

Imagining Destinations:
Art Posters and the Promotion of Tourism

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines transnational connections between art as advertising and the tourism industry. The development of railroads, and later airlines, played a crucial role in the growth of travel. Art posters supported this expansion. By the mid-twentieth century, art posters gained wide acceptance for encouraging leisure travel. Posters and paintings were constructed by artists to visualize destinations, underscoring the social status and modern convenience of tourism. This thesis describes how advertising, as an aspect of popular visual culture, offered compelling parallels to stylistic developments in modern art.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the friends and family who helped me throughout this process, but most especially to my mother, who not only supported me but helped me to keep moving forward, even when morale was low.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the transnational phenomenon of connections between art as advertising and the tourism industry. Prior to the nineteenth century, leisure travel was a privilege of the upper classes. The development of railroads played a crucial role in stimulating an enormous growth of tourism, and this study argues that visual images directly supported this cultural shift. Travel posters became a vital factor in establishing the popularity of tourist travel. Images were deliberately constructed by artists to visualize possible experiences at tourist destinations and underscored the social status and modern convenience of the tourist industry. Tourism is today one of the world's largest industries and among its most profitable, and this thesis will investigate how advertisements helped to establish such a widespread and lucrative industry.

Visual images have been used to inspire tourism since the origins of travel for pleasure.¹ In the United States, as pioneers moved westward, landscape paintings promoted the economic potential and scenic splendors of new territories. The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 was a potent stimulant to the establishment of the American tourist industry, as it provided easy access to the West. Visual imagery was utilized by the railroads to entice settlers and to encourage scenic tourism. Hotels and tour groups were associated with the railroads, and many commercial interests benefitted from the increasing production of images of the American West. As railroads were laid

¹Alain Corbin, *Le Territoire du vide: L'Occident et le désir du rivage, 1750-1840* (Paris: Aubier, 1988), 31. For example, in the early eighteenth century, aided by the popularity of Dutch landscape paintings, a new wave of tourists began traveling to the port cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. While there had for centuries been a great fear of the ocean, the Dutch power over the sea was a source of inspiration and interest for Europeans. Images of ports reiterated this strength and prowess.

across the country and hotels were built at key points, artists responded to the emerging need for images of these newly discovered destinations. These images typically emphasized the wild and sublime beauty of the landscape that had become available to those who had the financial resources to travel for pleasure. As new cities and landscapes in the West were promoted by art, they were transformed in visual images from dangerous wilderness to magnificent vistas that a tourist traveling across the continent in the comforts of a Pullman car could experience. Painters such as Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Moran, and William Hahn set themselves up in hotels and railroad stations to produce images of landscapes that featured railroads, were commissioned by railroad owners, and could be purchased by travelers. Such images were a further stimulus to the tourism industry (Figure 1).

As the construction of rail lines advanced across the United States and Europe, prices dropped and this allowed for expanding numbers of leisure trips by middle class tourists, who benefited from this aspect of the Industrial Revolution.² Early “tourist” art was not directly produced by companies; rather it was made by an individual artist for their own financial gain. The rapid emergence of new destinations meant new sources of visual imagery and income both for artists and their corporate patrons. Urban dwellers might seek pastoral environments, while the *nouveaux-riches* sought to enhance their social status through imitations of aristocratic luxury.³ What made advertising essential to the tourism industry was its instrumental role in the field of cultural production, the shaping of visual imagery publically, and its ever expanding influence on a diversity of

² Alan Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780- c. 1880*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980.), 13.

³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40.

audiences. Mid-nineteenth century artists such as Claude Monet and William Hahn produced early tourist images that emphasized picturesque and nostalgic aspects of various destinations or showed tourists participating in leisure (Figures 4-8). In seeking out new vistas to represent, artists played a key role in informing potential tourists of popular locales. Scenic qualities were emphasized, along with the availability of the newly constructed hotels and entertainment venues, such as boardwalks. Underlying the enticing qualities of such images were contrasts between the privileged tourist coming from the outside and colorful, even picturesque local inhabitants.

Such class and social distinctions are seen in the seaside paintings of Monet, and reappear in other periods considered in this paper. In Monet's Normandy paintings, for instance, tourists and locals are separated by their dress and their connections to work or to leisure (Figures 4-6). While initially the tourist and the local share a space, as time and tourism advanced, the two groups are increasingly differentiated by the painter, so that the tourist had only a passing and usually nostalgic visual reminder of labor. These class distinctions are discussed by Robert L. Herbert in his seminal work *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867-1886*. Herbert provides a thorough study of the period Monet spent working along the Normandy coast, which was a popular tourist destination in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Herbert analyzes how Monet constructed his paintings to appeal to a new, predominantly bourgeois tourist, as well as how those constructions changed as tourist's interests and the art market developed. Herbert argues that Monet was always painting in order to sell; his images were carefully designed with the patrons' interests in mind. Herbert's evidence comes from a visual analysis of the paintings in terms of their social history, from Monet's

personal letters, and his involvement in various art salons. Prominent in that social history is the diminishing importance of the Salon to the market for Impressionist painting and the changes wrought by coastal towns on their infrastructure and economies to support and entice the urban tourist.

As the tourist industry developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a striking new visual product emerged with it— the travel poster. The mass produced printed poster became a new art form in itself that could be produced in multiples and offered an inexpensive and wide commercial appeal. Posters and illustrated pamphlets refined many of the same themes and visual characteristics found in paintings, such as scenic landscapes, the possibility of new experiences and the elevation of the tourist to a higher social status. Since the late 1880s, artists, and more recently advertising agencies, have capitalized on the understanding that urban dwellers long for a break from the habits of their everyday lives to experience new sights. This might be a desert canyon or a windswept ocean cliff, the bustling night life of the city, or an exotic lifestyle, but whatever the setting, the goals were similar: to help promote and sell the tourist experience. In order to attract tourists, it has become a commonplace truth that a place had to advertise, and this led to an ever increasing quantity of popular mass produced visual imagery. Importantly, the development of this art form offers many suggestive parallels with developments of styles of art and art movements in the twentieth century, such as Cubism, Futurism, and Precisionism. This artistic and cultural tendency made the travel poster and the site it advertised even more appealing. Understanding how this happened is the objective of this thesis.

An article published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* is an early example of the emerging importance of artists and visual imagery to stimulate travel. It also indicated awareness of the power of the images and suggested the role imagery would have in the modern age. Published in 1859, the article is titled "Artists' Excursion over the Baltimore Ohio Rail Road" (Figure 2).⁴ At the top of this image, a train crosses a bridge as onlookers cheer and photographers capture its progress. Along the left border of the page are figures of landscape artists who hold pencils poised over their portable easels. The railroad bridge fills the left column. The article shows how artists were hired by railroad companies to travel on their cars on special Artist Excursions. Along the routes, at the behest of the railroad companies, artists sketched and painted scenic locations. In return for travel expenses, the artist's work would be used by the railroads in their advertising campaigns to promote tourism. In the United States, where much of the West was unknown, images produced by artist's created enticing and mysterious landscapes that appealed to a tourist's sense of wonder and the growing appetite for landscape scenery.

Great effort went into showing trains as powerful harbingers of modernity. The text of the Baltimore-Ohio Artist Excursion image goes so far as to align the train with mythology, claiming that Pegasus runs alongside the train. This union between man and technology and the presence of mythological gods will commence a new age—the "age of steam,"—that, in turn, powers the new age of commerce and travel. This, the article suggests, will leave behind the ages of brass, iron, gold, and silver. The presence of the artists declares that a new era of steam and of travel will be promoted through visual imagery, rejecting archaic poetic traditions of the past. The New Age will be visualized

⁴ "Artists Excursion over the Baltimore-Ohio Rail Road," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* XIX (1859).

by artists traveling on the railroads, sponsored by the railroads, and serving the interests of railroads and their affiliated tourist companies. This article foretells the emergence of advertisements that utilize powerful and vibrant imagery with modern graphic typography.

Underlying these developments of the ever increasing production of visual images are social aspects of the nineteenth and twentieth century capitalist culture. Dean MacCannell's fundamental study, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, serves as an essential conceptual basis for this thesis. The main focus of MacCannell's book is a sociological study of the tourist as a mass phenomenon. MacCannell theorizes that the social and ideological expansion of modern culture can be linked to mass leisure, especially to international tourism.⁵ He argues that previous attempts by sociologists to understand this phenomenon have not kept pace with modern social thought. MacCannell analyzes the collective experience of tourism in order to understand modern social structures from the inside. He defines tourism as ethnography of modernity— and at its core was the rise of a middle class society. He considers the middle class worthy of study because they come to comprise such a large portion of the population, and argues that study of this class formation offers many useful insights.

MacCannell supports his claims by drawing from other scholars and philosophers, such as Karl Marx, Georg W.F Hegel, Erving Goffman, and Thorstein Veblen, but he also builds off each of those theorists and applies his own sociological research and analysis of the group. This paper agrees that this type of study is particularly useful because artists and tourism companies sought to construct specific visual tourist

⁵ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3.

experiences directed at the middle class. MacCannell states that art and mass produced travel imagery were quickly adopted by the tourism industry and soon became a powerful institutional support for the expansion and profitability of leisure travel. Paintings, such as those by Monet, were originally conceived of as a commodity themselves, but as tourism advertisements became more prevalent, the experience represented in his image revealed new aspects of tourism. Moreover, as tourism grew and the tourist experience moved beyond scenic landscapes, tourist advertisements came to function as signifiers of cultural antiquity, albeit an often stereotyped antiquity based largely on cultural formulas. In addition to familiar cultural stereotypes, many images depicted a *de facto* segregation between tourists and locals, either by isolating the two groups into pure tourist spaces, or by framing local, or “back” regions, that promoted class distinctions.⁶ This was already evident, as I will show, in the paintings of Monet and Hahn, and accelerated in later advertisements for railroads, cruise ships, and airlines that were produced well into the mid-twentieth century.

Subtle visual manipulations of tourist spaces continued in the early twentieth century as the popularity of railroad travel further spread among a growing middle class of tourists. Railroad companies expanded their empire to include hotel service, automobile tours, and gift shops.⁷ These developments were calculated to enhance the tourist experience, and are often a focal point of tourist mass produced advertisements (Figures 10-11). In the United States, a burgeoning sense of nostalgia about Native

⁶ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 92.

⁷ Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock, “‘To experience the real Grand Canyon’: Santa Fe/Harvey Panopticism, 1901-1935,” in *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*, eds. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1996), 13.

