Fe: Railway Promotion of the Southwest, 1890s to 1930s*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Earenfight, Phillip, ed. *A Kiowa’s Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Erisman, Fred. *Frederic Remington*. Western Writers Series 16. Boise, ID: Boise State University, 1975.
- Eskilson, Stephen J. *Graphic Design: A New History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Ewers, John Canfield. *Plains Indian Painting: A Description of Aboriginal American Art*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1939.
- Flint, Richard W. “Circus Posters and Show Printers.” Master’s thesis, State University of New York College at Oneonta, 1979.
- Flint, Richard, and Shirley Cushing Flint. “Twitchell, Ralph Emerson (1859–1925).” New Mexico Office of the State Historian (2020). Available online at [dev.newmexicohistory.org](http://dev.newmexicohistory.org).
- Flores, Dan. “Maynard and Montana.” In Dan Flores, *Visions of the Big Sky: Painting and Photographing the Northern Rocky Mountain West*, 159–65. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010.
- Fontana, Bernard L. *Querido Patron—Letters from Maynard Dixon to Lorenzo Hubbell*. Tucson: Friends of the University of Arizona Library, 1987.
- Foster and Kleiser. *A Presentation of Poster Advertising on the Pacific Coast*. San Francisco: Foster and Kleiser, 1923.

- . *Forty Years of Advertising*. Washington, OR: Foster and Kleiser Co., [1941].
- . *Outdoor Advertising on the Pacific Coast*. San Francisco: Foster and Kleiser, [1926].
- French, George. "From Design to Copy." *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 70.
- Garnett, K. Porter. "The Poster. A New Province Claimed by Art." *Overland Monthly* 27, no. 159 (March 1896): 296–302.
- Garvey, Ellen Gruber. "Ambivalent Advertising: Books, Prestige, and the Circulation of Publicity." In *A History of the Book in America, Vol. IV, Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940*, edited by Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, 170–89. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Gibson, David. *Designed to Persuade: The Graphic Art of Edward Penfield*. Hudson River Museum, May 20–July 15, 1984. Westchester, NY: Hudson River Museum, 1984.
- Goddu, Joseph. *American Art Posters of the 1890s, November 25, 1989–January 6, 1990*. New York: Hirschl & Adler Galleries, 1990.
- Gonzales, Phillip B., ed. *Expressing New Mexico: Nuevomexicano Creativity, Ritual, and Memory*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.
- Griffin, Charles Eldridge. *Four Years in Europe with Buffalo Bill*. Edited by Chris Dixon. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Gussenrode, W. J. C. "Modern Art in Modern Advertising." *The Poster* 8, no. 5 (May 1917): 49–50, 61.
- Hagerty, Donald J. *Desert Dreams: The Art and Life of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 1993.
- . *The Art of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 2010.
- . *The Life of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 2010.
- . "Maynard Dixon and a Changing West." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. Summer 2001, 36–51.
- Hall, Roger A. *Performing the American Frontier, 1870–1906*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Hall, Wilber. "The Trend and Goal of Poster Art: An Interview with Maynard Dixon." *The Poster* XII, no. 3 (March 15, 1921): 3–6.
- Hassrick, Peter H., ed. *Frederic Remington: A Catalogue Raisonne*. Cody, WY: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 1996.
- Heller, Steven, and Louise Fili. *German Graphic Design from Wilhelm to Weimar*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998.
- Hendon, Donald W. Hendon, and William F. Muhs. "Origins and Early Development of Outdoor Advertising in the United States." *European Journal of Marketing* 20:5 (1986): 7–17.



- Hewitt, John. "'The Poster' and the Poster in England in the 1890s." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 35, no. 1 (2002): 37–62.
- Heyman, Therese Thau. *Posters American Style*. Washington, DC: National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1998.
- Hiatt, Charles. *Picture Posters: A Short History of the Illustrated Placard*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1895.
- Horton, Sarah. "Where Is the 'Mexican' in 'New Mexican'?: Enacting History, Enacting Dominance in the Santa Fe Fiesta." *Public Historian* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 41–54.
- Howard, Kathleen L., and Diana F. Pardue. *Over the Edge: Fred Harvey at the Grand Canyon and in the Great Southwest*. Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2016.
- Hutchison, Elizabeth. *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Irwin, Margaret A. "Edward Penfield." In *American Book and Magazine Illustrators to 1920*, edited by Steven E. Smith, Catherine A. Hastedt, and Donald H. Dyal, 243–49. Detroit: Gale Research, 1998.
- Iskin, Ruth E. *The Poster: Art, Advertising, Design, and Collecting, 1860s–1900s*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2014.
- Jonnes, Jill. *Eiffel's Tower and the World's Fair Where Buffalo Bill Beguiled Paris, the Artists Quarreled, and Thomas Edison Became a Count*. New York: Viking, 2009.
- Judd, Ryan and Beatrice Judd. *The Bridge Between Then and Now* [unpublished manuscript]. (c. 1959), Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley.
- Kasson, Joy S. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.
- Kane, Paul. *Wanderings of an Artist among the Indians of North America*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859. Available online at <https://archive.org/details/wanderingsanart00kanegoog/page/n9/mode/2up>
- Kelsey, Robin Earle. *Archive Style: Photographs and Illustrations for U.S. Surveys, 1850–1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Kiehl, David W., ed. *American Art Posters of the 1890s in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the Leonard A. Lauder Collection*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- Kihn, W. Langdon. "Art and Advertiser." In *The Eastern Edition of Arts and Crafts*, vol. 1, 52–54. New York: Lee & Kirby 1926.
- Kinsey, Joni. *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006.

- Knappe, Stephanie Fox. *Art Perpetuating Fame: The Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. PhD diss., University of Kansas, Lawrence, 2013.
- Lange, Dorothea. *Dorothea Lange: The Making of a Documentary Photographer, An Interview Conducted by Suzanne Riess*. Transcript. University of California Regional Oral History Office, 1968.
- Last, Jay T. *The Color Explosion*. Santa Ana, CA: Hillcrest Press, Inc., 2005.
- Le Coultre, Martijn F., and Alston W. Purvis. *A Century of Posters*. Aldershot, England: Lord Humphries, 2012.
- Lee, Royal B. "Capitalizing the Indian in Posters." *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): 18.
- Lewandowski, Stacia. *Light, Landscape, and the Creative Quest: Early Artists of Santa Fe*. Santa Fe: Salska Arts, 2011.
- Lindsay, Martin S. "Edward Penfield: Master of Graphic Design." 1999–2020. [www.edwardpenfield.com](http://www.edwardpenfield.com).
- Lummis, Charles F. "A California Illustrator. L. Maynard Dixon and His Work." *Land of Sunshine* 10, no. 1 (December 1898): 4–11.
- Margolin, Victor. *American Poster Renaissance*. New York: Watson-Guption, 1975.
- . "Design in History." *Design Issues* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 103.
- Medrano-Bigas, Pau. "The Forgotten Years of Bibendum. Michelin's American Period in Milltown: Design, Illustration, and Advertising by Pioneer Tire Companies (1900–1930)." PhD diss., University of Barcelona, 2015; English translation, 2018.
- Meggs, Philip B., and Alston W. Purvis. *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. 4th ed. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2006.
- Mott, Frank Luther. *A History of American Magazines, 1741–1930*, vol. 4. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1957.
- Mullin, Molly H. *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Mulroy, Kevin, ed. *Western Amerykanski: Polish Poster Art and the Western* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).
- Nemerov, Alexander, "Doing the 'Old America.'" In *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier*, edited by William H. Truettner, 285–344. Washington, DC: Smithsonian/NMAA, 1991.
- New Mexico Tourism Department. "New Mexico True Brand." Accessed April 17, 2020. <https://www.newmexico.org/industry/work-together/nm-true-brand/>.
- Norcini, Marilyn. "The Political Process of Factionalism and Self-Governance at Santa Clara Pueblo, New Mexico." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 4 (Dec. 2005): 544–90.

- O'Hern, John. "In Every Room: A Story of the Art—Highlights of the Art at La Fonda." Santa Fe: La Fonda on the Plaza, 2012. Accessed January 12, 2020. [www.lafondasantafe.com](http://www.lafondasantafe.com).
- . "The Inn at the End of the Trail." *Western Art Collector* 52 (December 2011), 52.
- Ohmann, Richard. "Diverging Paths: Books and Magazines in the Transition to Corporate Capitalism." In *A History of the Book in America, Vol. IV, Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940*, edited by Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, 102–15. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Oppenheim, Ramsey. "1921—a Year of Achievement." *Western Advertising* 3, no. 12 (January 1922): 7–8.
- Parks, Charles E. "City of Santa Fe Reenacts Stirring Deeds of the Conquistadores: This Year's Celebration Firmly Established the Santa Fe Fiesta as One of the Most Beautiful Historical Pageants in the United States." *Santa Fe Magazine* XIV, no. 12 (November 1920): 20–32.
- Penfield, Edward. "The Ancestry of the Coach." *Outing Magazine* 38, no. 4 (July 1901): 363–68.
- . "Introduction" and "Preface." In *Posters in Miniature*, by Percival Pollard, n.p. New York: R. H. Russell & Son, 1896.
- . *Spanish Sketches*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911.
- Petersen, Karen Daniels. *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.
- Ponce de Leon, Charles L. *Self-Exposure: Human Interest Journalism and the Emergence of Celebrity in America, 1890–1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- "Posters Advertise Santa Fe De Luxe Train." *The Poster* 4, no. 5 (January 1914): 17–18.
- Powell, Kirsten H. "Cowboy Knights and Prairie Madonnas: American Illustrators of the Plains and Pre-Raphaelite Art." *Great Plains Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 39–52.
- Price, C. Matlack. "The Cat and the Poster: The Varied Moods of Varied Cats from Mr. Penfield's Studio." *Arts & Decoration* 2, no. 1 (Sept. 1912): 392–93.
- Price, Charles Matlack. *Posters: A Critical Study in the Development of Poster Design in Continental Europe, England, and America*. New York: G. W. Bricka, 1913.
- Prown, Jules David. *Discovered Lands, Invented Pasts: Transforming Visions of the American West*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Reed, Walt. *Harold von Schmidt Draws and Paints the Old West*. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1972.
- Rennert, Jack. *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West*. New York: Darien House, 1976.
- Repp, Thomas Arthur. *Route 66: The Romance of the West*. Lynnwood, WA: Mock Turtle Press, 2002.
- Russell, Don. *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979.

- Russell, Don. *The Wild West: or, A History of Wild West Shows*. Ft. Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970.
- Rydell, Robert W., and Rob Kroes. *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869–1922*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Samuels, Peggy, and Harold Samuels. *Frederic Remington: A Biography*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982.
- . *The Illustrated Biographical Encyclopedia of Artists of the American West*. New York: Doubleday, 1976.
- Scott, Sascha. “Unwrapping Ernest L. Blumenschein’s *The Gift*.” *American Art* 25, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 20–47.
- Semple, Elizabeth Anna. “Successful Californians in New York: Sculptors, Painters, Illustrators, Newspaper Men, and Authors.” *Overland Monthly* LX, no. 2 (August 1912): 105–16.
- Serwer, Jacquelyn Days. “The American Artistic Poster of the 1890s.” PhD diss., City University of New York, 1980.
- Siegriest, Louis B. Interview by Paul Karlstrom. Oakland, CA, April 5, 1975. Transcript. Archives of American Art Oral History Collection, Smithsonian Institution.
- Slaughter, Erol R. “‘Indian’ Miller, Artist, and Copywriter.” *Western Advertising* 4, no. 2 (March 1922): 7.
- Slautterback, Catharina. *Chromo-mania! The Art of Chromolithography in Boston, 1840–1910*. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 2012.
- Smith, Thomas Brent. “Old Timer and Friend Dixon.” *True West Magazine*. September 25, 2010. Accessed April 13, 2020. <https://truwestmagazine.com/old-timer-and-friend-dixon/>.
- Sizer, Sandra. “Politics and Apolitical Religion: The Great Urban Revivals of the Late Nineteenth Century.” *Church History* 48, no. 1 (March 1979): 81–98.
- Sonstegard, Adam. *Artistic Liberties: American Literary Realism and Graphic Illustration, 1880–1905*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2014.
- Splete, Allen P., and Marilyn D. Splete, eds. *Frederic Remington: Selected Letters*. New York: Abbeyville Press, 2005.
- Sturken, Marita. *Practices of Looking: An Introduction to Visual Culture*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Sweet, Jill. *Dances of the Tewa Pueblo Indians*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1985.
- Taraba, Frederic. *Methods of the Masters: Edward Penfield, the Power of Simplicity*. New York: Step by Step Graphics, 1993.

- Taylor, Charles R. and Weih Chang. "The History of Outdoor Advertising Regulation in the United States." *Journal of Macromarketing* 15, no. 1 (1995): 47–59.
- "The Advertising of Savage Tires." *Motor West*. December 15, 1920, 76.
- "The Poster Craze." Advertisement. *Overland Monthly* XXVIII, no. 163 (July 1896): 1.
- Trachtenberg, Alan. *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. 25th anniversary ed. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.
- [Treviso, Louis]. "Western Commercial Art." *Western Advertising* 2, no. 12 (January 1921): 29.
- Triggs, Teal. "Graphic Design History: Past, Present, and Future." *Design Issues* 27, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 3–6.
- Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, Vol. I*. Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1911.
- . *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History, Vol. II*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1912.
- . *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital*. Santa Fe: New Mexican Publishing Corporation, 1925.
- , ed. *The City Different: Descriptive Guide to Santa Fe and Vicinity*. Santa Fe: Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, n.d. (ca. 1921).
- Van Toorn, Jan. "Design and Reflexivity." In *Graphic Design Theory*, edited by Helen Armstrong, 102–6. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009.
- Vorpahl, Ben Merchant. *Frederic Remington and the West: With the Eye of the Mind*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978.
- Wallace, Grant. "Maynard Dixon, 1875–1946." Unpublished typescript. W.P.A. Federal Writers' Project, 1937. Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.
- Wallis, Michael. *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000.
- Warren, Louis S. *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.
- Watson, Jim. "Design School: Setting the State: Some Fundamental Lessons of Design." Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.jamesrobertwatson.com/index.html>.
- Weiss, Alexandra Davis. "The Artist-as-Celebrity: Picturing Artistic Fame in Vanity Fair, Vogue, and Harper's Bazaar Magazines, 1921–1951." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2012.
- Wenger, Tisa. "Land, Culture, and Sovereignty in the Pueblo Dance Controversy." *Journal of the Southwest* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 381–412.
- "Western Advertising's Gravure Section." *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921): [27–34].

White, Mark, and Hadley Jerman. *Ticket to Ride: Artists, Designers, and Western Railways*. Norman, OK: Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, 2016.

Wilczak, Susan A. "The Posters of Edward Penfield for Harper's New Monthly Magazine: A Reflection of American Society in the 1890s." Master's thesis. Michigan State University, 1996.

Wilson, Chris. *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.

Zega, Michael. "Advertising the Southwest." *Journal of the Southwest* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): 281–315.

Zega, Michael E., and John Gruber. *Travel by Train: The American Railroad Poster, 1870–1950*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Appendix – Figures

CHAPTER 1



**Figure 1.1.** Alick P. F. Ritchie, Weiners, Paris, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Col. W. F. Cody*, lithograph, 1905.

Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, 1.69.128c.



Figure 1.2. Weiners C. H. Wall, *Buffalo Bill: Je Viens*, lithograph, April 2, 1905.  
Ink on paper, 35 × 39 ¾ in., Gift of Howard and Janice Tibbals, 2017.

Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Tibbals Collection, Sarasota, FL, ht2003946.





Figure 1.3. *Advertising Railroad Car #1*, Photoprint, [1885–1900?].

Salsbury Collection, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Denver Public Library, NS-236.  
<https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/29/rec/1>.

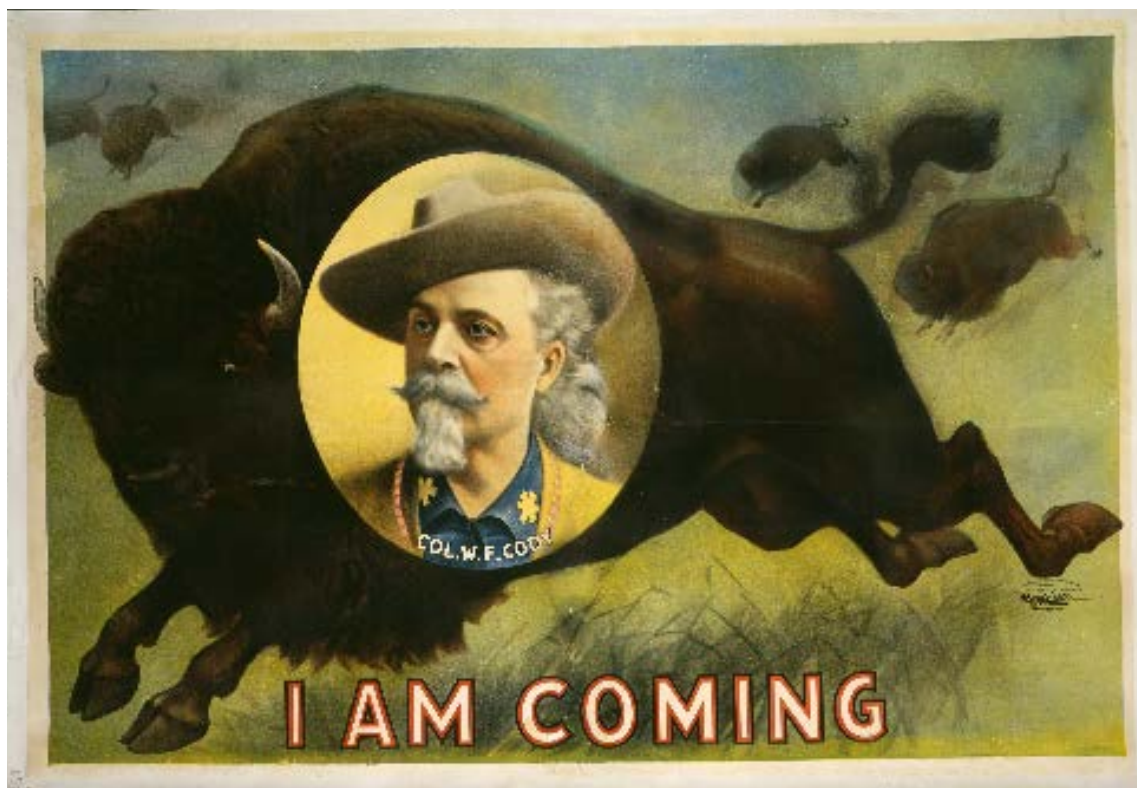


Figure 1.4. Courier Lithography Co., *I Am Coming*, lithograph, 1900.

Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, 1.69.4922b.



**Figure 1.5.** Bien & Co., *Buffalo Bill: I Am Coming*, lithograph, 1898.  
Ink on paper, 28 ½ × 42 in. Gift of Howard and Janice Tibbals, 2017.

Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Tibbals Collection, Sarasota, FL, ht2003943.



**Figure 1.6.** A. Hoen & Co., after Henry Atwell Thomas (1834–1904),  
*Col. W. F. Cody "Buffalo Bill,"* lithograph, ca. 1888.

Buffalo Bill Online Archive, MS6, William F. Cody Collection,  
Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Gift of The Coe Foundation, Cody, WY.



**Figure 1.7.** Charles E. Stacy, *W. F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody*, cabinet card, ca. 1895.  
<https://www.theantiquarium.com/item/003924/wf-buffalo-bill-cody-original-cabinet-card>.



**Figure 1.8.** Mayes, Roylance, and Purcell, *I Am Coming*, woodcut portrait of P. T. Barnum, printed in two colors, 36 × 36 in., 1875–1879.

Hertzberg Circus Collection of the Witte Museum, San Antonio, Texas.



**Figure 1.9.** Unidentified artist, Enquirer Printing Co., *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (*Virginia Reel on Horseback*), gouache [?], ca. 1900.

Litho Art Collection, Robert L. Parkinson Research Library, Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI, 2009.24.27.



**Figure 1.10.** Unidentified artist, Enquirer Printing Co., *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, [gouache], ca. 1900.

Litho Art Collection, Robert L. Parkinson Research Library, Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI, 2009.24.28.

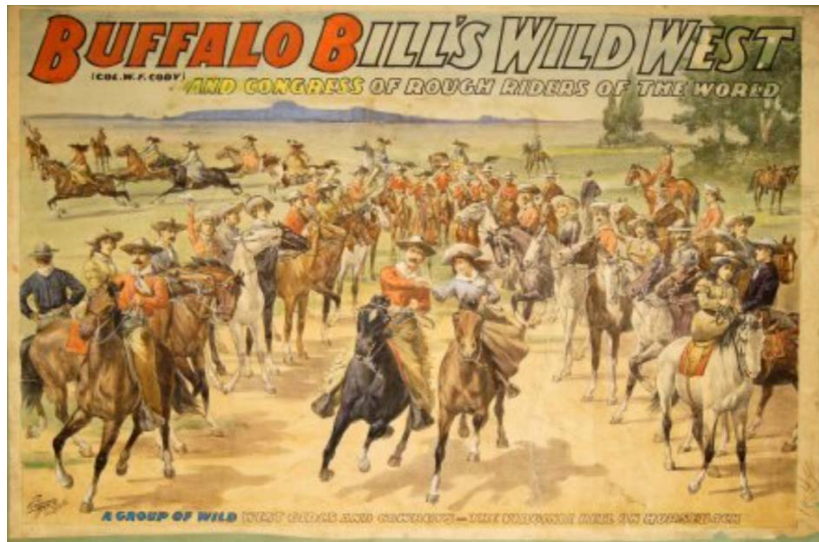


Figure 1.11. Enquirer Job Printing Co., *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, painting, ca. 1897.

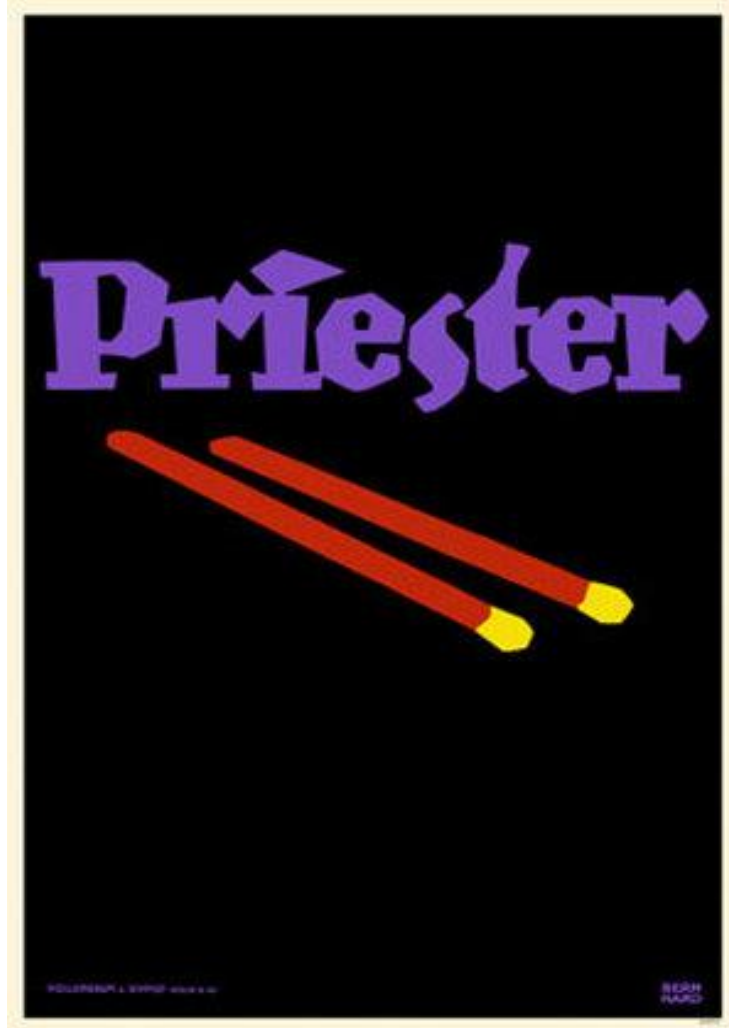
Litho Art Collection, Robert L. Parkinson Research Library, Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI, 2009.24.41.



Figure 1.12. Chaix, Paris, *Danse Des Cowboys A Cheval*, lithograph, 1905.

Published in Jack Rennert, *100 Posters of Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Darien House, 1976), plate 46.