American cultures of the West heightened the popularity of railroad travel. The Santa Fe Railroad was a virtual tourist monopoly in the Southwest that provided not only rail service but Indian Detours throughout the desert complete with luxurious hotels and other services and entertainments based on traditional aspects of Native American culture. The competition among railroads in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, in particular, the Santa Fe Railroad's dominance of the industry with its visual construction of the Southwest is the main subject of the *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*.⁸ The volume, edited by Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock, highlights aspects of how the Santa Fe Railroad created and visualized the American West for tourists. For example, the Santa Fe Railroad hired architect Mary Colter to design Native American inspired hotels and stations, and contracted with artists like Thomas Moran to depict scenes of the Southwest for use in their advertisements. Thomas Moran is represented in one such advertisement and his "genius" is touted and used as a draw to promote the scenic southwestern landscape, especially the scenery the Grand Canyon of Arizona. (Figure 3) Another major enticement of the Santa Fe Railroad was the Indian Detour. Jointly operated by the Fred Harvey Company, attractive young female guides took tourists on journeys "off the beaten path" through the more remote landscapes of the Southwest, often encountering local tribes and witnessing ceremonies that were carefully staged for the paying visitors. The authors rely on company documentation, Santa Fe Railroad promotional pamphlets, the language used in those pamphlets and photographs of various Santa Fe Railroad operations to present evidence for their arguments.

⁸ Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard, eds. *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad* (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1996).

While tourist advertisements in the United States were producing nostalgic images of the West to attract tourists, railroad advertisements in Europe looked to the avant-garde art world for inspiration in the early decades of the twentieth century (Figures 14-16). The United States offered social advancement by establishing a hierarchy between race and class groups; Europe offered social advancement through inclusion in the world of high art and elite culture. Developments in tourism in Europe are the subject of a valuable collection of essays edited by Rudy Koshar entitled *Histories of Leisure*.⁹ In the introduction, Koshar uses Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's study of leisure culture as the foundation for his argument that leisure was an escape from capitalist work, but paradoxically leisure ultimately lead directly back to capitalism. The essays of this book support that argument by showing how everything from the rapid growth of touring clubs in France to the sale of travel guides supported tourist or local industries. Destinations were advertised for the amenities and qualities they offered to the tourist; for instance, rural French villages were promoted to modern tourists as pastoral and nostalgic examples of Old France.¹⁰ Michelin guidebooks, which saw a surge in popularity with the rise of the automobile, directed drivers to their company repair shops and specially featured restaurants.¹¹ The stress that tourism companies put on their economic profits increased the distinctions between locals and tourists. Companies did not emphasize immersion in a local culture; rather, local peoples were only valued for the service or entertainment they could provide tourists.

⁹ Rudy Koshar, ed. *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg, 2002).

¹⁰ Patrick Young, "La Vielle France as Object of Bourgeois Desire: The Touring Club de France and the French Regions, 1890-1918" in *Histories of Leisure*, edited by Rudy Koshar, (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 169-190.

¹¹ Stephen L. Harp, "The Michelin Red Guides: Social Differentiation in Early-Twentieth Century French Tourism," in *Histories of Leisure*, edited by Rudy Koshar, (Oxford, Berg, 2002), 191-214.

This distinction becomes more pronounced as the twentieth century advanced. After the Second World War, the jet airplane became a fashionable and popular mode of travel. Airline advertisements promised exciting new adventures in foreign and exotic places, but what was often implied by these posters was an increasingly superficial interaction between the tourist and local cultures. Airlines contrasted rural, traditional cultures of countries they serviced with the modern technology of the airplane and the tourist. Trans World Airlines and Air France, for instance, both established their foreign destinations as old, even antiquated, and this imagery helped to render them safe and appealing in the eyes of the potential tourist.

The modern emergence of tourism and tourist art was a truly transnational phenomenon. The production of travel images in France often parallels that of the United States. Artists in both France and the United States capitalized on the growing interest in scenic locales and leisure travel. While the destinations may have been different, surprisingly similar visual conventions were used to appeal to transnational audiences. In comparing the development of tourist imagery in France and the United States, a broader understanding of the complex relationship between visual imagery and the tourism industry can be achieved. Formal analysis will be used to examine both the obvious and subtle messages contained in these images, while the methodologies of the social history of art will allow for a critical analysis and interpretation of how forms, colors, and graphic texts in travel posters create an appetite for tourist sites and how they fit the historical context. For example, tourism often grew after times of crisis, such as the Westward Expansion that followed the American Civil War, or the European vacations that were heavily promoted by airlines in the years following World War II. This

approach will show how images were influenced by avant-garde art styles of the twentieth century, and how the images developed over time to enhance the manipulative techniques of promoting the tourist industry.

Chapter 2

EARLY CONSTRUCTIONS OF TOURIST IMAGERY

In the late nineteenth century, both France and the United States promoted new ideas of tourism. The experience of travel was distinct from the everyday toil of urban life. The rise of tourism was a transnational trend that relied upon advertising to the middle classes, for whom the recently completed railroads permitted an ease of travel. As the industry of tourism grew, France marketed the culture of its cities and historic landmarks and the hospitality of its coastal villages. The United States, lacking such historical sites, promoted instead the novel idea of scenic landscapes. While these countries advertised different types of tourist destinations, the goal was similar: to create a destination that appealed to large audiences.

That large audience was the bourgeoisie, who had the wealth necessary for travel. Claude Monet's Normandy paintings feature members of the upper middle class in destinations that they had claimed for themselves. Once the urban upper classes discovered a village or scenic locale that they enjoyed, the physical and social structure of it was permanently altered. Locals began working in service of the tourists, and historical landmarks were renovated, removed, or replaced with developments funded by urban entrepreneurs. Monet's paintings reflect these transformations. Early works show fishermen and tourists in the same physical space. Tourists wanted little interaction with the lower classes, and as a result Monet completely removed them from his paintings, in favor of the luxury and exclusivity that the bourgeoisie preferred. The spaces that Monet painted were strictly for the tourists: boardwalks, terraces, and expensive new hotels.

Much like Monet, William Hahn, a German-American landscape and genre painter working in the 1860s and 1870s, featured members of the upper middle class in his paintings of tourist destinations. Hahn, however, did not exclude elements of local color from his tourist constructions. Instead, his images contrast the two groups. Just as in France, when tourists discovered a destination, they soon made it their own. Tourists constructed their own vacation homes, and entrepreneurs from the East financed new structures and entertainment possibilities such as hotels and casinos that provided the rich with the amenities they craved. These new venues created a barrier between the tourists and the locals. Hahn's inclusion of both lower-class workers and everyday structures, such as markets and bustling train depots, highlighted and further developed the social divide with the tourist class. The visual distinction between local and tourist elevated the traveler. It also implied that the act of touring was an acquisition of culture and social refinement.

Much like touring itself, these paintings functioned by advancing the social status of the owner. The artists had directed their sales at the upper middle classes who traveled not just because they could afford it, but because it had become a ritual of society. Touring was an opportunity to show off one's wealth, to literally parade it in front of others. Buying a painting that displayed the popular and fashionable sites they visited was just another way of expressing their wealth to others. Artists were clever in that they marketed to such a group, and constructed their paintings to reflect the same sentiments of superiority that tourists felt. Even the manner in which an artist painted played a role: Monet's Impressionistic style was as unique to the middle class as the act of touring and provided a sense of culture. It, too, offered a break from the repetition of everyday life,

and later advertisements would continue to use avant-garde styles. To be a tourist was modern; therefore modern art styles were an effective visual language for representing tourism, its destinations, and its vehicles.

These paintings functioned as early advertisements for touring. For those who had previously traveled, they were reminders of pleasant days away from city life. For new viewers, they were a window into another world, an opportunity for escape. Hahn and Monet's paintings serve as examples of the use of visual imagery to promote a tourist location. The images of Monet and Hahn were both a product of, and a stimulant to, the emerging tourist industry. They are pre-cursors to the images that would be developed in the later decades and used to support the industry that is so well described in Dean MacCannell's seminal book *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*.¹²

As late as the 1830s, most coastal towns in France were still little more than simple fishing villages. Seaside resorts can be traced as far back as the Romans, but it was the spas of the 1850s and the healing treatments they offered that helped spark the development of coastal resorts. With a growing awareness of the negative effects of pollution and medical claims advocating benefits to the health of a cold sea plunge, the sea coast was transformed into a sanctuary for the wealthy ill. The ocean was viewed as a cure for issues relating to the spleen, depression, and for purging the harmful elements of city life from one's system.¹³ As more health spas developed, doctors debated the pros and cons of various coastal cities, which led to discussions that moved beyond health

¹² Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

¹³ Alain Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide: L'Occident et le désir du rivage, 1750-1840* (Paris : Aubier, 1988), 57.

benefits to the amenities and scenic qualities of a place.¹⁴ With the arrival of the bourgeoisie also came artists, whose work helped to “spread the knowledge of these still unspoiled places.”¹⁵ In just twenty years, from 1830 to 1850, coastal towns would be dramatically altered. Local establishments recreated themselves to fit the need of the traveler. Taverns were transformed into formal restaurants, rough dirt paths became boardwalks, shops became casinos, and small cottages became resplendent villas as the bourgeois flocked to the coast. When neighboring towns saw the potential for profit, they, too, began to redesign for the wealthy.

The bourgeois of France had risen in wealth and leisure throughout the nineteenth century, first during the reign of Napoleon, later his nephew Louis Napoleon, and most especially in the early 1870s after Paris recovered from the loss of the Franco-Prussian War. The Prussian victory resulted in the loss of the French territories of Alsace and Lorraine, which, in turn, caused a national mourning among the French. The shared grief of the country and the common desire to regain their lands and “right the wrongs” they had suffered not only solidified French nationalism, but can be seen as a contributing factor to the growing interest of the French to visit other parts of their country.¹⁶

For the bourgeoisie, the act of sightseeing was a precise ritual that had begun with visiting the seaside in emulation of the old aristocracy for the alleged health benefits. As seaside visits became more about landscape, relaxation, and urban escape than health, that ritual allowed them to move beyond their *nouveaux-riches* status by offering a

¹⁴ Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide*, 71.

¹⁵ Robert Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), 268-269.

¹⁶ Robert L. Fuller, “*Belle Époque* French Nationalism: The Case of Rouen,” *French History* 13 (1999): 26.

sophistication that they desired to obtain.¹⁷ Monet crafted his paintings to fit that ritual, but also to promote and develop it.