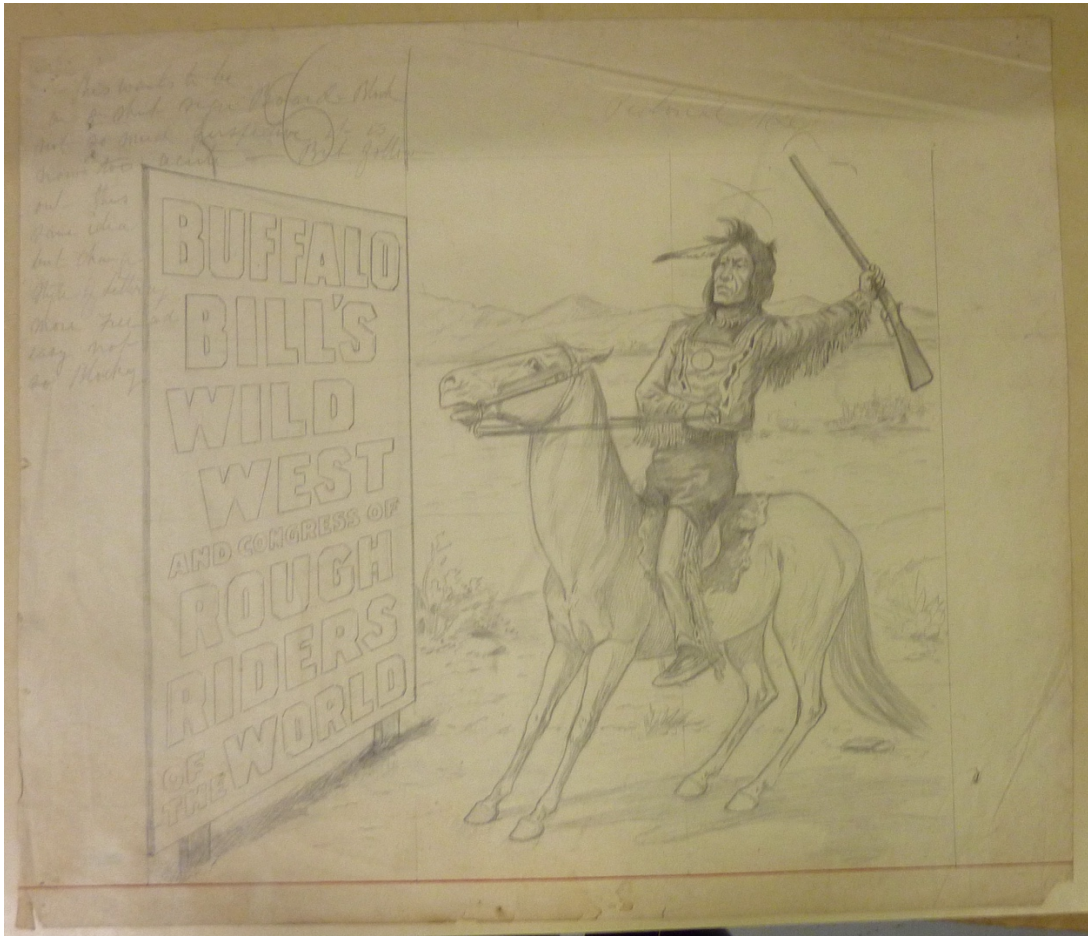
**Figure 1.13.** Lucian Bernhard, *Priester*, 1915 (reprint of 1905 poster), color lithograph, Hollerbaum & Schmidt, Berlin.

<http://collection-online.museum-folkwang.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&siteId=1&module=collection&objectId=30442&viewType=detailView&lang=en>



**Figure 1.14.** Strobridge Lithographing Co., *Buffalo Bill: Here We Are!*, ink on paper, 1908, 29 × 38 ¼ in. Gift of Howard and Janice Tibbals, 2017.

Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Tibbals Collection, Sarasota, FL, ht2003925.



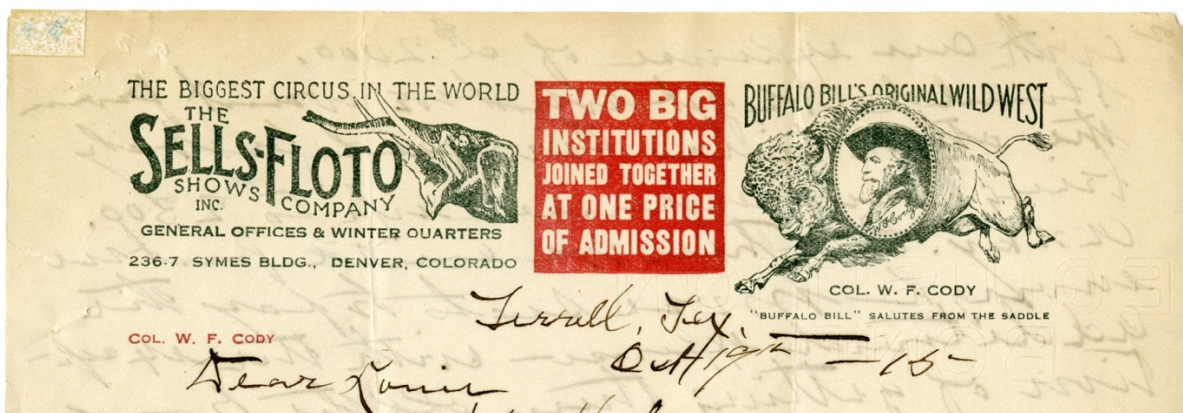
**Figure 1.15.** Enquirer Job Printing Co., *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, drawing, ca. 1900.

Litho Art Collection, Robert L. Parkinson Research Library, Circus World Museum, Baraboo, WI, 2009.22.19.



**Figure 1.16.** U.S. Lithograph Co., Russell-Morgan Print, *Buffalo Bill's Original Wild West Sells-Floto Circus*, 1914.

Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, 1.69.362.



**Figure 1.17.** Detail, *W. F. Cody to Louis Cooke on Sells-Floto letterhead*, Oct. 15, 1915.

Image courtesy of The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art Archives, Tibbals Circus Collection of Cooke Correspondence, Sarasota, FL.



**Figure 1.18.** Weiners, Paris, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Deux Foix Par Jour (Deadwood Stage)*, 1905.

Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, 1.69.6022a.



**Figure 1.19.** Jules Chéret, Chaix, *Musée Grévin Souvenir de l'Exposition*, 1890.

Published in Réjane Bargiel and Ségolène Le Men, eds *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret: De l'affiche au Décor* (Paris: Museum of Decorative Arts, 2010), plate 598.



**Figure 1.20.** Mario Cetto, *La Rana nel Wild West* (*The Bullfrog in the Wild West*), 1906.

Buffalo Bill Museum, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, 1.69.464b.

CHAPTER 2



**Figure 2.1.** Edward Penfield, *Pony Tracks*, *Written and Illustrated by Frederic Remington*, color lithograph, 1895.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, LC-USZC4-2436, <https://lccn.loc.gov/93503160>.





**Figure 2.2.** Edward Penfield, *Joan of Arc by the Most Popular Magazine Writer Begins April Harper's*, color lithograph, Harper and Brothers, 1895.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, LC-DIG-ppmsca-12518 DLC, <https://lccn.loc.gov/2006685390>.

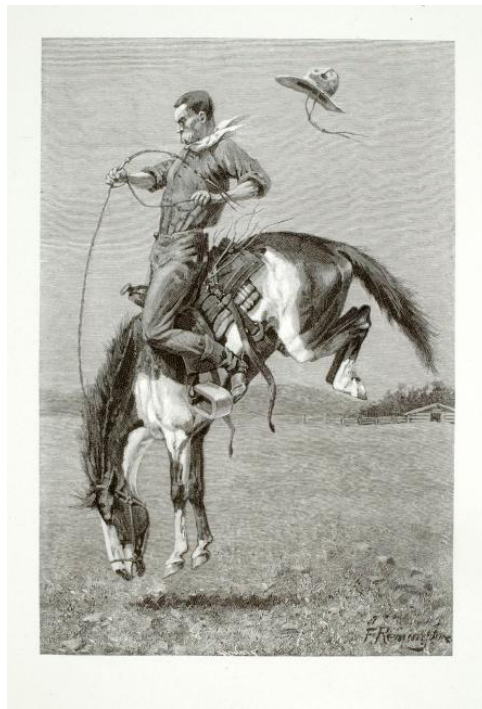


**Figure 2.3.** Eugène Grasset (1841–1917), Drageur & Lesieur, *Jeanne d’Arc*, color lithograph, ca. 1889–1890.

Victoria and Albert Museum, Gift of Mrs J. T. Clarke, London, England, E. 189-1921.



**Figure 2.4.** Edward Penfield, *Harper's July*, zinc etching, 1894. 18 x 12 ½ in., Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY, 805.1983.



**Figure 2.5.** Frederic Remington, *A Bucking Broncho*, in Theodore Roosevelt, *Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail* (New York: The Century Co., 1899), 40.



**Figure 2.6.** Calhoun Print, *Buffalo Bill Wild West: A Bucking Broncho*, ca. 1885.  
Ink on paper, 42 × 29 in. Gift of Howard and Janice Tibbals, 2016.

Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Tibbals Collection, Sarasota, FL, ht2003888.



**Figure 2.7.** Screenshot from William Heise Camera Inc., Thomas A. Edison, and Hendricks, *Bucking Broncho* (United States: Edison Manufacturing Co., 1894), Video.

Library of Congress, Hendricks (Gordon) Collection, edmp.4029,  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4EIIgwFPzqU>.



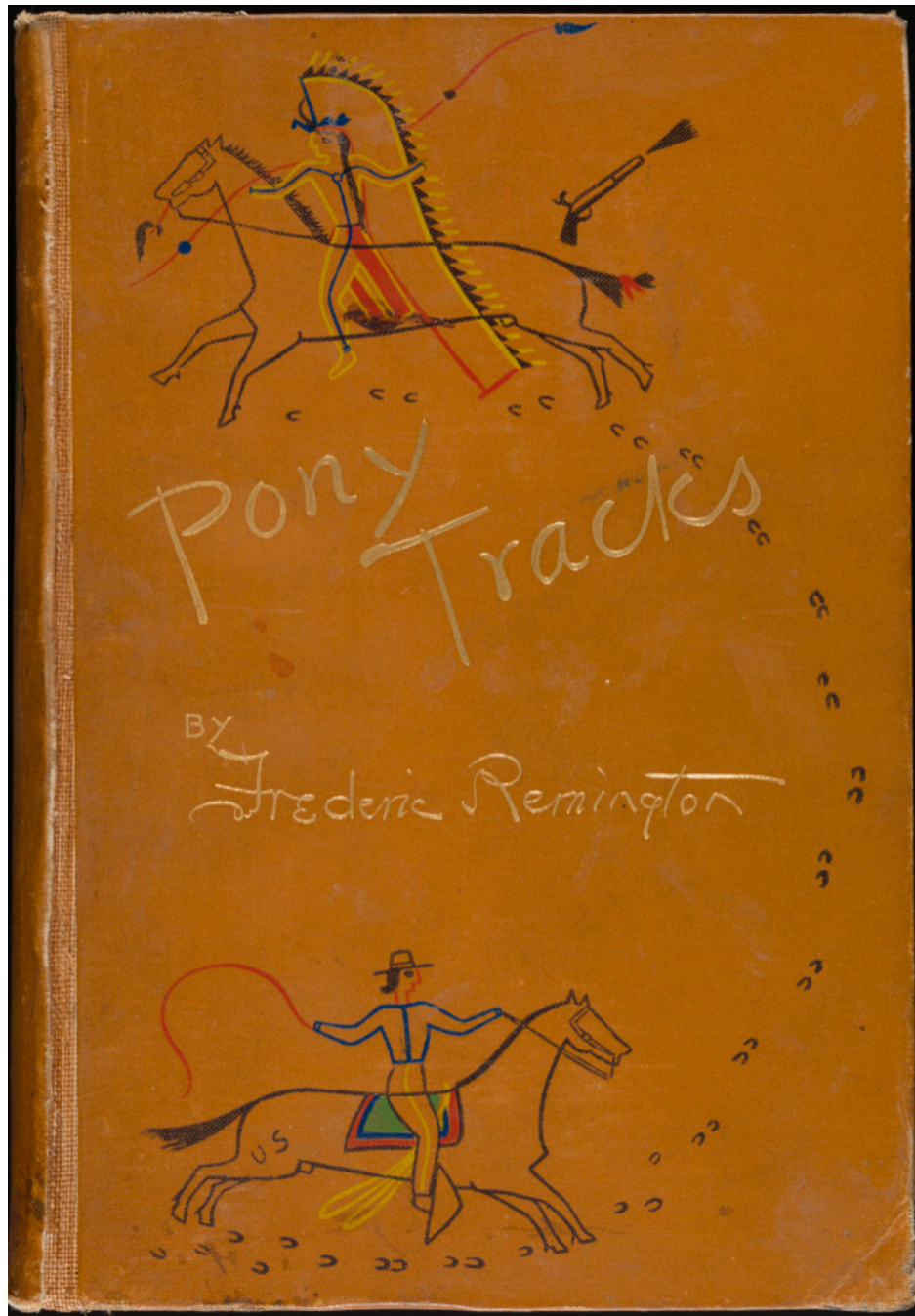
**Figure 2.8.** Charles E. Stacy Studio, *Angus McPhee, Lee Martin, Gus Uhl*, Photograph, [1894?].

Denver Public Library Digital Collections, Salsbury collection, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, album 4, NS-621.  
<https://digital.denverlibrary.org/digital/collection/p15330coll22/id/79349>



**Figure 2.9.** Unidentified photographer, *Artist sketching cowboy subject at Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, photograph, 1895–1905.

William F. Cody Collection, MS 006, McCracken Research Library, Buffalo Bill Center of the West, P.6.0191d.



**Figure 2.10.** Harper and Brothers, *Pony Tracks*, 1895.  
Photo by the author.

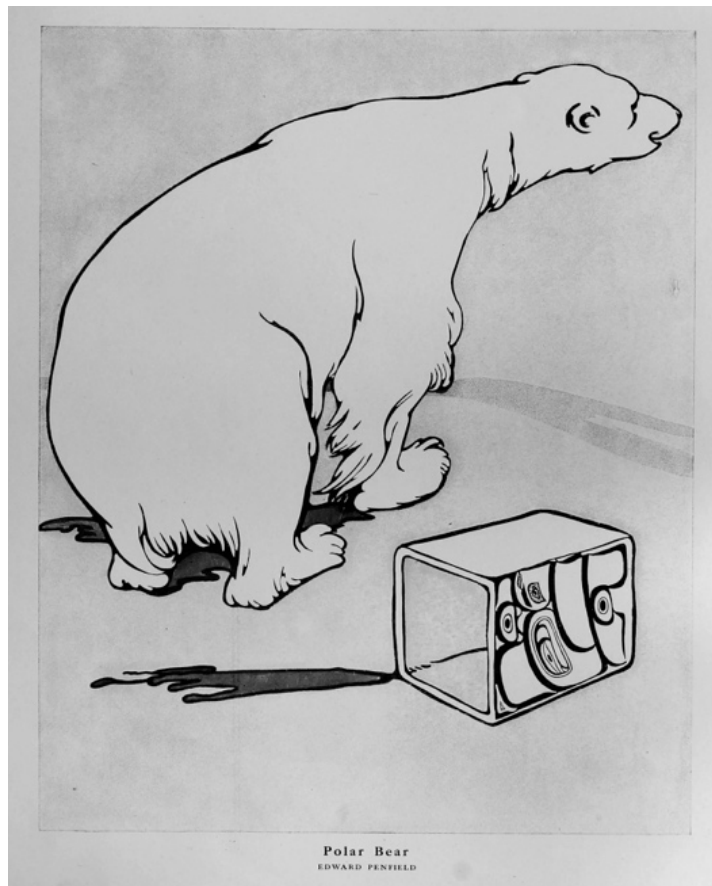




**Figure 2.1.** George de Forest Brush, *The Picture Writer's Story (The Picture Writer)*, oil on canvas, ca. 1884. Anschutz Collection, Denver, CO.



**Figure 2.12.** Edward Penfield, "Lord of the North," *Collier's* (April 6, 1907), front cover.



**Figure 2.13.** Edward Penfield, *Polar Bear* in *American Art by American Artists* (New York: PF Collier and Son, 1914): [n.p.].



**Figure 2.14.** Tlingit, Chilkat, *Brown Bear Box*, n.d.  
North American Ethnographic Collection, American Museum of Natural History #19/1285.  
Images courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History.

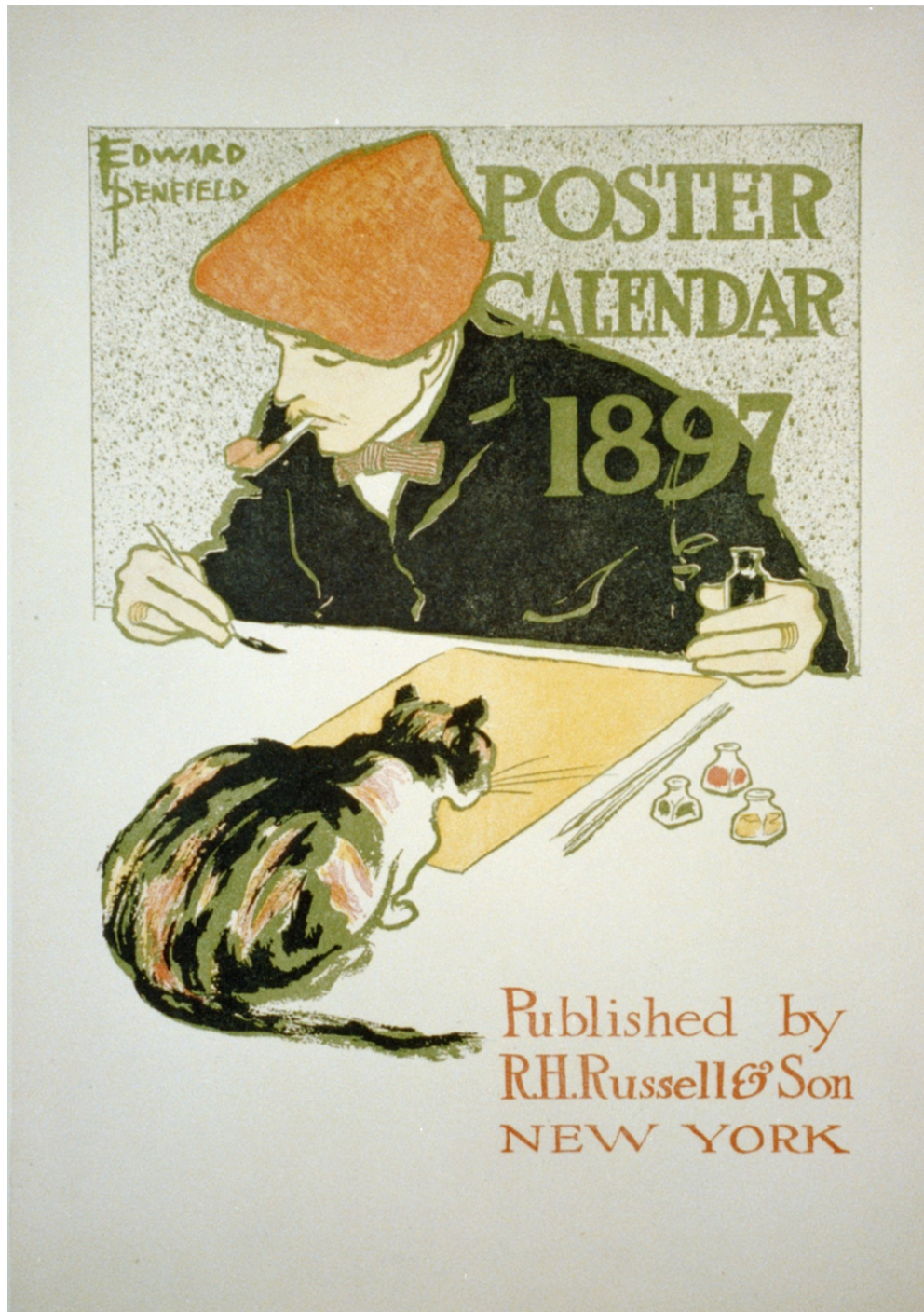


Figure 2.15. Edward Penfield, *Poster Calendar*, lithograph, 1897.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, POS-US.P452, no. 112, <https://lccn.loc.gov/99472281>.



**Figure 2.16.** Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, *Two Cats*. *Poster for an Exhibition of works drawn and painted by T. A. Steinlen, A. La Bodinière*, color lithograph, 1894.

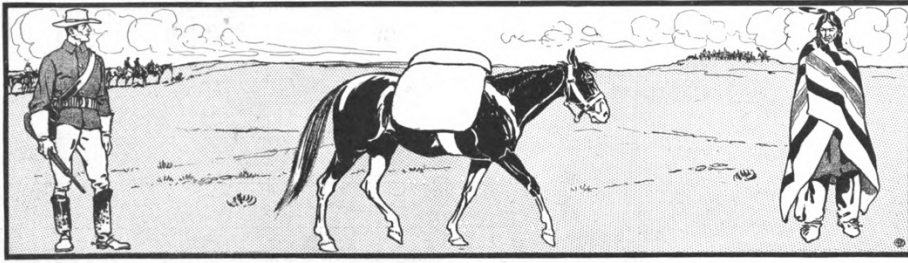
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA, Bequest of W. G. Russell Allen, 60.744.  
<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/165700/two-cats-a-la-bodiniere-18-rue-st-lazare-exposition-de-l>.



**Figure 2.17.** Edward Penfield, *Harper's for November*, color lithograph, 1895.

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, POS-US.P452, no. 52, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015646453/>.

COPYRIGHT 1902 BY F. P. COLLIER &amp; SON



## THE STRATEGY OF THE BLANKET PONY

By FREDERIC REMINGTON, Author of "Pony Tracks," "Crooked Trails," etc.

WITH A HEADPIECE BY EDWARD PENFIELD AND A DOUBLE-PAGE ILLUSTRATION BY THE AUTHOR



**I**N THE OLD DAYS when your Uncle Samuel was trying to teach Sioux Indians with infantry, just the same as John Bull is now hunting Boers, Bill Burton was an aged captain in a regiment of foot. He was as I have said, up in years, and it took a good bit of belting to go round his middle. He had intelligence enough, as the result of many years of soldiering, to know that General Walkieap, who was in command, wasn't likely to catch any Indians when the Indians did not want to be caught. Almost every day, though, the Sioux used to select favorable spots from which advantage they pulled at the plod-

ding soldiers, and were gone on their rushing ponies before they could be brought to seriousness. Far out from the sides of the wagon-train plodded the dough-boys in extended order, with loaded rifles, eagerly scanning every cut-bank and sage-bush field for an Indian jack-in-the-box. Old General Walkieap, as we will call him, was a tremendously energetic man, grown old in war, with quite too much confidence in the legs of men. Fighting flies was very expediting to him. So day by day, including Sundays, he followed his long jaw into the heart of the Sioux buffalo range, leaving white signs many hundred miles in his rear. The angry redmen redoubled their efforts to arrest his progress—they yelled and they circled, potted and vollied, and they burned the dry grass ahead of him, but they never rode over his thin blue line to the sugar and coffee vats, which rattled and creaked between. That was not their way, which was unfortunate for them. They knew that the dismounted soldiers could not run away, and that they would die desperately. The flour and coffee were too dear for the Sioux market.

Well, out in the van rode the General, grim and determined, quite forgetful of men's legs in his purpose to come to close quarters, or to at least come to the heart of their hunting range. Captain Bill Burton had water blisters on his feet, his cautions was always dry, and he longed for a day's let-up, so he might wash, shave and lie quietly on his back with his pipe in his mouth "inviting his soul."

"There are those—Indians now," he said to his trusty lieutenant, Dick Van Niek. "Steady, men! Close up your intervals. Don't fire! Let them come closer."

Down through the dry washes sped the warriors—bearing hawk-like, veering before the steady rifles and away. Again the dusty blue line stepped forward.

Captain Burton and General Walkieap had, in times gone by but not forgotten, had their personal differences, and they were by no means admirers of each other. They seldom came nearer than they officially led to.

"If the old men would stop for a day or so once a month these Indians might give us an infantry fight. We travel so fast they can't make up their minds what to do," remarked the vinegary Burton to Van Niek.

"Yes," replied Van Niek with a deep sigh. "Say, Uncle Bill, I wonder if angels have big leather armchairs to sit in? That would pretty near fill my idea of heaven."

"How the angels, Dick. If I could only be a major and ride a horse, that would do."

"Well, anyhow, Uncle Bill," spoke Dick, "when we get into camp we have our little nips, while the other fellows are as dry as their belt-plates. What?"

"Yes, yes, my son—if only our fellows don't get onto us. If they do, our whiskey will last five the Irishman's—pretty damn quick."

On the start of the expedition against the hostile Indians of the Northwest the old General had, with intent to free his cooled wagons from useless loads, ordered all the whiskey off behind. He had made the officers cache their personal belongings, only allowing each one as much as he could hold in his right hand. But Burton and Van Niek had bought blanket pony, which did not intrude on the government transportation, and had more bedding than would otherwise have been possible. At least that was the natural theory, when as a matter of fact in the blanket panniers were two large jugs of rare rye whiskey, carefully packed and swaddled. The column had not tolled many days before our worthies became aware that they were the only people in the camp who had any of the encouraging medicine. The blanket pony was tied behind a wagon by day, and at evening halts the captain and lieutenant personally unpacked him.

They had by almost superhuman shrewdness and painstaking care managed to conceal the fact that they had a "nightcap" and an "eye-opener" at the respective times each day. There were occasional rumors among their comrades in arms to the effect that Captain Bill and his trusted Bumkie smelled of the "old thing," but they dissembled and denied. Many weary leagues lay between their cantinas of rye and a further supply, so they did not blame themselves for the selfish protection of their possession. Two jugs were enough for them personally, but among so many officers, if it were known, they would soon be drained.