He is a prime example of early travel promotion for two reasons. The first is that his paintings were highly constructed in order to encourage their purchase, and the second was that he aimed his works directly at the bourgeois. Both of these efforts on his part served to promote a chic tourist experience. Monet removed the mundane elements of a scene from a seascape, emphasizing instead the leisure aspects of a place and transformed, via his paint brush, a rural coastal town into a quaint, yet still culturally refined village with a hint of nostalgia offering a visual escape from the pressures of urban life. His idyllic seaside scenes, combined with the growing pride and national unity among the French, sacralized these tourist destinations, making them popular and socially acceptable destinations amongst the bourgeois.

An outstanding example of such construction and promotion is Monet's painting *The Beach at St. Adresse* from 1867 (Figure 4). As the coastline curves into the middle foreground, it creates a division of the canvas into the overcast sky and the ocean and sand of the beach below. The light that breaks through comes from directly overhead, suggesting midday, and diffusing a mellow but pleasing light over the beach. This hazy light obscures the crispness that Monet employed in other beach paintings and makes the work seem softer as a result. His brushwork is loose and visible, which further removes any sense of heavy lines but contributes to a more realistic texture of the sand and movement of the waves.

¹⁷ Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide*, 251.

The division of sea and sand is created by two large triangular shapes, each as muted as the cloudy skies above. Both sand and water seem to be tinted by shades of gray, which makes the sand appear cool. There is a limited use of warm or bright colors in the painting. The vibrant color in the work is confined to the figure of a woman, seated in the center of the canvas. Dotted along the vanishing point are small sail boats and ships, as well as a cluster of structures to the left, including a large white building, a new villa, and the steeple of the church of Saint-Michel.¹⁸ In the foreground, several boats have been pulled ashore where three local fishermen are gathered. There is a distinct contrast between these men and the seated tourists, centered on the canvas, furthest from the viewer. According to the authoritative study of Robert Herbert in *Monet and the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting 1867-1886*, once viewers recognize the central figures as vacationers, they “are obliged to convert a traditional seacoast scene to one that has been invaded by modern life.”¹⁹ The two seated figures are read as tourists because of their clothing. The woman’s white dress with red trim, her straw hat, and her partner’s telescope pointed toward the sea are clear indicators of their visitor status.²⁰ This was a typical style for women at the seaside and is seen in other paintings by Monet, as well as in the pictures of artists working along the coast. The couple is further distinguished from the locals by their inactivity. While the three fishermen are not engaged in work, they stand next to their boat, as if planning on returning to sea momentarily. They are physically linked to their work by their proximity to their boats. In contrast, the couple sits at leisure and enjoys the picturesque view before them.

¹⁸ Herbert, *Impressionism*, 290.

¹⁹ Robert L. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867-1886* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 11.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

The pair in Monet's picture is representative of the arrival of modern tourism because they are not working. They are examples of the bourgeois class, who earned money to take trips to the coast in order to relax and escape the pressures and grime of city life. The couple is most likely the same nationality as the fishermen, but is a class and a culture apart from them.²¹ Monet has eliminated signs of the growth of the village of St. Adresse; instead his picture locates it as a quaint rural fishing village to ensure the visual appeal of the town and his art work to travelers and prospective patrons. The tall steeple of the church of Saint-Michel in the distance is, like the fishermen, a bit of nostalgia about the old ways of life. The multi-story white villa is the only tangible sign of the arrival of tourist culture in the image, constructed for an increasing number of tourists. By including it in the painting and by placing the traveling couple so centrally, Monet establishes for his audience the desirability of touring and the presence of available amenities suitable to the bourgeois tourist.

There is a calculated appeal to the bourgeois desire to escape the urban environment of Paris in favor of the seaside, and in creating this appeal, the constructed elements of the painting become clear. Monet establishes for the bourgeois a vision of themselves within the scene. He renders a seaside vacation, the escape from one's city life, as a socially acceptable ritual. A traveler can experience the quaint old ways, but with vicarious exposure and no actual involvement. The fishermen are representative of a past way of life and instill a sense of nostalgia that makes the bourgeois audience feel at once superior and more accepting of their own modern realities. Monet emphasizes the experience of an escape from the drudgery of modern city working life by placing the

²¹ Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 2.

couple close to the edge of the water. They admire the ocean and the scenery it affords, even examining something in the distance with their telescope. The fishermen, however, for whom the ocean is not scenic but rather a part of the daily toil of their lives, stand away from the water line with their backs turned away from the travelers and also the sea. The locals are indifferent to the beauty of the scene.

The architecture of the village of Saint-Adresse is depicted in the distance. The structures are necessary to the lifestyles of the villagers and tourists alike, but their presence, and, in fact, the buildings themselves, have been diminished and adjusted in favor of creating a landscape that is appealing in its openness and in the diminution of manmade structures. Monet crafted his views so that little of the village is seen.²² He may have been on a path or resort perch, but by shifting his angle slightly he removed most of the town from his painting. For the city dwellers that Monet sold his works to, the unblemished, pollution free, open spaces of the seaside were appealing. Just as in American paintings, Monet downplayed new developments or excluded them outright in order to enhance the natural beauty of a place and construct a more idyllic coastal experience for his patrons.

During the 1870s, there was a decided shift in the art market. Among painters in the early 1860s, there was a general reluctance to paint vacationers at the sea because there was more prestige in producing strictly marine paintings. Artists did not want to be grouped with the painters who were considered merely “anecdotal”. Avoiding this common genre meant success within the Academy and Salons, and, therefore, greater

²² Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 1

acceptance by the wealthy, cultured elites of Paris.²³ However, by the later 1860s, this changed. While still fairly low in the hierarchy of themes dictated by the Salon, the growing interest in taking seaside vacations meant that more patrons wanted to document their vacation. While these genre paintings would not result in prestige at the Salon, their sales would provide Monet and other artists with a steady income. As with *The Beach at St. Adresse*, the intended audience and clientele was the upper middle class.²⁴ Monet's favorite patrons were members of the *haute bourgeoisie*, for they had the most money to spend and the ability to support him. There was a sense among the bourgeois that art collection was an acceptable leisure activity that went with the newfound desire to tour. While the bourgeois essentially all performed similar activities, they desired to adopt an air of uniqueness and individuality. Monet's efforts to promote sales among this class were, therefore, astute. His Impressionist style, rejection from the Salon, and inclusion in the Salon des Refusés all contributed to his reputation as unique, which, in turn, gave him an even greater appeal to some members of the bourgeoisie in Paris.

With this changing market in mind, Monet's *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, also from 1867, can be seen as an even more refined construction of tourist reality than *The Beach at St. Adresse* (Figure 5). In *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, Monet paints from the vantage point of the back of a luxurious terrace filled with members of the bourgeoisie enjoying the view. While his brushwork seems less Impressionistic than in previous works, the lack of narrative tying his figures into one story line was quite modern.²⁵ The painting is divided into three nearly equal horizontal planes defined by the terrace in the foreground,

²³ Ibid., 15.

²⁴ Ibid., 34.

²⁵ Ibid., 12.

the ocean in the middle ground, and the sky in the background. The horizon line between water and sky is dotted with ships, powered by wind and steam. Unlike *The Beach at St. Adresse*, here the skies are clear and blue, which give the painting a sense of being much warmer, as well as more inviting. Monet's brushwork still gives a textured feel to the flowers and movement to the water, but there is a stronger sense of line in this piece. The line contributes to the sense of geometry that defines the space. The terrace, water, and sky are all rectangular, and the terrace is further orientated by a square pavement and rectilinear fencing. Geometrical shapes also define the flags, parasols of the ladies, and the circular patch of grass in the center of the canvas. *The Beach at St. Adresse* can be viewed as a scene of nature where man exists; it is a canvas of fluid shapes and line. *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, on the other hand, is an image of man's domination of nature.²⁶ There is considerably more color, which is dispersed evenly throughout the painting by the profusion of flowers that border the terrace. The painting is balanced by the two flag poles that frame each side of the canvas and extend the use of more vibrant colors into the monotonous blue of the sky.

The only figures in this painting are members of the bourgeoisie. There are no fishermen or local figures, and if it were not for the ships in the distance, there would be no sign of work at all. Like the fishermen and their boats in *The Beach at St. Adresse*, the sailboats here are a nostalgic reminder of a way of life that is fading into the past. Many of the boats were being used as pleasure cruises for the tourists. The steam ships, however, are signifiers of modern life, signs of "commercial enterprise".²⁷ They are crowded, dark, and venting smoke, like the factories of a city. These ships serve as a

²⁶ Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide*, 187.

²⁷ Herbert, *Impressionism*, 267.

reminder of the life that the travelers have left behind, even if only temporarily. The ships serve as another form of class distinction. The vacationers can look out to the ships and see the power of industry and technology, which has allowed them to be tourists. The ships also evoke movement beyond the French border— they suggest that a tourist could travel even further.

Besides providing Monet an income, a main product of this painting is to inform viewers that a visit to St. Adresse is one of luxury and relaxation. For those who had not previously visited St. Adresse, the picture offers a visual reassurance that luxury and a high standard of living are available at the coast. Monet chose a point of view that excluded any sign of the development of St. Adresse, and instead focused on the development of the tourist environment. Here, unlike *The Beach at St. Adresse*, tourists are not outnumbered by locals. The only signs of local color are the distant sails of passing ships, yet even these could be pleasure cruises for the tourists, rather than fishermen at work. This is a place where their interaction and enjoyment of the seaside is not marred by reminders of work and the lower classes. For those who had already been to the seaside, the painting would serve as a charming reminder of their pleasant vacation and the idyllic hours they spent away from city life. Were it to be marketed to a wider audience, this painting, or rather the scene depicted in the painting, would instill a sense of envy into every viewer, especially those trapped in an industrial city.

Monet moved to Trouville in 1870. Trouville was a premiere destination for the extremely wealthy and more socially prominent members of the *haute bourgeoisie*. Designed specifically for the rich, Trouville was built with new boardwalks, cafés, hotels, and casinos. It was the perfect example of “technical achievements and municipal

accomplishments” that signaled man’s power over the coast.²⁸ Travel for pleasure had always been aimed at those with greater wealth. Trouville was purpose-built for those who could travel lavishly.²⁹

In Trouville, Monet further promoted his image as an artist who worked *en plein air*. Monet stationed himself in front of the Hôtel des Roches Noires and along the prominent boardwalks. Direct views of his easel by tourists led to an increase in sales and reputation. The purpose of the bourgeois in traveling to Trouville and other seaside towns was to relax, but another part of the ritual of travel was to impress the other members of the bourgeoisie with their wealth and taste. This could be achieved through the very act of taking a vacation, but was also done by flaunting oneself.³⁰ The red and white gowns of the previous two paintings were the accoutrements to a set of specific rituals that included bathing and boardwalk promenades. This ritual is evident in Monet’s *The Boardwalk at Trouville* (Figure 6).