Along through the buffalo grass and the gray sage tramped the soldiers—bearded and dusty and bored. Far out on the plains they could see at times their wolfish following, but they did not come near enough to give them the relaxation of a fight. At night, to be sure, they came to shoot into the camps and wagons, keeping the men awake. They made very delicate work for the pickets in the darkness, also for the officer of the guard who had to go stumbling about in the gloom. All of this expediented the men, and particularly the old General, whose ideas of war had been gathered at such places as Chapultepec and the Death Angle. He longed to get at them; he yearned for contact with these desert hawks, and he pressed them as hard as his men could leg it or his mules be whacked along, but to no purpose. He left ambulances for them which they never fell into. He hunted them in the darkness and the rain; but they were hunters themselves. It became utterly discouraging, so he mentally gave it up and just marched. He ceased to be interested in his own strategy.

Every one else felt the same way. Every one had ceased to expect that the regiment would get any credit out of this cheerless war, and one day Van Niek said to Uncle Billy: "It does seem kind of low-down of us to husband that rum when we could use it in the interest of the regiment—don't it, now?"

"What do you mean, Dick? You don't dream of springing it on the fellows?"

"Oh, no, captain, that isn't my idea; my idea is to use it strategically."

"Use whiskey strategically?"

"Yes—give it to the Indians. It might make them fight."

"Ho, ho! I see. That's not a bad idea; but how? It's against orders to have it with us at all."

Dick thought a while, and, future general that he was to be, finally proposed that some day when they were in camp and well prepared they should drive the blanket pony out where the Indians could get him and rely on the whiskey to make the warriors brave. So their campaign was arranged, not without misgivings as to the possibility of so subtle a conjunction of red men and red liquor. It might be a powerful combination, or a weak one, but experience of the past said yes. Shortly the train made a day's resting halt. The mules had come in from grazing and were safe within the wagon corral. Well out on each four sides of the camp lay a battalion of infantry—deployed—loaded and tired of the monotony which their shifting enemies enforced. They could put no salt on the Sioux bird's tail.

Out to the north, on some low bluffs not five hundred yards away, a considerable body of warriors were squaring beside their ponies, observing the camp. They had no desire to come nearer; keeping watch, they could both see and understand. Being all ready and the time propitious, Uncle Billy Burton and his lieutenant led the poor old blanket pony outside the line of soldiers.

"Where the —— are you going with that pony, Burton?" sang out one of a group of officers who sat playing poker on the grass.

"Oh, I am going to exercise him. He don't get work enough," responded our merry strategist with a wink.

The game stopped. Some soldier lark ahead possibly. They might be amused, they hoped.

The two officers borrowed rifles and belts as they passed through the line. Lending the loaded pony, they marched forth toward the row of grotesque figures sitting on the bluffs. When this curious trio had advanced a hundred and fifty yards the warriors out in the rear began to growl and mount. Neither did they understand. The troops had never so maneuvered before. Was it a talk which was wanted, were the soldiers sick of the long drawn game or was it some desperate thoughtfulness? The Indians did not make it out. Neither did the waiting troops. They had never before seen two men leading a single pony out into the open between two forces bent on each other's destruction. It was not in the books; it had never been told around the winter fires.

With the alert willingness to take advantage of the chances, the Sioux quitted and kicked their ponies into a proper state of

anticipation of the game. The regulars sat up, spread their faces cheerfully and fingered their rifle sights up to the possible distances. Steadily the officers advanced on their curious adventure.

"Say, Uncle Bill, I think we had better stop; when they come we won't have much the best of a race back to the lines."

"All right—I think we are about right; but, Dick, I don't want this whiskey to come back on us. It won't do us a bit of good and may do us harm if the General gets onto it, and the boys would never let us hear the last of it. No! wait. Get your horse-shoes ready. Tie them on, but hold up his tail, and for —— sake, Dick, don't get him started the wrong way or we are dirt."

Lieutenant Van Niek proceeded quickly to tie a string of mule-shoes, which he had strung on some "whang" leather, to the blanket pony's tail. He wove it in tight and strong. Meanwhile the anxious Sioux had begun to circle and hover in their bird-of-prey fashion, confident of their mobility.

"Hurry up, Dick! The —— whelps will come soon. They will scare the pony back into the lines."

"All right, uncle—I have him fixed. Are you ready?"

"Yes—turn him loose."

This was one of those battles which had been thought out before it was begun, which seldom happens outside books. It was the soldier's idea—the real military idea; it was what the boys at West Point had studied when they tried their simple strategy on the Academy staff, that being, in cadet theory, the way to apply talent. The captain had the thin old calico pony, loaded with his two manners, turned toward the enemy. Dick raised the consecrated animal's tail and made a quick pass under it; he dropped the same suddenly; the string of mule-shoes clattered about its hooves; with his rifle he gave the beast a big whack and fired a cartridge over its back. The blanket pony's memories of patient treatment were all forgotten in this sudden movement of his gait.

He made off toward the rushing Sioux.

Turning toward their lines, the two officers ran for it—only looking back occasionally to see what the blanket pony was doing. He had run away about a hundred yards, but, upon seeing the charging Indian line, had stopped.

"Keep between the pony and our line so you won't shoot," called out the lieutenant.

This they did. The line held its fire, and the Indians rounded out the pony and bore it away.

Coming among their comrades, they were greeted with amazement. "What the —— are you doing?" "Burton, you must be crazy," etc.

"They certainly did get our pony," said Burton, grinning. "Why didn't you let them and let us fire over you?"

Was asked; but the pony strategists shed no light and walked away to speculate in quiet.

Again the soldiers lay down in groups along the line, and the poker game was resumed and wild conjectures as to Bill Burton's sanity. They could see a possible jig in giving up the old pony, though why sacrifice all those blankets now that winter was approaching? But mostly they gave it up.

The Indians had gone out of sight beyond the bluffs. "It won't take long before we will see what our combination of rye will produce." Chemically speaking, we ought to get a wild snap in twenty minutes or a half-hour," speculated Van Niek.

"See Bill—looking at the horizon through his glasses, Guess he's making medicine for the lost bronc," observed a poker player.

Time passed, when suddenly Captain Bill took down his glasses. "They are coming, Dick," and he ran forward.

"Attention! Get ready! Now we'll have the light of our lives, boys. Make no mistake now—they are coming home this time!" he yelled.

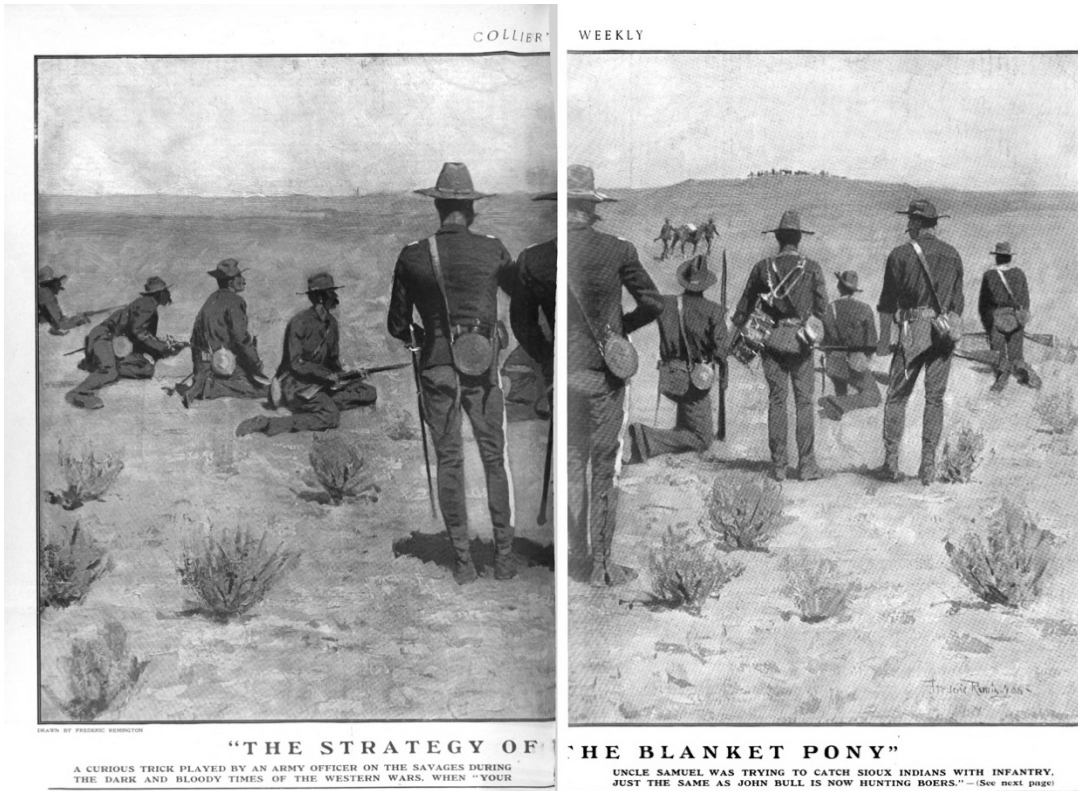
The line sprang to its knees; the officers drew their swords and stood to their places. Down the bluff and over the plain came the wild, charging line of warriors—scintillating bright reds and yellows and whites—revolvers and rifles going in the air—their shrill "yips" even reaching at this distance, and the ponies beating maddly. Now and then a warrior fell from his pony; and yet not a shot had been fired.

"Ready!—aim!—fire!" The gray lead sped; the blue smoke eddied out along the grass. "Load—ready!—aim!—fire!" and again sped the deadly volley. Faintly through the smoke the soldiers saw the swift line come. In fierce nervousness they picked at their belts, threw up and down the breech-blocks and poured it in. Ponies lay kicking all along behind the Indian squadron, but on they came. Many soldiers jammed their bayonets into the sockets, many clubbed their rifles, and some lay flat on the ground.

"They are coming home!" was yelled in the captain's ear

Figure 2.18. Collier's Weekly 28:18 (Feb. 1, 1902): 14.

Available from HathiTrust Digital Library:  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015036655762?urlappend=%3Bseq=458>



**Figure 2.19.** After Frederic Remington, *The Strategy of the Blanket Pony*, in *Collier's Weekly* 28, no. 18 (Feb. 1, 1902): 12–13.

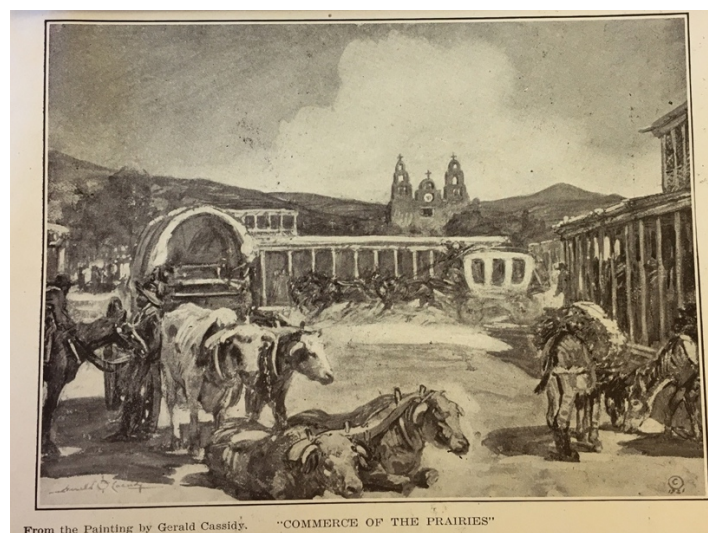
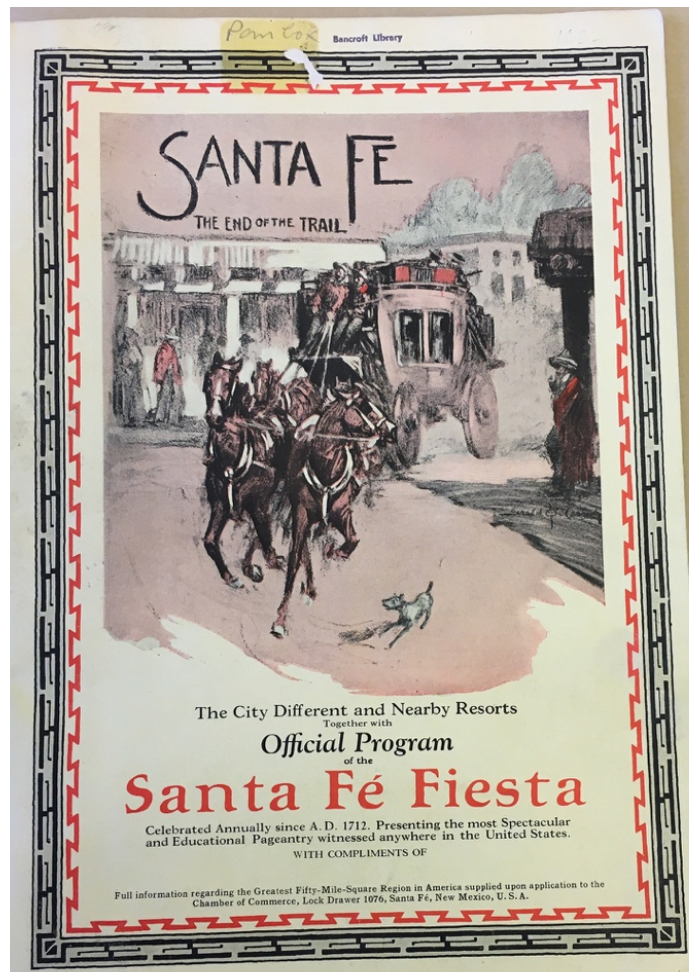
Available from HathiTrust Digital Library:  
<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015036655762?urlappend=%3Bseq=456>



CHAPTER 3



Figure 3.1. Gerald Cassidy, *Santa Fe Fiesta Posters*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Images courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.2.** 1922 Santa Fe Fiesta program featuring Cassidy's stagecoach illustration on the cover and his oil sketch, *Commerce of the Prairies* (1921), inside on p. [6]. Photos by the author.