Unlike both *The Beach at St. Adresse* and *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, this painting is constructed on a vertical axis rather than a horizontal one. Here the new vacation structures are emphasized, not the beach. Monet uses line to depict the buildings, stairs, and the boardwalk that bisects the lower portion of the canvas. The boardwalk defines the space, separating the sandy beach from the buildings that make up the city of Trouville. Like *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, this is a bright, warm scene, though the warm glow of the sun in this image makes for a hazier scene than the crisp,

²⁸ Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide*, 196.

²⁹ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780- c. 1880* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1980), 160. The decreased price of railroad tickets and the increase in lower income hotels had led to more travel among the lower middle classes; however, this was not the case with Trouville, which remained a destination of the wealthy.

³⁰ Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 11-12.

geometrical lines of *The Terrace at St. Adresse*. The painting is predominantly made up of warm colors, though the colors at the left of the canvas are more muted than at the right. There is only a small portion of water featured, and the sky above it is partially cloudy, diminishing the blue tones of the sky. While still decidedly Impressionistic in style, this painting is smoother in texture than the previous two. Monet's painting of clouds does subtly suggest his continued interest in the atmospheric effects of light and water. The clouds also help balance the painting visually; without them, the structures on the right of the canvas would make the scene seem lopsided and heavy.

This painting is an example of Monet's most refined coastal compositions. At this tourist mecca for cosmopolitan Parisians, there is absolutely no presence of local color. This was a highly cultured escape from the city. Every person visible in the image is a member of the bourgeoisie, which can be seen in their style of dress and the frequency of parasols—white skin still signifying a pampered life—scattered down the coastline. Women appear more frequently than men in this painting which is appropriate as they typically remained longer in the resort towns. Men remained in Paris during the week, returning for weekend holidays (yet another sign of the increased availability and ease of the railroad system).³¹ In this painting, Monet excludes any reminder of an industrial city life. Locals are invisible, hidden away in the structures themselves, their primary purpose to serve visitors.³² Unlike *The Beach at St. Adresse* there are neither fishermen nor boats, only the fashionable new hotels constructed for the elite. If there were local elements in Monet's line of sight at the time he painted this scene, he chose to eliminate them from his final product. Even the boardwalk seems to separate the visiting traveler from the

³¹ Herbert, *Impressionism*, 266.

³² Corbin, *Le Territoire du Vide*, 232.

permanent structures of Trouville, in which the local people lived and worked. Though some structures, such as the Hôtel des Roches Noires, were a place for tourists and locals to mingle, the local was in service to the tourist, which further exemplified the difference in social class.

This separation of the tourist and the local by Monet is a visual example of the front and back regions that MacCannell discusses at length.³³ MacCannell describes the front of a tourist region as the “meeting place of hosts and guests or customers,” whereas the back is all the regions where the local, working population would go to both escape the tourist and prepare for further tourist interaction.³⁴ Monet relegated all of the local workers to the back, hidden spaces in this painting, which implied to the tourist a pure space. And yet, in truth, the local would not have been so invisible. Monet specifically constructed his painting of Trouville to imply that no interactions would occur between the two classes and created for his patrons a pure bourgeois social arena.

It is important to note that at this time in 1870, war had been declared on the Prussians, creating an even more distinct desire for urban dwellers to escape to secure and worry-free locations. The war could also account for the higher number of women present at the beach and the complete lack of local elements. This painting denies any negative current social issues, focusing instead on the beauty of the French seaside and safety of French cultural and social ritual. The only hints of the world outside of the beach are small French tri-color flags that can be seen in the middle distance. French nationalism had been growing since the Revolution.³⁵ The flag that Monet painted in *The*

³³ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 92.

³⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 92.

³⁵ Ben-Amos Avner, “Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism,” *History and Memory* 5 (1993):52.

Terrace at St. Adresse is not without importance as a marker of France, especially as the coast signified the outer border of the country. Similarly, in *The Boardwalk at Trouville*, the flags define the area as French. More importantly, the flags represent the history of France from the time of the Revolution and the ability of the French people to triumph.

Everything that Monet did was for the purpose of sales, but what drove those sales was his comprehension of the Parisian urbanites' desire to escape the city. Monet created images of relaxation, scenic views, and luxury. Each painting was tailored to appeal to a bourgeois desire for leisure, landscape, and at times, just a hint of nostalgia. Through his compositions, Monet helped to promote tourism and shape the development of other promotional tourism imagery. By 1870, most travelers had begun to realize that they were participating in a highly constructed spectacle. During tourist season, locals altered their job descriptions: fishermen gave boat tours and washwomen did laundry for the visitors. The locals became a part of the advertised experience. Cities were physically altered to accommodate travelers. While exteriors were kept looking historical or local, interiors were renovated and modernized, landscapes were tamed, and landmarks removed to build casinos.³⁶ Herbert states that because Monet removed examples of local people and places, his paintings "truly suit the vacationers' view." The paintings are fantasies, and turn the villages into motifs, subject to the gaze of the tourist-viewer. The reality of resort life is not the people who maintain the resort in the physical or the business sense, but the illusions that make up a seaside vacation.³⁷ In essence, Monet painted a series of front and back regions built to suit urban visitors.

³⁶ Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 129.

³⁷ Ibid.

The influence of Monet and the significance of his constructions can be seen in the pamphlets put out by the Touring Club de France, which developed at this time and advertised in its tours the discovery of “France”. Like Monet, the Touring Club promoted the remoteness and nostalgia of a life outside of modern Paris. Artists working for the club were tasked with putting those ideas into a visual image, and they did so in much the same way as Monet: the picturesque elements of a place were emphasized, while the banal was strategically ignored. The potential experience a traveler could have was the most important piece of the image.³⁸ The experience of tourism would become a major element in the later development of the tourist poster.

While Monet promoted the luxury and culture of the seaside, German-born, American genre scene painter William Hahn produced images of the American landscape tourist. The landscape of the Western United States had once been a dangerous wilderness, but was transformed into a scenic landscape, thanks to the personal, military, and technological might of the United States. It was, as Angela Miller, author of *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics 1825-1875*, describes, a sort of “nationalistic defensiveness,” a way of showing that while the country might lack the historical associations of its European ancestors, it abounded in natural splendor.³⁹ Like Monet, William Hahn’s paintings served as a powerful stimulus to the upper middle classes to tourism. Unlike westward travel in America in the past decades, however, this was travel for pleasure rather than the prospect of monetary gain or settlement.

³⁸ Patrick Young, “*La Vielle France* as Object of Bourgeois Desire: The Touring Club de France and the French Regions, 1890-1918,” in *Histories of Leisure*, ed, Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 174-175.

³⁹ Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 3.

Dean MacCannell argues that modernity moves from the urban to the rural, appearing first in industrial centers and spreading rapidly to undeveloped locations. He then states that those that live in the modern, urban world seek natural environments, and because of this, tourism quickly follows development.⁴⁰ This paper argues that the visual imagery of tourism helps to promote and aid this spread.

The West was fraught with environmental challenges and so industrialists looked to other arenas of economic growth, such as tourism. Railroads and other tourism based companies sought to promote the natural landscape because of its scenic qualities.⁴¹ The high profit potential of passenger trains was quickly realized by railroad companies. Continued construction of the rail lines was directed at carrying people to scenic destinations, rather than major cities.⁴² Yet while urban city dwellers sought the rural countryside, they were not willing to give up their modern amenities. A tourist's desire for the comforts of city living brought modernity to the West where, much as in France, their presence and financial backing helped build new hotels, restaurants, and other tourist services. Images showed the West as a majestic landscape, untouched by man. Yet looking more closely, the comforts of a thriving tourist industry indicated to viewers that their sojourn in the West would not be as rough as that of the pioneers' mere decades before. Seeing this, tourists headed to the West and towns continued to expand to accommodate them. The advancements of the train also made going west a popular and

⁴⁰ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 3.

⁴¹ David Iglar, "Engineering the Elephant: Industrialism and the Environment in the Greater West" in *A Companion to the American West*, ed. William Devereil (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004), 94.

⁴² Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargain: Tourism on the Twentieth Century American West*. (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 45. The first line built solely for tourists was a branch off the Northern Pacific Railroad to Yellowstone National Park, in 1883.

fashionable activity. This popularity was highlighted in Hahn's paintings of tourists at popular American travel destinations.

William Hahn was born in the Saxony region of Germany in 1829 and began studying at the Royal Academy of Art in Dresden in 1844. While living in Dusseldorf several years later, he worked with Emmanuel Leutze. Leutze was German but considered himself an American painter and thus encouraged other American painters to come study with him in Germany. As a result, Hahn met such painters as Albert Bierstadt, Charles Wimar, Worthington Whittredge, and George Caleb Bingham.⁴³ It was yet another American painter, William Keith, who would encourage Hahn's move to the States and with whom Hahn eventually traveled to California. By 1871 he was living in San Francisco, where art was well patronized because of wealth brought by the railroads.⁴⁴ The Gold Rush in California had resulted in an outpouring of picturesque images of the Californian landscape, but by 1870 these images were less in favor. Hahn wisely chose to move away from these romanticized versions of the West, choosing instead to paint images of everyday life. The ultimate image of contemporary life and modernity, especially in the rural west, was the train, and the people that it carried. However, despite this more realistic approach, the images by Hahn are still constructed with specific intent to depict the West and to sell. In his essay "Art, Ideology, and the West," Douglas R. Nickel emphasizes that the West is not actually one physical place or thing, but rather "a series of abstractions, of overlapping and occasionally conflicting...

⁴³ Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *William Hahn: Genre Painter, 1829-1887: Exhibition, June 15-August 29, The Oakland Museum, Low Bay*. (Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum, Art Department, 1976), 15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

constructions.”⁴⁵ In Hahn’s case, the West is represented as a series of various people and ideas, gathered into visual images.

Hahn’s *Sacramento Railway Station*, painted in 1874, emphasizes the experience of the traveler (Figure 7). Unlike Monet’s idealized vacation experience, Hahn highlights the excitement, confusion, and chaos that come with the arrival of the train. He also creates a contrast between the upper and lower classes, the tourist and the local.

Hahn uses line to structure the image along a horizontal axis. While there is a high level of activity in the background of the work, most of the action is painted in the foreground of the scene. The key players of this work are in full sunlight, which helps to draw the eye to their activity, but there are also several interesting elements in darker, shadowy spaces. The canvas consists largely of warm brown colors. Sacramento was becoming more urban, but it was still a frontier city. Here there are still dirt roads, wooden structures that are all about the same height, as well as horses and carriages. These warm tones help bring an overarching sense of harmony to an otherwise chaotic scene. The dark portions of the canvas, such as the train at the left and the small family, in a pyramidal form, hidden in the shadows at bottom right further balance the painting. Unlike Monet’s paintings, this is a very smooth canvas, as it was painted in a much more traditional style. However, the painting is still very dynamic. The figures are full of life, movement, and personality. They are all in different positions and make flamboyant hand gestures or facial expressions. The people are unified by their shared location, but they are divided physically by the coach and socially by their class status.

⁴⁵ Douglas R. Nickel, “Art, Ideology, and the West,” in *A Guide to the American West*, ed. William Deverell, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 361.

The train is a major protagonist of this work. It has just arrived, and all of the major figures in the image are tied to it. The baggage handlers to the left of the coach work at the station, as indicated by their handling of luggage, while the more formally dressed figures to the right of the coach have just arrived in town. They are attempting to board the coach which will take them to their hotel. While Monet created scenes that told viewers of the relaxation and luxury of their trip, Hahn more directly depicted the excitement, and sometimes tedium, that were the experiences of frontier travel. Hahn's images may have been more realistic, but he had a similar goal as Monet of appealing to the upper classes. Here, rather than remove local color altogether, Hahn contrasts the upper middle class tourist with the lower class local in order to show the superiority of the wealthy classes. This mingling of the tourist and local in a shared space, or in the "back" region, was not only common in Hahn's work, but appears frequently in later American tourism advertisements and pamphlets.⁴⁶

The contrast between the classes is symbolized through the contrast between the local population and the visiting traveler. The horse-drawn coach is a physical barrier, but other details of the various structures and signs that Hahn includes in the image contribute as well. Over the top of the coach there is an advertisement for the Capitol Hotel, indicating that these people will be taken away from the bustle of the train station, also filled with locals, to a special, more secluded and elite place. In contrast, to the far right there is a store selling such basic products as "Nail, tar, pitch, [and] oakum." These items are not intended for the traveler; both the store and the local saloon are places that the traveler will avoid in favor of areas solely for their enjoyment. The train depot is an

⁴⁶ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 92.

interesting structure because of its ties to both classes. It is a necessity for the local population and the tourists, a back region for the locals and a front region for the tourists. The station provides jobs for the locals and has expanded to provide “Refreshments” to the train passengers. The refreshments would have been an added financial boon for the locals and an additional service for the tourists. The small convenience would also help ensure their return. To the viewer, even such a small luxury was an indication that Sacramento was a city that catered to tourists and their comfort.

Class distinctions are further defined by the figures. The lower-class train workers wear loose fitting pants that they have cuffed above the rim of dusty and worn work boots, as well as loose fitting shirts that they have unbuttoned and soft felt hats. These outfits can be seen on most of the men, even those behind the central figures with the trunk. There are also two small children standing by these men, at least one of whom is lacking shoes. In stark contrast, the travelers are much more formal. The women wear heavy, dark colored clothing which covers them from their chin to the ground. The man with them is also very well dressed. He wears full-length pants, a fitted shirt and tie, and a tailored jacket. The children have shoes. The train workers are much more animated than the visitors. They are dropping a trunk, gesturing with their hands, bending to work on the train, tending to horses, or hurrying from one place to another. The travelers stand with their arms at their sides as they wait to board the carriage; the most dramatic gesture among the group is a mother bending to embrace her daughter. Not only do the finer clothes establish them as upper class, but their more confined, poised demeanor separates them as well.

Somewhere in the middle of these two class groups is the family in shadow at the bottom right. They are not a prominent group, as they are not in full light and seem unrelated to travel. They are more orderly than the workers, but less formal than the travelers (the man does not wear a tie). It seems as though this is a group that has taken the train, but is there to settle rather than travel for pleasure.

Hahn very effectively separates the three groups of people and establishes the travelers as the elite. They are gaining an experience that not all can afford. By contrasting the upper and lower classes through a local versus visitor construction, Hahn established those who can travel as economically superior. Early tourists brought elements of modernity with them, such as the train and the construction of new tourist structures. New hotels and entertainments legitimized rural, distant Western cities for future travelers. The United States, being a young country, did not have destinations with the same historical prestige as those throughout Europe. To make up for these shortcomings, visual imagery in support of tourism promoted the nationalistic pride that came from the landscape, the resulting class distinction of travel, and the potential of the American West for development in many economic arenas.

In another image by William Hahn entitled *Yosemite Valley from Glacier Point* from 1874, the scenic experience of the tourist is the key aspect of the picture (Figure 8). This painting is a part of a trilogy of paintings that follows the travels of a family to and from the summit of Glacier Point to view the Yosemite Valley. In contrast to *Sacramento Railway Station*, this is a natural environment, and the line work is much more fluid as a result. Structured along a horizontal plane, the rocks and canyons are defined by their curving lines and subtle shading. The environment is a backdrop to the figures that,

located in the foreground, are the focus of the painting. The lighting in the scene is fairly even: shadows in the distant canyon help define their shape, but they are largely monochromatic, with most of the contrast of the painting being found among the horses. In the center of the canvas, the bright white coat of the female traveler draws the eye, which establishes her and her family as the main topic of the painting. The smooth texture and brushwork add to the serenity of the scene, while the monochromatic colors of nature serve to balance the work.

Once again, as in *Sacramento Railway Station*, the emphasis of the painting is on the people rather than the landscape, which was different from most other American painters at the time. In this scene, a family has just arrived at the summit of Glacier Point, and is looking out at their first view of the valley. The mother's use of binoculars and the family's positioning directly facing the view tells the audience that they are scenic tourists. They are still in awe of the scenic landscape in front of them. This is different from the other figures in the painting. For the seated group of travelers at left center, the view is still magnificent, but it is no longer so enticing. They turn partially away from the valley. The local people who act as guides are completely desensitized to the view, much like the fishermen in Monet's *The Beach at St. Adresse* are accustomed to the view of the sea. They either go about their work with no reverence for the landscape, or they use the time to take a nap, as with the man reclined under the horses. Similar to the paintings by Monet, the transition of the local worker can be seen. At one time the locals probably went to the West seeking wealth or land. With the rise of leisure travel and tourism, they changed their job descriptions to ones that served the wealthy travelers. They were able to make a profit from the newly discovered scenery. However, rather than establishing

the locals as successful in their own right, their presence provides the contrast that makes the wealthy seem even more culturally superior. Tourism helped to bring modernity to the more rural West, but that did not make the local equal to the tourist. Locals were defined by their work; they may work the train, act as guides, or own hotels, but because they themselves are not the tourist, they are considered lower in the social hierarchy. The upper classes can afford to take the time off work to take a cross-country train trip, stay in hotels, and pay people to guide them around the new locale. The lower classes must work with or for modern technology. In this sense, MacCannell's statement rings true. Modernity does travel from urban to rural. It just does not arrive in the same capacity and serve all classes equally.

Hahn accentuates the distinctions between tourist and local, making the experience of travel one of class superiority. Travel was then a status symbol. This sense of class pretensions would continue in American visual imagery in the service of travel, especially as the railroads expanded their rail lines across the continent.

In conclusion, these two artists are prime examples of the early cultural and economic concerns that influenced later tourism advertising. Their constructions of tourist destinations visualized the possibilities of leisure travel. The railroads had increased the ease of travel, and while it was still not a possibility for all class levels, the potential experience of touring was still an important element evoked by these painters. For both Monet and Hahn, the ability to travel was something to be envied, and if possible, emulated. It granted status and prestige to those who wanted it, whether they were the *nouveaux-riches* of France or America. Monet directed his images of the Normandy coast at the bourgeois of Paris, enticing them away from the grime of the city

to the clean air, ocean views, and refined luxury of the seaside. By removing elements of local color, he informed his bourgeois audience that there would be no unpleasant mingling of the classes; instead, they would be free to promenade in all of their finery with people of their own social strata and frame of mind. William Hahn contributed to the growing sense of American nationalism by showing, albeit subtly, the power of the train, and the presence of Americans in the West. They could be there because American strength and ingenuity had conquered it. No longer was the West for those lower echelons of society that were willing to spend months in wagons as they arduously crossed the country. It was for anyone who could afford a train passage, and more importantly, it was a place where the more refined eastern population could travel and increase their own cultural prestige. In return, the arrival of travelers brought modernity and distinction to the tourist sites.

Tourist advertisements would continue in a similar vein as that established by William Hahn and Claude Monet. Advertisements were directed specifically at the bourgeoisie and upper classes who could actually afford to travel, but mass produced and shown to large audiences so as to instill a sense of envy that would spark their own desire to travel (even if it meant saving for the trip). Advertisements highlighted the various experiences that destinations offered, but they also created more subtle messages. American railroads promoted the idea of exclusive access to the Western landscape and contrasted the modernity of the train with the Native American tribes still residing throughout the West. In Europe, advertisements for trains and destinations continued to promote the experience of glamour, wealth, and luxury that came with travel through avant-garde art styles.

Claude Monet and William Hahn created works that suggest the experience of early tourism in France and the United States and are the precursors to corporate sponsored advertisements. They prospered from the increasing accessibility and popularity of tourism and, in turn, were two of its earliest promoters.

Chapter 3

THE RAILROAD AND MANUFACTURED DESTINATIONS

The development of railroads in Europe and the United States produced a transnational trend to use visual imagery to promote their services. Images of trains and their destinations became key elements of advertisements mass produced as posters, pamphlets, magazines, and travel guides. Dean MacCannell shows that aesthetic production became fully integrated with commodity production for the first time, so that advertisements for tourist destinations relied more heavily on appealing visual imagery.⁴⁷ This integration was a tremendous boost to tourism. Images stimulated cultural desires and played into sociological trends, such as class hierarchy and racial superiority. Visual images were an enormously effective method of promoting a place and illuminating its potential for an unforgettable tourist experience. Large-scale production of visual images meant that people from diverse classes saw them. Unlike the unique paintings produced by Claude Monet and William Hahn for cultural elites, mass-produced images of tourist destinations were not intended for wealthy individuals alone.⁴⁸ Commercially produced images were devised by tourism companies to promote places that were highly desirable in the popular consciousness of the new mass tourism market.