Figure 3.3. Fred Harvey Co., *Santa Fe Fiesta* postcards and decorative cover, 1922.

Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1,  
 Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photos by the author.



**Figure 3.4.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy's original "Eagle Dancer" design, ca. April/May 1922, prior to the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company's acquisition of the series.

Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1,  
Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.



**Figure 3.5.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy's original "Shalako" design, ca. May 1922, prior to the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company's acquisition of the series.

Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1,  
Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.



**Figure 3.6.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy’s original “Entry of De Vargas” design, ca. April/May 1922, at left, with the modified El Tovar design at right, following the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company’s acquisition of the series.

Left: Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.

Right: Image courtesy La Fonda On the Plaza, Santa Fe, New Mexico.



**Figure 3.7.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy’s original “Franciscan Friar” design, ca. April/May 1922, at left, with the modified “Fray Marcos” design at right, following the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company’s acquisition of the series.

Left: Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.

Right: Gerald Cassidy, *Fray Marcos Poster*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Image courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.8.** Fred Harvey Co., after Gerald Cassidy, *Entry of De Vargas, Santa Fe Fiesta Postcard*, 1922.

Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library,  
University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.





LOS MATACHINES DANCER, SANTA FE FIESTA. From Painting by Gerald Cassidy.

**Figure 3.9.** Fred Harvey Co., after Gerald Cassidy, *Los Matachines Dancer, Santa Fe Fiesta Postcard*, 1922.

Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library,  
University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.



**Figure 3.10.** Hans Rudi Erdt (1883–1925), *Opel Poster*, 1911.

Public domain, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1911\\_Hans\\_Rudi\\_Erdt\\_Werbe-Plakat\\_f%C3%BCr\\_Opel\\_Friedrich\\_C.\\_Wagener\\_Grupenstra%C3%9F\\_4\\_Hannover.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1911_Hans_Rudi_Erdt_Werbe-Plakat_f%C3%BCr_Opel_Friedrich_C._Wagener_Grupenstra%C3%9F_4_Hannover.jpg).



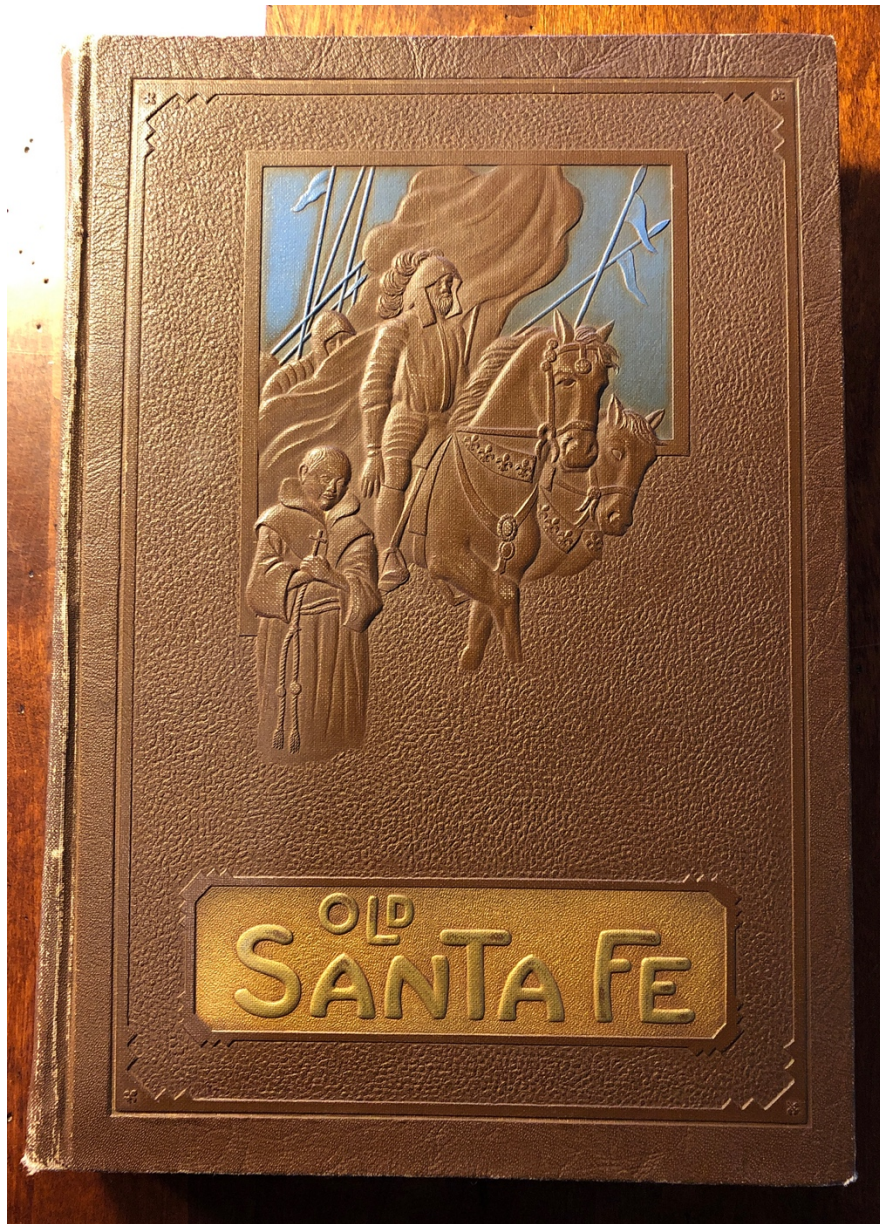
**Figure 3.11.** Gerald Cassidy, *El Tovar (Entry of De Vargas)*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Image courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.12.** Frederic Remington (1861–1909), *The Last Cavalier*, oil on board, 1895. Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Cody, WY, Gift of Lawrence H. Kyte, Jr., 02005.



**Figure 3.13.** Gerald Cassidy's murals for the Oñate Theater, *The Meeting of the Spaniards and the Indians at Zuni*, 1921, currently installed in the downtown Federal Building and Post Office in Santa Fe. Photos by the author, December 2019.



**Figure 3.14.** Gerald Cassidy's De Vargas poster embossed on the cover of Ralph Emerson Twitchell's *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Publishing Co., 1925).  
Photo by the author.



**Figure 3.15.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy's original "Santiago" design, ca. April/May 1922, at left, with the modified design at right, following the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company's acquisition of the series.

Left: Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.

Right: Gerald Cassidy, *Santiago Poster*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Image courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.16.** Gerald Cassidy, *Santiago*, lithograph, ca. 1922.

Eugene B. Adkins Collection, Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma, and the Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma





**Figure 3.17.** Gerald Cassidy, *Master of Ceremonies*, oil on canvas, 18 x 18 in., 1925.  
Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum, Canyon, Texas.



**Figure 3.18.** Underwood and Underwood, *Pueblos bring first protest since Lincoln*, photograph, ca. January 16, 1923. Left to right: Santiago Naranjo, Waihusing, James Miller, and Jesus Baca.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-05081,  
<https://www.loc.gov/item/2002712129/>.



**Figure 3.19.** Photograph of Gerald Cassidy's original "Buffalo Dancer" design, ca. April/May 1922, at left, with the modified design at right, following the Santa Fe Railway/ Fred Harvey Company's acquisition of the series.

Left: Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.

Right: Gerald Cassidy, *Buffalo Dancer*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Image courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.20.** Jules Chéret, Chaix, Paris, *Saxoléine Lamp Oil Poster*, 34 x 47 5/8 in., lithograph, 1900.

Published in Réjane Bargiel and Ségolène Le Men, eds *La Belle Époque de Jules Chéret: De l'affiche au Décor* (Paris: Museum of Decorative Arts, 2010), plate 1255.



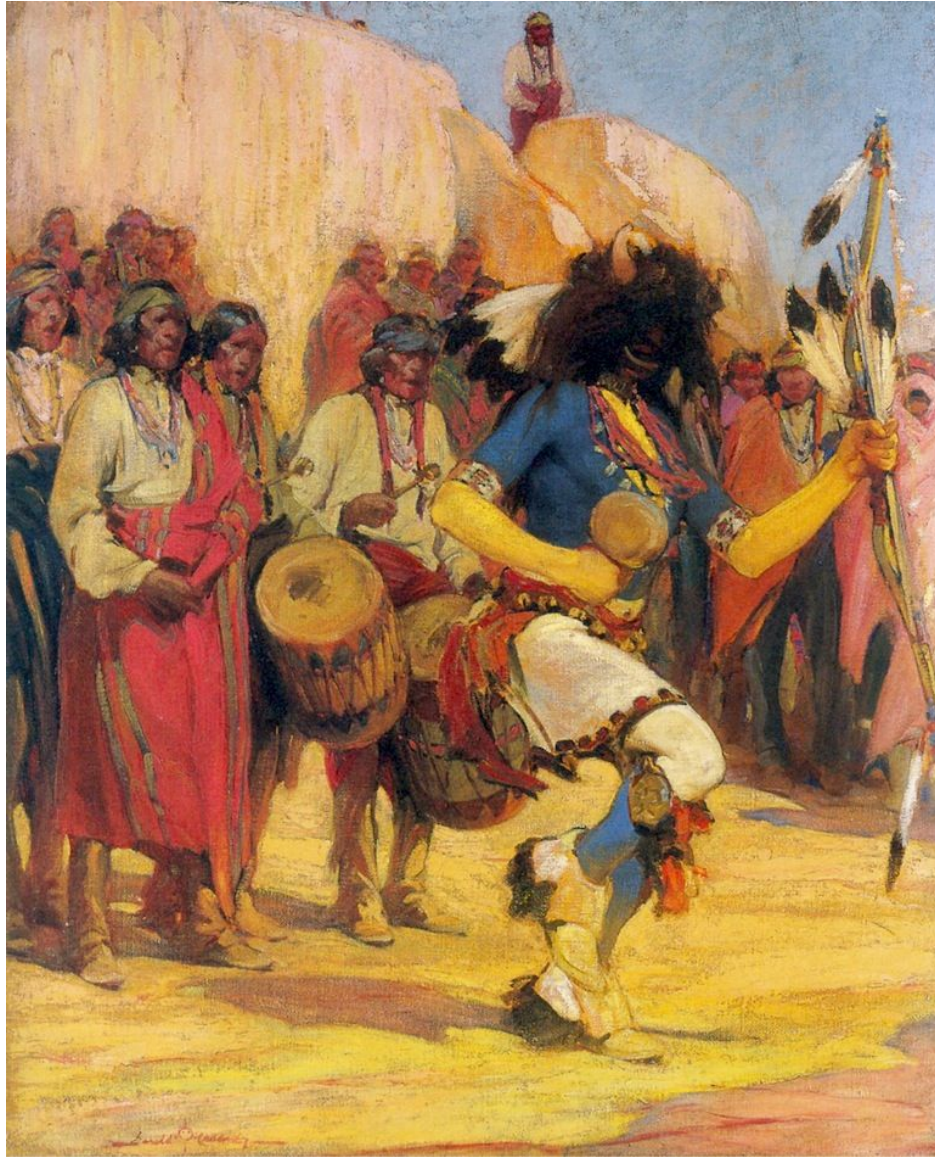
**Figure 3.21:** Left: *Photograph of Gerald Cassidy's original "Eagle Dancer" design, ca. April/May 1922, with the modified design at right, following the Santa Fe Railway/Fred Harvey Company's acquisition of the series.*

Left: Scrapbook, vol. 7, Carton 18, Cassidy Family Collection 67/1, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.