Although no longer exclusive in their audience, such visual images offered similar inducements to tourism that elite paintings had before them. They were primarily directed at the emerging middle class who could afford to travel and who could be persuaded of the qualities of the attractions of various destinations and invited to partake of the cultural prestige that resulted from visiting them. Images of destinations increased the appeal of

⁴⁷ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), xv.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

scenic places; simultaneously, working-class citizens earned more money and had more leisure time, and so travel became more affordable.⁴⁹ The potential for pleasurable experiences was a major selling point of all tourist images. Tourism companies became wealthy and powerful by creating, producing, and promoting their own constructed scenic realities to their customers. Painters such as Thomas Moran were contracted by the railroads, and their paintings and sketches were used in company promotions to visualize scenic destinations.⁵⁰

Mass-produced images were, in effect, corporate versions of the paintings of Hahn and Monet, but their explicit function was to attract paying customers. They enticed viewers with creative design techniques and stylized images of places and modes of travel as desirable. Many were designed in the manner of avant-garde art movements, relying on bold color, and well integrated descriptive, even dramatic graphics. The commodities that tourist companies such as the Santa Fe Railroad or French Railways created through visual imagery resulted in what MacCannell calls a fetishistic desire for something beyond a material object.⁵¹ In sacralizing tourist destinations, companies made tourism into an object and commodity that middle class people especially came to see as the key to social advancement. The power of these popular images resulted from their ability to stimulate the viewing public to crave the intangible products of tourism. In Europe, these products were the thrill of speed and the acquisition of glamour and elite culture. In the United States, the product of tourism was the experience of cultural, even

⁴⁹ Gail S. Davidson, "Landscape Icons, Tourism, and Land Development in the Northeast," in *Frederic Church, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Moran: Tourism and the American Landscape*, Gail S. Davidson, et al, (New York: Bulfinch Press, 2006), 3.

⁵⁰ Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard, "'To Experience the Real Grand Canyon': Santa Fe/Harvey Panopticism, 1901-1935," in *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*, eds Martha Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock. (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1996), 15.

⁵¹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 20.

racial superiority over both the land and the Native American population. The scenic majesty of the country, and especially the newly opened territories in the American West, were glorified by the perceived visual possession of it, and visual images of the West contributed to a growing national identity.⁵²

The Southern Pacific Lines, New York Central Lines, Pennsylvania Railroad, Santa Fe Railroad, and Northern Pacific Company aggressively produced images that featured artistic design elements and thematic marketing ploys. Starting as early as 1900 and continuing through the 1930s, American railroads produced numerous advertisements that touted the far West. These advertisements were published in journals and newspapers, or in pamphlets printed by the railroads.⁵³ For example, in 1900, the Northern Pacific Railroad produced an advertisement that asserted, with astounding crudity, that the Native peoples had been subdued by American national expansion (Figure 9). In this advertisement, the body of a Native American has been manipulated so that a map of the railroad routes is situated over the contours of his body. He appears to be lying on his stomach with his head hanging over a precipice, looking down into the ravine of the roughly sketched landscape surrounding him. Just to the left of his head is a shaded area that resembles the western coast of the United States. By literally laying the tracks on top of him, the railroad suggests that Native Americans, from the eastern to the western seaboard, have been subdued—that they have bowed to the superior might of the United States. The caption states: “The *Story of a Railway in Wonderland 1900* shows the changes time has made in this old Indianland. Send 6cts for the Book.” At this point, the

⁵² Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard, “To Experience the Real Grand Canyon” in *Great Southwest*, 15.

⁵³ Barbara Bloemink, “Introduction,” in *Frederic Church, Winslow Homer, and Thomas Moran: Tourism and the American Landscape*, Gail S. Davidson, et al, (New York: Bulfinch Press, 2006), xiii.

memory of Native Americans was still largely one of fear, and such advertisements were examples of the racism and hatred that still prevailed in the minds of many Americans.⁵⁴ Seen through the lens of historical hindsight, the imagery of this advertisement tells a story of violent repression and revenge against the tribes that had dared to fight against the progress of the American railroad. The only color in the image is the Northern Pacific Railway logo, a red and black variation of the yin-yang symbol that draws the eye back to the image of the prostrate Native American. By keeping the eye of the viewer near the figure, the viewer is forcefully reminded of the success of the American campaign to subdue Native Americans.⁵⁵ In the following decades, railroad and tourist company advertisements would take a less aggressive approach to the Native peoples by profiting from the subordination of the tribes. This advertisement from Northern Pacific was one of the most overtly colonialist advertisements for the tourism on the old American frontier.

The Santa Fe Railroad became a powerful force promoting tourism in the American Southwest in the early decades of the twentieth century through its effective use of visual images in advertising. Their marketing campaign routed tourists to the cities and sights along their rail lines with colorful images and romanticized pamphlets that helped to create and spread enduring stereotypes of the American West. The Santa Fe Railroad's monopoly was so complete that it became nearly impossible for local

⁵⁴ David Howard Bain, *The Old Iron Road: An Epic of Rails, Roads, and the Urge to Go West*, New York City: Viking, 2004), 140. Wars with Native Americans had persisted as late as 1875, with the Second Sioux War. Tribes such as the Sioux had also attempted to sabotage the construction and progress of the railroads. This image visualized a victory of the railroad over their nemesis, the Indian.

⁵⁵ While not as blatantly engaged with the Native American's as the American military forces, the railroad's westward advancement helped to further confine Native American's to reservations and open up settlement territories to white Americans.

entrepreneurs to compete.⁵⁶ By 1920, the Fred Harvey Company, a part of the Santa Fe Railroad empire, gained the rights to be the principal concessioner at the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. Their services quickly expanded into hotels and tourist entertainments such as ranches, lookouts, and even replicas of Native American dwellings.⁵⁷ With the increased accessibility of the Southwest, the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company began offering additional services for their customers that made it possible to see sights distant from the rail lines. Because their routes traveled close to Native American pueblos and villages, the Santa Fe Railroad quickly found ways to incorporate them into their marketing schemes.⁵⁸ As a result, local peoples and their tribal cultures became a lure and a tourist commodity. For a fee, travelers could journey throughout the Southwest by automobile on “Indian Detours,” seeing the scenic canyons and Indian populations up close. The cars were manned by a driver and a young female guide who was knowledgeable about the landscape and the Native Americans who lived there.⁵⁹ Tourists were invited to experience traditional tribal rituals and practices just as if they were explorers or even pioneers. Once back at the train stations and hotels, these traditional Native elements, such as baskets and pottery, were available for purchase.

⁵⁶ Hal K. Rothman, *The Devil's Bargain: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence, KA: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 57.

⁵⁷ Marta Weigle and Kathleen L. Howard, “‘To Experience the real Grand Canyon’: Santa Fe/Harvey Panopticism, 1901-1935,” in *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*, eds Martha Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock. (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1996), 13.

⁵⁸ Richard Francaviglia, “Elusive Land: Changing Geographic Images of the Southwest,” in *The Changing Images of the Southwest*, ed. Richard Francaviglia and David Narrett, (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1994), 25.

⁵⁹Joy Sperling, “Art, Tourism, and the Spectacle of the Southwest: Visually Enchanting the Land of Enchantment” (presentation, College Art Association Annual Conference, Los Angeles, CA, February 21-25, 2012). Tourism and Culture Part 1, CAA Lecture: Even the guides were constructed: they were well educated young women who wore sensible and demure clothing but accessorized with Native American inspired conch belts and hats.

MacCannell states that it is nearly impossible for a tourist to have a truly authentic cultural experience. Experiences were produced and controlled by companies like the Santa Fe Railroad in order to ensure their financial gain. The cultural experiences the railroad promoted were stereotypical and aestheticized models of Native American social life. These might include basket weaving sessions, traditional Indian ceremonies such as the Navajo Fire Dance performed for the tourists, or visits to pueblo villages.⁶⁰ By representing only select aspects of life in the Southwest, they created an image that was powerful in its ability to influence and excite travelers.⁶¹ In addition, Santa Fe's association with the Fred Harvey Company meant that they had a direct link to the most popular— and corporate approved— restaurants, hotels, and gift shops. As their services broadened, their advertisements became more elaborate, including scenic, anthropological, historical, and cultural elements. These advertisements compellingly served to promote the Southwest, making it a highly desirable tourist destination.⁶²

Advertisements in pamphlets and magazines promoting Indian Detours are an expansion of many of the ideas already analyzed in this paper. They visualize an invented ritual of travel and spread greater awareness of the West as a site of leisure travel to the American public. Often rendered in a stylized manner, they were designed to give a sense of the scale and scenic splendor of the landscape and, in turn, supported the railroad's interest in travel by emphasizing the desire to see these places.

These advertisements also promoted the idea of the accessibility of wild, western landscapes. While the train could not reach remote destinations, the Santa Fe Railroad

⁶⁰ University of Arizona Archives, *Santa Fe Indian Detours*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1936), 5.

⁶¹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 23.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

reminded the public that, thanks to their guided automobile tours, the company could take tourists everywhere else.⁶³ The expansive reach that the railroad offered into the most inaccessible corners of the wilderness also reassured prospective tourists that the Native Americans were completely “safe.” Indians would not be a threat to their leisure. Even though it went unseen in some advertisements, the train, signifier of modernity, had conquered both land and Indian. Tourists now sought more than scenery. Advertisements and pamphlets promoted the idea on an interaction with native cultures that “flourished when Britons crouched in caves” and subsequently played to national pride and developed a history of the West that tourists could participate in.⁶⁴

In two images promoting Indian Detours in the Santa Fe Courier Cars, imposing scenic landscapes dominate, while man and man made-objects remain diminutive in comparison. In both of these advertisements, the images are mostly constructed through large planes of eye-catching color. Line is used infrequently, which maintains the landscape’s natural, fluid feel. Line is present in the manmade automobiles of the images, but because the automobiles are quite small in comparison to the canyon, line remains subordinate to color and shape in the creation of form. The first example of these advertisements, produced in 1936 as a pamphlet to promote the tours, has a text box along the top which states “Indian Detours: off the beaten path in the Great Southwest” (Figure 10). With its black and white typography on a vivid red background, the letters draw the eye but do not detract from the image itself. The words act as an aid in understanding the advertisement. In the image, two luxurious touring cars are positioned

⁶³ According to the Santa Fe Indian Detour Pamphlets, these destinations included Canyon de Chelly, Rainbow Bridge, Mesa Verde, and would be reached by car following paths “worn inches deep...by moccasined feet.” Santa Fe Indian Detour Pamphlet, 1936, University of Arizona Library Archives.