Right: Gerald Cassidy, *Eagle Dancer*, gouache on board [?], 1922. Collection of La Fonda on the Plaza, Santa Fe, NM. Image courtesy of La Fonda on the Plaza.



**Figure 3.22.** Gerald Cassidy, *The Eagles Dance*, San Ildefonso, oil on canvas, 1927. Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, OK, Gift of the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, 1955, 01.1611.



**Figure 3.23.** Gerald Cassidy, *The Buffalo Dancer*, oil on canvas, 1922.  
Anschutz Collection, Denver, Colorado.

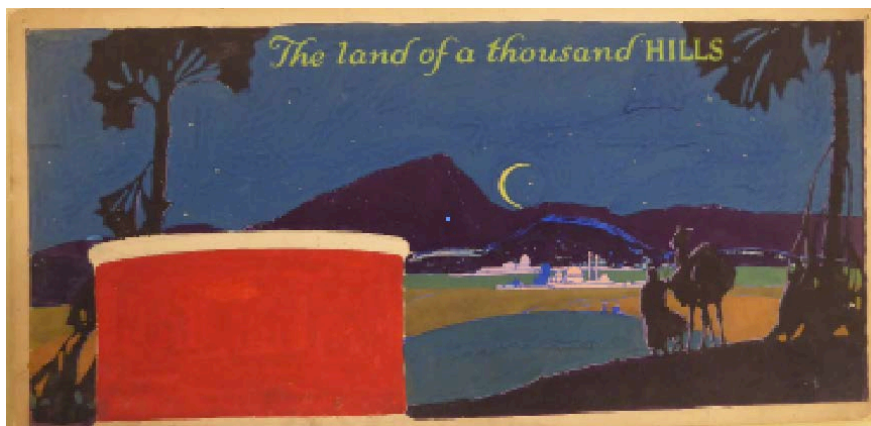
CHAPTER 4



**Figure 4.1.** Maynard Dixon, *Billboard Designs for Foster and Kleiser*, gouache sketch (top) and copy prints, ca. 1916–1921. Images courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, CA. Photos by the author.

After a design was selected, photographs like those above were used to reproduce the designs in newspapers and journals like *Western Advertising*.



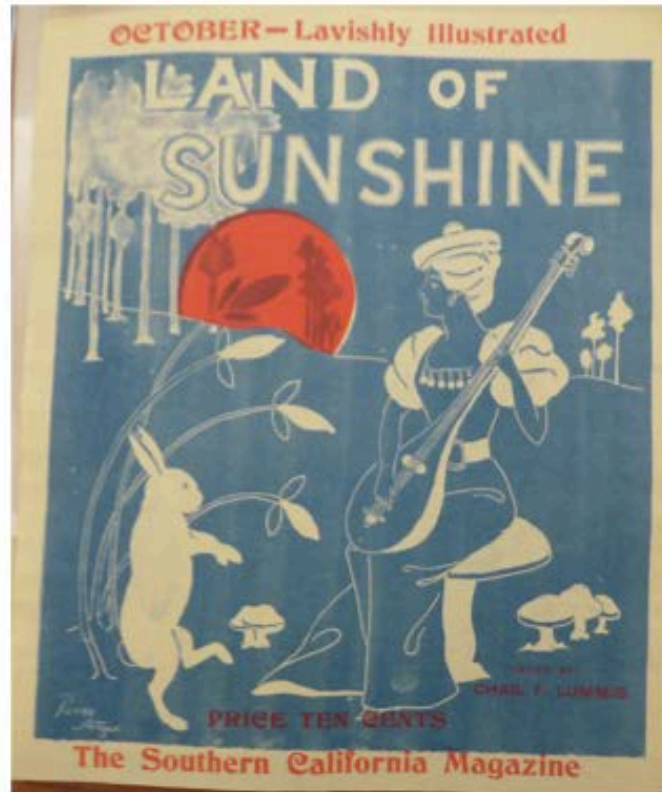


**Figure 4.2.** Maurice Del Mue, *Hills Bros. Billboard Designs*, gouache on illustration board, ca. 1917.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.23.8-10C; Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photos by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.



**Figure 4.3.** Maynard Dixon, *Overland July*, woodcut poster, ca. 1895.  
Art Poster Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Photo by the author.



**Figure 4.4.** *The Land of Sunshine Posters*, September–October, 1895.  
 Art Poster Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA. Photos by the author.



**SAVAGES  
INVADE**

**SAVAGE  
TIRES**

**and Grafinite Tubes**

Better tire and better tube values because **Savage Tires** are sold Direct from Factory to Consumer. No dealers' percentages are figured in our prices. The middleman's usual profit is all saved and added to the quality, so we can quote you low prices.

You get, in **Savage Tires**, extra mileage, as well as low prices—10,000 mile "Savages" are common; 20,000 mile "Savages" are not unusual. Adjustments are made on the basis of 4,500 miles—1,000 miles more than standard makes.

**Savage Tires and Tubes** are not new. They have well established reputations for mileage and quality. We have just received a full stock fresh from the factory and are well equipped in every way to take care of your tire needs.

**Ask For Tire Book**

*Factory Distributor:*

**Cooper Auto Supply Company**  
1137 Main Street Phone 1085

of f  
beat  
and  
full  
price  
urda

**Al**  
If Y  
Pri



\$3.  
Bea  
in a  
day  
\$2.  
in  
styl  
larg

Doz  
colc

The  
not  
Sat  
T  
Bea  
colc

with  
title  
spee

Ext  
itar  
for

Ext  
pric  
only

\$2  
You  
beat  
Net  
bore  
Pric  
day

Figure 4.5. H.C. McCann Co, *Savages Invade* [Savage Tires Print Ad], Richmond Palladium, Feb. 16, 1917.



**Figure 4.6 and detail:** Maynard Dixon, *Savage Tires*, copy print, [ca. 1920]  
Image courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.



**Figure 4.7.** Maynard Dixon, *Home of the Blackfeet*, oil on canvas, 1936.

Image: © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

## The Message of "Little Heap"

By CHARLES W. DUNCAN

"What do you stand for, Little Heap?" I heard a motorist say  
 To the little chief upon the sign that stands by the broad highway.  
 "Oh, why do you stand beside your tire, and smile but never sleep?  
 Come, little brave, speak up and tell me your story, Little Heap."  
 The Injun moved, stepped forth from the sign and down to the  
 broad highway,  
 And he raised his hand in the sign of peace, and here's what he had  
 to say:  
 "I've raised my hand in the sign of peace and I bring my pipe-smoke  
 deep."



I'll tell you the reason I stand by the road and they call me "Little  
 Heap":  
 I stand by the road in this sign of mine, and signal to drivers like you;  
 And I shout my message as you pass by, as a real good savage should  
 do.  
 I tell you I stand for the strongest tread that ever was worn by a tire;  
 I tell of mileage in store for you, and I shout it in letters of fire;  
 I tell of treads as tough as steel, that stand the gaff of the road,  
 And I tell of side-walls built with care, and of tubes that will carry the  
 "load."  
 I'm proud as I stand by the broad highway, with a "Savage" tread by  
 my side;

I'm proud, indeed, of my chieftain's blood, as I signal to you who drive,  
 For I stand for a tire that loves the road, with a tread that is black  
 and deep,  
 And behind my smiles are thousands of miles—so they call me  
 "Little Heap."  
 The Injun went back to his place in the sign, and the motorist  
 scratched his head,  
 And he thought of the Injun and he thought of the tire, and of all  
 "Little Heap" had said—  
 Then he drove into town, with his mind made up, that before he  
 would eat or sleep,  
 He'd equip his car, both front and rear, with the tires of Little Heap.

WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTORS OF  
**SAVAGE TIRES**  
 AND TUBES

**Muller Tire & Rubber Co.**  
 Oklahoma Distributors—Savage Tires  
 14 East Sixth St. Tulsa, Okla. AGENTS EVERYWHERE

Figure 4.8. *The Message of "Little Heap"* [Savage Tires print ad with Maynard Dixon illustration], *Tulsa World*, May 21, 1920, 15.



**Figure 4.9.** Maynard Dixon, *[Savage Tires]*, gouache on illustration board, ca. 1920.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.023-C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.



**Figure 4.10.** Maynard Dixon, *Savage Grafanite Inner Tubes*, gouache on illustration board, ca. 1920.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.23.6-C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.





**Figure 4.11.** Maynard Dixon, [*Savage Tires*], gouache on illustration board [and detail], ca. 1921.  
A note on the verso indicates that the design was used on January 17, 1922.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.23.5-C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.



**Figure 4.12.** Maynard Dixon, *The “Blackfoot” Tread Savage A “D” Type Tire*, gouache on illustration board, August 16, 1919.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.23.4-C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.

# SAVAGE in the Yosemite

**The Only Tire Used Exclusively for Two Consecutive Years**

Savage Tires have stood the test—they hold to-day the record of being the only pneumatic tire used exclusively for two consecutive years in Yosemite National Park.

Their performance on the rough, tire-consuming roads of Yosemite, on the forty-four stages of the Park Company in 1919, proved their worth, and now in 1920 the exclusive tire concession in the Park has again been awarded, against the competition of all other tire companies, to the Speckels "Savage" Tire Company of San Diego, California.

WHOLESALE DISTRIBUTORS OF  
**SAVAGE TIRES**  
AND TUBES

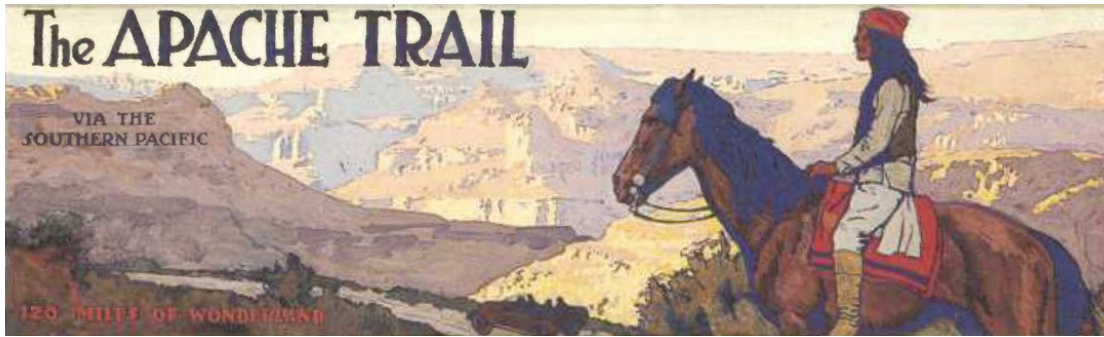
**The Speckels "Savage" Tire Company**  
Los Angeles Branch:  
406 West Pico Street

**Figure 4.13.** Maynard Dixon or Harold von Schmidt, "Savage in the Yosemite," *Los Angeles Evening Express*, May 29, 1920, 21.



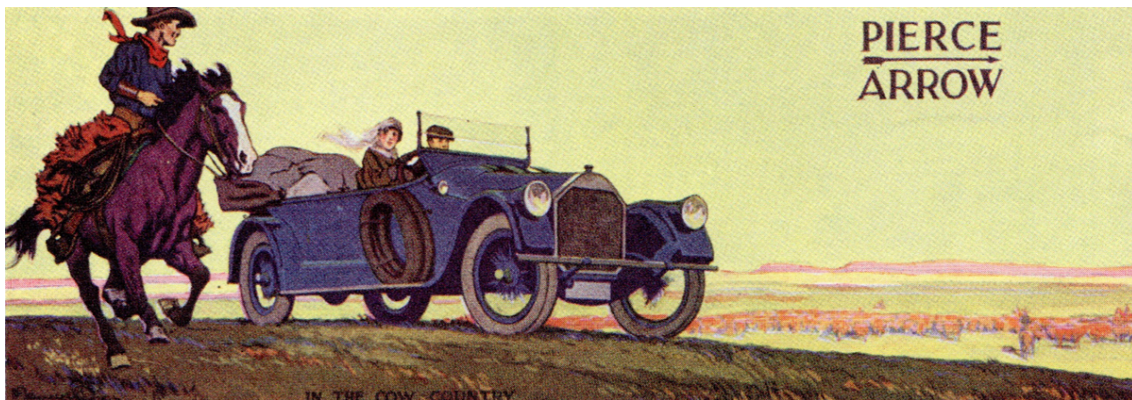
**Figure 4.14.** Unidentified Photographer, *State Street, Los Angeles*, ca. 1920.  
University of California-Los Angeles, digital collection.

Note Dixon's Savage Tires design at far left.