⁶⁴ University of Arizona Archives, *Santa Fe Indian Detour*, (Chicago: Rand-MacNally, 1930) 1.

at the bottom of a deep canyon. The canyon is formed entirely from shades of red and orange, varying in color as the light of the desert sun hits its walls. There are also touches of gray which create shadows and some plant life at the base of the canyon walls. These warm colors are evocative of desert heat and emphasize for a viewer the exoticism of the desert. While the texture of the canyon remains smooth, there is enough detail in the use of shading and color to imply that the canyon walls are, in fact, rugged and untouched by man. The canyon is equal in height on both sides of the image, which balances the pamphlet and when contrasted with the cars, helps to maintain the scale of the image.

There are two major thematic contrasts in this advertisement. The first is between humans and nature. This is achieved through the formal elements described above: the size and scale of the canyon versus that of man. Here in this vibrant, foreign landscape, man is dwarfed by nature and yet, he is never at its mercy. The landscape has been tamed by the automobile.

The second contrast is only slightly more subtle. It is the contrast between the white man, representing modernity, and the Indian, considered at the time to be “living relics of the past.”⁶⁵ The two cars have not driven into the landscape solely to see the desert but also to view the traditional native cultures that still live there.⁶⁶ The two large touring cars have stopped and their passengers are gazing at the Indians they have “discovered” in the canyons. The tourist has entered into the back space of the local, in this case, the reservation of the Native American. There are five figures visible, and four

⁶⁵ Leah Dilworth, “Discovering Indians in Fred Harvey’s Southwest,” in *Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*, eds Weigle and Babcock, (Phoenix, AZ: The Heard Museum, 1996), 159.

⁶⁶ Native American’s were also hired by the Santa Fe Railroad, often to perform ceremonial dances, weave baskets, or act out other such stereotypical Indian roles for the tourists to witness.

of those can be identified as Indians due to their clothing and the fact that they are on horseback, an archaic mode of transportation when contrasted with the automobile. The two figures on horses are at the bottom center of the image and seem less involved with the cars than the two figures that stand near the car at bottom left. The fifth figure does not appear to be dressed in traditional Indian clothing, and with one foot on the running board, he is the only figure in physical contact with the car. He was most likely meant to represent a guide or a driver that came along with the tour group. There are no other travelers depicted. The advertisement informed its viewers that the cars would bring a tourist close enough to experience the desert and its native peoples but without having to interact with them or leave the comfort, safety, and luxury of the automobile. The drive may be “Off the beaten path” as the caption claims, but never so far that amenities were not an option. There remains a distinct sense of racial and cultural superiority in this image. Though not nearly as violent as the Northern Pacific Railway advertisement, the Native Americans remain segregated from the white man and subject to his gaze and superiority. For the tourist, the Native American is no more than a specimen to be examined; any respect for the native cultures implied by the Santa Fe Railroad was done to encourage the purchase of tickets and souvenirs.

In a similar Santa Fe Railroad Harveycars advertisement, this one captioned “Indian-detours: Most distinctive Motor Cruises in the world,” a lone car travels past an Indian man and woman through a majestic desert landscape (Figure 11). Like the previous pamphlet, this image is constructed through planes of color that reflect the warmth and beauty of the desert.

Color remains prevalent over line to create shape, and lighter values of the main colors are used to give texture to the large rock formation that dominates the image. Man-made details also feature more line, but as their presence is minimal, the wild landscape is emphasized. The scale of this image shows the viewer the towering height of the rock formation but also the height and endurance of the stacked Indian pueblo village in the distance.

Indian-Detours were meant to show tourists Indian ways of life and in this image the interaction goes beyond driving by a small group of Indians on a tour of the desert. In this advertisement the car is a convertible, so the travelers are less closed off from the Native Americans that they encounter. The two figures standing in the bottom left foreground seem to be waiting for the car, as if to greet it and welcome the travelers to the pueblo village seen in the distance. The man holds the basket in such a way that it appears to be an offering to the tourist, a sign of welcome and a souvenir. This potential gift or exchange of goods further increases the idea of closer interaction between travelers and native populations. However, in this case the interaction is highly contrived. Santa Fe built a tourist empire in the Southwest, and their long arm reached to the reservations and Indian villages. They employed Native Americans in peaceful stereotypical roles such as ritual performance and basket weaving. The Santa Fe created a “staged authenticity” of Native American culture that benefitted their economic goals.⁶⁷ Working for the railroads may have provided a stable living for the local Indian population, but it also reduced them to performers, forced to make spectacles out of their own beliefs and customs. The figures waiting for the car to arrive were, no doubt, paid to

⁶⁷ Weigle and Howard “To Experience the Real Grand Canyon,” 20.

wait there, and considering the fairly accurate replicas of Hopi dwellings built at the Grand Canyon and throughout the Southwest by architect Mary Colter,⁶⁸ it is possible that much of the village in this image was built or added on to in support of the Santa Fe Railroad's expanding tourist industry.

The next step of a front-back reality, as described by MacCannell, is depicted in the Santa Fe advertisements. In the works of Monet, there was a clear division between the front tourist area and the back region of the local worker. This line was not crossed. However, as tourism progressed and the desire for a "true" cultural experience became popular, companies such as the Santa Fe Railroad and the Fred Harvey Company began opening up back areas so that tourists could see the lives of locals for themselves. As MacCannell states, "Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives," yet most tourists remain content with an incomplete authentic experience, one that touches on local social or historical truths but that does not delve into the myriad details and levels that make up a culture.⁶⁹ A guided tour may be educational, but as it will always be orchestrated, there remains a staged and therefore inauthentic quality to the experience. No entrance into the back areas or interaction with the Native Americans could ever be authentic because it was programmed for the entertainment of the tourist.⁷⁰

In both images, there is a clear sense of the superiority of whites over the natives. This is established first through the white man's ties to the automobile. Along with the

⁶⁸ Matilda McQuaid and Karen Bartlett, "Building an Image of the Southwest: Mary Colter, Fred Harvey Company Architect," in *Great Southwest*, eds Weigle and Babcock, 24. Mary Colter's architecture is credited with helping to create the image of the Southwest for tourists. Her structures do not take anything away from the scenic views, but instead give the tourists the chance to feel as though they were pioneers or Native Americans, but, of course, without the danger.

⁶⁹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 93, 98.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 92.

train, the automobile was a powerful symbol of modernity. When contrasted with the horse or when modern luxuries were absent, the cultural and intellectual superiority of the traveler was proven. Furthermore, the simple fact that it was not the native who was travelling, but who was serving the traveler, established a hierarchy in these images that was implied to the viewer. This was an element seen in the paintings of William Hahn. Americans used travel as a way of claiming and obtaining culture. Touring was a commodity that could be bought to prove the sophistication and wealth of a person or family as well as a ritual that provided class and cultural distinction.

Cultural interaction and an experience of Southwestern tribal life continued to be a major element of the advertising campaign of the Santa Fe Railroad, Indian Detour, and Harveycars. In words taken from company pamphlets, the Southwest was a “last refuge of magic, mountains, and quaint ancestors,” “our own wonderland,” and one that was inhabited by “gentle, peaceful, and picturesque people.”⁷¹ Yet no language could match the power of the visual images produced by the Santa Fe Railroad. Their careful construction of place and experiences, and the potential for a seemingly genuine, cultural immersion and adventure proved to be an effective enticement for tourists.

Despite the predominance of the Native American in railroad marketing campaigns and the continued draw of the landscape, railroads used other potential experiences and intangible commodities to lure customers to their lines. Railroads promoted the train itself. The speed and efficiency, luxury and technology of the trains were the primary factor of the posters and pamphlets published by the various railroads. In some sense, a train journey was not an intangible commodity. After all, a tourist could

⁷¹ Weigle and Babcock, “Part III: Introduction,” in *Great Southwest*, 157.

purchase a ticket and sit in comfort. However, railroad posters advertised more than just a seat. Posters offered a chance for an escape, for the thrill of speed, and the newness of previously unseen lands.

One such image was designed by Maurice Logan in 1927 for the Southern Pacific Railroad, which though similar to the Santa Fe in formal qualities, offers a thematic contrast (Figure 12). A white border surrounds the image of the poster, and in this border is the only text. It is not particularly descriptive, simply stating: “By Rail Across Great Salt Lake Overland Route” at the top and Southern Pacific along the bottom. In the image foreground, two trains pass each other, arriving and departing the lake region. At right is a tall mile post marker that, along with a few birds, is the only intrusion in the vast yellow sky that makes up the top half of the image. The poster is designed so that the viewer would feel mere feet from the passing trains. The trains are directly in the viewer’s line of sight and block out most of the surrounding landscape. Though in the distance, the mountains are barely visible over the top of the train, and the Great Salt Lake is represented by small patches of blue at the bottom left and right of the poster. What landscape is visible is made up of solid planes of warm yet muted color. This is in direct contrast with the harder lines and cold gray and black tones of the train. A carefully placed wisp of white also depicts the speed of the train’s piston rods, moving too fast to be seen. Yet though the train seems imposing, its power, speed, and presence in nature held a powerful appeal for tourists. Not only would they arrive at their destination quickly, physical might was an important characteristic for a country that had recently survived the horror of World War I. This element can also be seen in contemporary

French railroad advertisements. The train was promoted as a device for moving away from war and to a better future.

The image of the train as an instrument of speed and industrial power was also adopted by the Northern Pacific Railroad. In a poster designed for the company by Gustav Krollmann in 1929, simply captioned “North Coast Limited in the Montana Rockies,” a train roars into the viewer’s line of sight (Figure 13). The train travels so fast that the smoke it releases is pushed straight back by the wind, rather than floating peacefully into the air. Like the Southern Pacific poster, the pistons move too fast to be depicted as anything more than a blur. The surrounding scenery is painted in light, almost pastel shades. The mountains here are much more imposing than those in the Southern Pacific poster, and the sky much smaller, yet the train still seems to dominate the landscape. By painting the mountains in pale greens, blues, purples and pinks, as well as minimizing details such as rocky peaks or dense forests, Krollmann successfully keeps the attention of the viewer on the train. By comparison, the train is very detailed, including the engine number, various mechanical parts, and even an engineer leaning out of the window.