**Figure 4.15.** Maynard Dixon, *The Apache Trail Via the Southern Pacific*, 1917.  
Pencil, watercolor, and gouache on paperboard, 10  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 34 in.

Private collection. Published in Donald Hagerty, *The Life of Maynard Dixon*  
(Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 2010), 123.



**Figure 4.16.** Maynard Dixon, *Pierce-Arrow "In the Cow Country,"* print, ca. 1917.  
Courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.



**Figure 4.17, with detail:** Maynard Dixon, *Warriors*, oil on canvas, 1916. Private collection.



**Figure 4.18.** Maynard Dixon, *Spur Cigarettes*, gouache on illustration board, 1921.

Advertising Art Done for Foster and Kleiser, BANC PIC 1981.23.I—C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.



**Figure 4.19.** Maynard Dixon, *Saddle Horses Grazing*, oil on canvas, 20 x 74 in., 1922.

Private collection. Published in Donald Hagerty, *The Art of Maynard Dixon* (Layton, UT: Gibbs-Smith, 2010), 136–137.



**Figure 4.20.** Maynard Dixon (1875–1946), *Forgotten Man*, 1934, oil on canvas, 40 x 50 1/8 in. Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 1937.

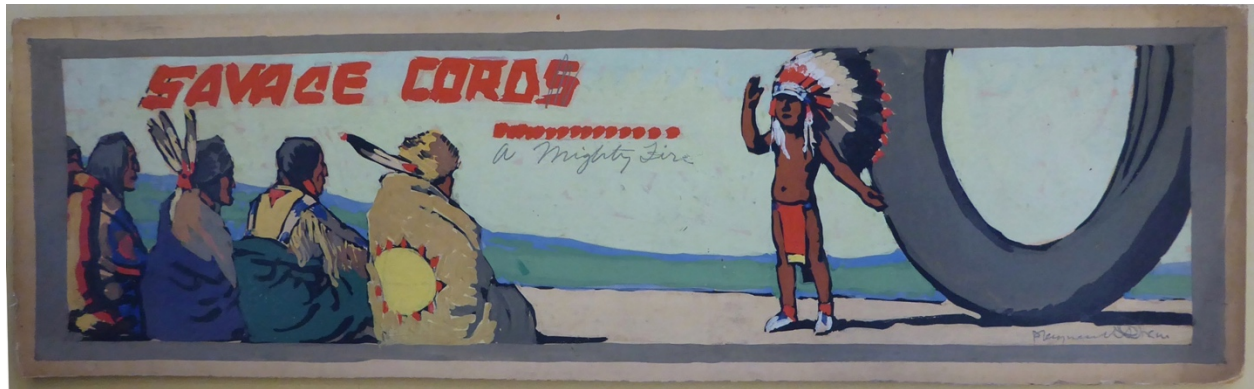


**Figure 4.20b:** Maynard Dixon, *The “Blackfoot” Tread*, gouache on illustration board, 1919

[image intentionally reversed]. BANC PIC 1981.23.4-C, Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley. Photo by the author. Image reproduced with permission of Clear Channel.

Note compositional similarity.





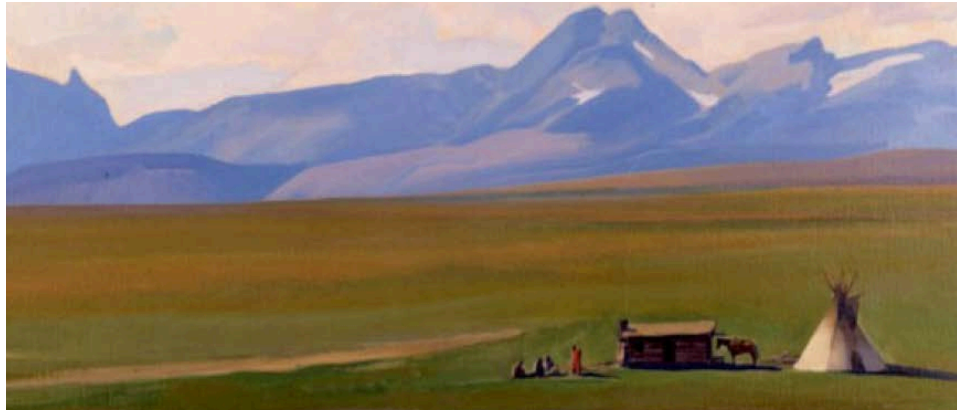
**Figure 4.21.** Maynard Dixon, *Savage Cords A Mighty Tire*, gouache on illustration board, 1921 Bancroft Library, University of California-Berkeley, photo by the author.



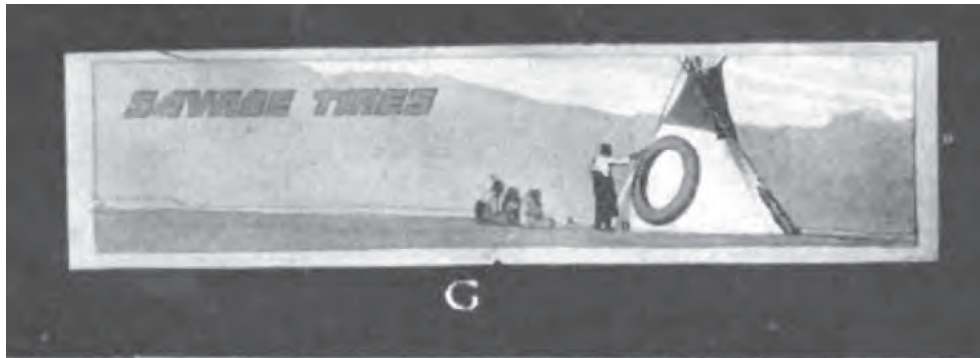
**Figure 4.22.** Maynard Dixon (1875–1946), *Free Speech*, 1934, oil on canvas, 36 3/8 x 40 in. Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 1937.



**Figure 4.23.** Maynard Dixon (1875–1946), *Roadside*, 1938, oil on canvas, 30 ¼ x 40 ¼ in. Brigham Young University Museum of Art, 1974.



**Figure 4.24.** [Detail], Maynard Dixon, *Home of the Blackfeet*, oil on canvas, 1936.  
Image: © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum,  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.



**Figure 4.25.** Maynard Dixon, *Savage Tires billboard design*  
*published in Western Advertising 3, no. 12 (January 1922), 18.*



**Figure 4.26.** Maynard Dixon, *Foster and Kleiser Billboard Designs*, copy prints, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.



**Figure 4.27.** Maynard Dixon, *Coca-Cola Relieves Fatigue*, copy prints, 1917.  
Courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.



**Figure 4.28.** Foster and Kleiser, *Borden's Milk and Sonora Phonographs Billboard* [detail], ca. 1921, published in *Outdoor Advertising on the Pacific Coast* (1923) and *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921), 21.



**Figure 4.29.** Foster and Kleiser, *Borden's Milk and Sonora Phonographs Billboard* [detail], ca. 1921, published in *Outdoor Advertising on the Pacific Coast* (1923) and *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921), 21.



**Figure 4.30.** Maynard Dixon, *Oakland, Antioch & Eastern Railway*, copy print, ca. 1920  
Courtesy of the California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.



**Figure 4.31.** Foster and Kleiser, *Desmond's*, published in *Outdoor Advertising on the Pacific Coast* (1923) and *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921), 21.

**Foster and Kleiser**



THE FOSTER AND KLEISER COMPANY own and operate the majority of the Outdoor Advertising Plants upon the Pacific Coast.

Our aim is the establishment of a most complete and uniform service in all the towns in which we operate, to the end that the benefits of this form of advertising may become greatly increased through making the medium attractive from a physical standpoint and raising it to the highest efficiency, by the development of all its possibilities with regard to circulation.



Figure 4.32. Print ad for Foster and Kleiser, *Western Advertising* 3, no. 8 (September 1921), 21.



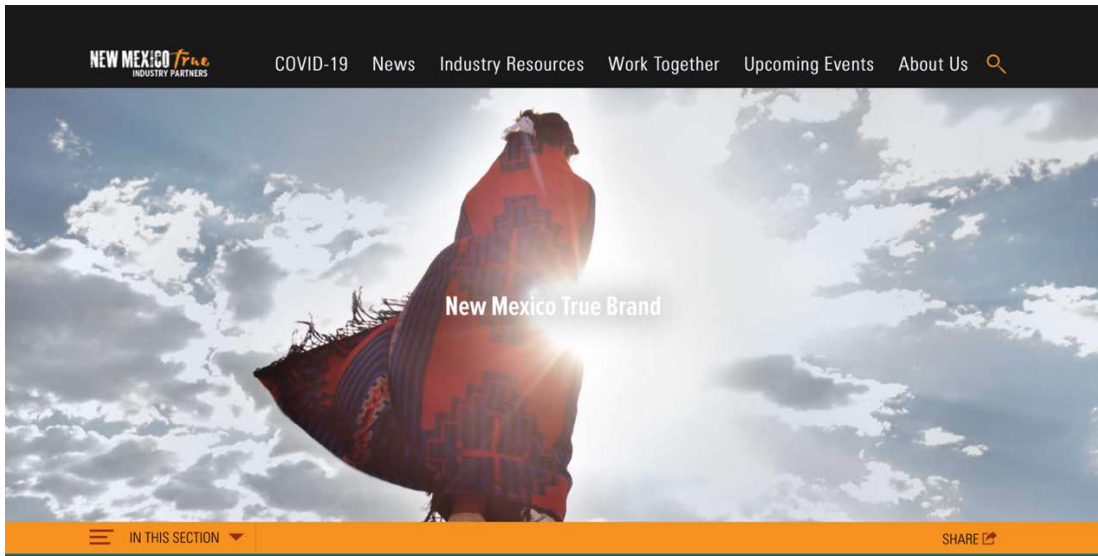


**Figure 4.33.** Unidentified photographer, *View of Western Avenue looking north from Wilshire Boulevard*, photograph, ca. 1924. Public domain. Image source: University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society, CHS-9045.



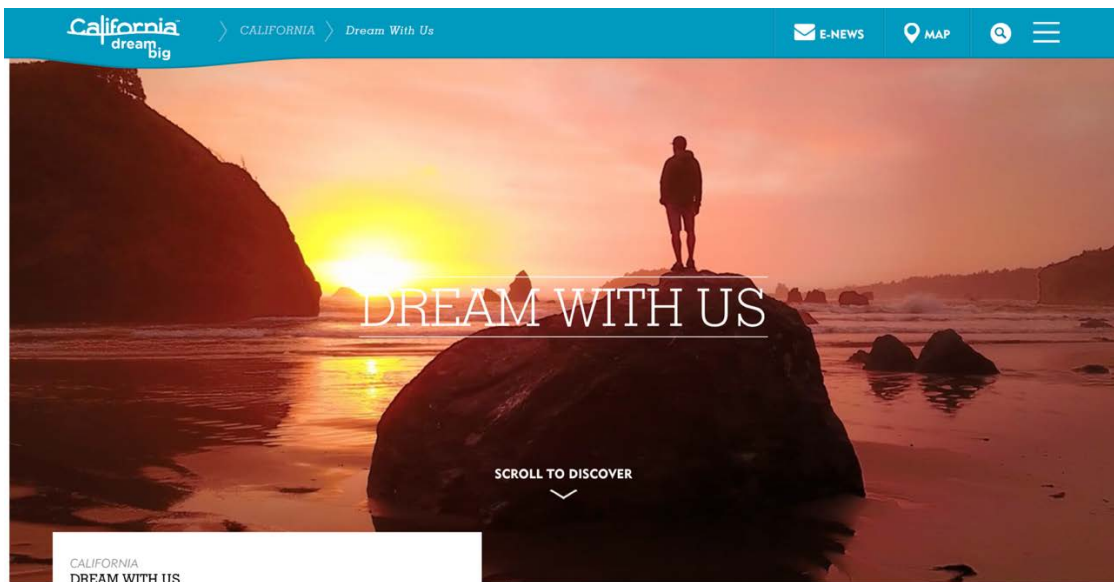
**Figure 4.34.** Unidentified photographer, *Viaduct over Glendale Boulevard on Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles*, photo print, 1925. Automobile Club of Southern California Collection, 1892-1963, University of Southern California Libraries Digital Collection. AAA-EN-263-9. Image courtesy of Automobile Club of Southern California Archives.

## CONCLUSION



**Figure C.1.** New Mexico Department of Tourism, “*New Mexico True*” website, screenshot by the author, April 18, 2020.

<https://www.newmexico.org/industry/work-together/nm-true-brand/>.



**Figure C.2.** California Department of Tourism, “*California Dream Big*” website, screenshot by the author, April 18, 2020.

<https://www.visitcalifornia.com/attraction/dream-us>.