In the Northern Pacific image from 1900, the Northern Pacific Railroad was expressing to their customers the idea that there was no danger from the Native American population (Figure 9). By 1929, this was certainly no longer a tourist concern. The technology of the train, combined with its material comforts and links to idyllic territories, was the more powerful lure to a post-war audience. With its sleek lines, fast pace, and ability to climb difficult mountain passages, the train was a preeminent symbol of American strength and domination. Despite subtle thematic differences, the posters

and pamphlets emulated and played to the same sets of social rituals that were occurring and evolving in the United States, just as William Hahn had done and their European counterparts were doing. Posters and other forms of advertising appealed to an almost universal desire to escape the confines of work for the pleasure of leisure, to experience something beyond the ordinary, and to elevate one's social standing via the distinction of having traveled.

As in the United States, the continued expansion and high profits of the railroads throughout France and across Europe led to a decrease in ticket prices and a greater availability of affordable accommodations.⁷² As a result, Europeans saw the same sort of mass production of tourist advertising and imagery that occurred in the United States. In both France and the United States, advertisements relied primarily on the visual image supported by graphic text to convey this idea. While the messages varied, they were still aimed at a middle class audience and used similar elements: experience, status, and culture. The images were created through a predictable use of bright colors, bold graphics, and highly stylized artistic renderings of people, places, and trains.

Much as the paintings of Hahn and Monet demonstrated the different social rituals and habits of the leisure classes in their respective countries, these posters visualized ideal and, therefore, socially acceptable vacations and gave all classes an overview of the social rituals necessary for class ascension. Technology, and by extension tourism, became tools for social change. MacCannell states that modernity transcends older social boundaries, and this idea is abundantly evident in French railroad posters of the 1920s

⁷² Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c. 1780- c. 1880* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 158-159.

and 1930s.⁷³ With lowered ticket prices, more people had the option of leisure travel. The train itself was represented as the embodiment of modernity, and by taking it to places previously reserved for the social elite, the middle classes were invited by these images to participate in the idea of upward social mobility. A goal of the posters was not so much to equalize social classes by tourism as it was to promote the idea that tourism would gain tourists entrance into a higher social class.

As discussed in the previous chapter, tourist destinations of France had established themselves as worthy of being visited. They had been, as MacCannell states, sacralized by their history and by their cultural importance.⁷⁴ French images promoted the railroads heavily. The destination is always a key aspect of tourism and tourist advertising, but in these images the mode and experience of travel is the more prominent theme. Technology, not place, became the marketing tool to entice tourists, for it was the new, unknown, and, therefore, more noteworthy commodity. While this was seen in the United States, it was visualized more dramatically in European posters. A major difference is that French advertisements for tourism were more closely aligned with and influenced by avant-garde art styles. Elements of Cubism, Fauvism, Futurism, and even Russian Cubo-Futurism can be identified in posters from the 1920s and 1930s, though they were often tempered so as to appeal to middle and upper class audiences. Avant-garde style presented an old place in a new way and new technology in an exciting way. Advertisements from the United States were mostly resistant to abstraction and design,

⁷³ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 15.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

but there was just enough of a hint of the exotic to make a place or a form of transportation intriguing.⁷⁵

The Nord Express railroad line, which operated through northern European cities such as London, Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and Warsaw, offers a notable example. The poster was designed by A.M. Cassandre in 1927 (Figure 14).⁷⁶ Cassandre used a “schematic form to illuminate product or slogan, simplifying, superimposing, adopting cubist analysis, photography, collage, or distortion for effect, but always providing the unexpected illustration.”⁷⁷ Cassandre co-founded and was an artist for the advertising agency Alliance Graphique. He was keenly aware of the power of visual images that were flooding society. He applied avant-garde styles to his images in order to offer the middle class tourists an enticing suggestion of what a life of elite culture and glamour might be like.⁷⁸

The train on this poster dominates the entire left side of the image, making the viewer feel small by comparison. It is as tall as the wires on the right hand side of the poster, which form the shape of a hypotenuse triangle and meet at the bottom right corner. Along the bottom of the image is a fluid, horizontal x-shape that serves as a rough map of the cities served by the train lines. The image is constructed primarily through geometric shapes with line used judiciously for details. The shapes are built up to produce an image of a train speeding towards the horizon. There are long cylindrical

⁷⁵ Dawn Ades, *The Twentieth Century Poster: Design of the Avant-Garde*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), 24.

⁷⁶ Jean Delhaye, *Art Deco Posters and Graphics*, (Academy Editions, London, 1977), 16.

⁷⁷ Delhaye, *Art Deco Posters*, 6.

⁷⁸ In this image he seems especially influenced by the early works of Russian avant-garde artist Kazimir Malevich. Malevich's Cubo-Futurist style combined the technique of the analytic Cubist movement with the emphasis on speed and movement found in the Italian Futurist Manifesto, as well as a Russian interest in modern industrial materials. All of these elements can be seen in the Nord Express poster.

forms that comprise the main body of the train engine, with large circles shaded in triangular sections to make up the wheels. Thin white lines that represent the connecting and coupling rods are placed across the wheels, giving the engine just enough detail to look realistic. The train is black, but each panel and machine element is shaded, which adds liberal amounts of gray and white to the train. The shading of the wheels creates depth; however, the shading along the main body of the engine is representing reflected light, which emphasizes the modern materials used to build a dramatic and compelling image of the power and speed of the train.

The text on the poster offers no information about travel time, but the major claim of this poster is speed. There is no landscape to distract the eye of the viewer from the train, only a sky that fades from dark blue to pure white. Unlike American advertisements, no natural element stands in the way of the speeding train. The thin white lines of the connecting rods, despite their simplicity, are placed so that it seems they have been paused in the midst of powering the train, suggesting the “stop-action” of a photograph. The smoke billowing out of the top of the engine is dragged backwards by the wind, much like the North Coast Limited advertisement, implying that the train is going much too fast for the smoke to lazily billow upwards. The speed of the train and its contemporary geometrical depiction emphasize the train as a signifier of modernity. The train is presented as the tool for moving France forward. In 1927, World War I was still fresh in people’s minds. It was the first war to use modern weaponry, and as a result, the train was not just a symbol of forward movement but of the technological capability necessary to survive in the changing world and “a monument to the age of speed.”⁷⁹ In

⁷⁹ Mary Blume, *Côte d’Azur: Inventing the French Riviera*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 88.

Monet's paintings, the French flag signified French strength and unity. In 1927, that symbol became the train.

Similar to tourist advertisements produced by American railroads and excursion companies in the 1920s and 1930s, there is limited text on this poster. Early tourist pamphlets and magazine articles had previously included travel times, expenses, and other details regarding the services offered by the railroad company. There is little effort to promote any of the specific advantages the train might offer. Instead, the main text at the top of the image simply states the train line while the text around the border lists other connecting lines associated with Nord Express. The other rail lines are written in French, English, and German, based on the countries through which they travel. Because the text borders rather than crosses the visual image, the focus remains on the train itself. This elimination of text harkens back to the Baltimore-Ohio Railroad Artist Excursion image (Figure 2). Words were the promotional method of the past. Contemporary marketing campaigns believed in the strength of the graphic image and its streamlined, modernized designs.

Cassandre, along with other artists creating promotional images for railroad companies, linked the trains to modernity and in doing so associated tourism as well. Travel was an expression of a person's advanced cultural and social status. By making the train look sleek, fast, and technologically advanced, Cassandre informed the viewer that the best way to achieve modern culture was on the Nord Express. Just as neither nature nor structure prevented the movement of the train, there was nothing to prevent the advancement of technology and modernity.

Many of these same characteristics were seen in another French railroad poster, this one for the Chemins de Fer de L'est line by Theodoro in 1929 (Figure 15). This dramatic poster also suggests similarities with the North Coast Limited poster, of a train in the rugged landscapes of the American northwest, or in this case, the Alps. As the train heads towards the viewer, it crosses the picture plane from left to right and forms a diagonal that divides the poster into two triangular halves. The bottom half is comprised of the large black train, under which is the main text that states the name of the line. Text graphics are printed in shades of gray and emulate the bars of the train tracks. The top triangular half is comprised of a small strip of gray-blue sky, a large white mountain, and smaller hills shaded in blues and whites. There is not much color, and the landscape in this advertisement is only marginally more recognizable than that in the previous advertisement. Like the map at the bottom of the Nord Express image, here there is also a fluid line representing the cities served by the Chemins de Fer de L'est line.⁸⁰

While using even less text than the Nord Express image, the artist has managed to impart just as much information about the train as any of the Santa Fe Railroad Indian Detour pamphlets. Similar to many of the images discussed, the most dramatic messages of the poster are those that are not written. As in the Nord Express, here the emphasis is speed. Behind the engine, there is only a very small portion of a passenger car visible. Theodoro maintains the focus on the power of the engine as it steams through the Alps. Like the poster produced by the North Coast Limited line, the train is undeterred by

⁸⁰ According to this schematic, the train has starting points in London and Paris, travels through northern France into Switzerland, and then south to Milan. Including the red track line informs the viewer that the train serves the Alps region of Europe and that the train has the power to travel through the rugged mountain range. The continuation of the red line south of Milan implies that there are additional services in other parts of Italy, though these are not advertised here.

mountains or other rugged landscapes. Light reflecting off the cylindrical black engine literally highlights the modern materials used to construct the train. The smoke produced by the train flies backwards in the wind and wisps of air have been depicted over the wheels of the train, which produces a strong sense of movement in an otherwise static image.

The elements of the poster are built from geometric shapes highly suggestive of the style of Synthetic Cubism. The Alps are comprised of a series of triangles, while the train is compiled from long cylinders and circles. Even the text seems a series of blocks, half circles, and angles. Theodoro emulated the Cubist style but did so in a manner that would not alienate more conventional tourists but instead invite them into a modernist world they might not otherwise encounter. This other world, however, is not just the art world. It is the world of the upper class, the fashionable elite who are concerned about art, culture, technology, and fashionable destinations. In the 1860s and 1870s, in the paintings of Monet, this was the world of leisure and relaxation, an escape from the new industrial city. In the 1920s the appeal became excitement, speed, and the cult of the modern. In both the United States and France, the train became the vehicle of escape from the realities of urban working life and grisly memories of World War I and a method of gaining social mobility.

Another parallel between the United States and France was a focus on a place and its entertainments rather than the train. Many of these posters advertised the appeal of the tourists' destination. Touring by car and by bike had become popular in France, and

guidebooks with lists of amenities and service stations were prolific.⁸¹ Rural towns were marketed for their medieval architecture or picturesque historical qualities and coastal towns for their beauty. In France, the production of images for specific places promoted a subtle experience with local cultures. More common were images of glamour, wealth, and culture, with just a touch of the exotic.

Railroad posters promoting tourist destinations, as opposed to a method of travel, emphasized enjoyable leisure activities a traveler could partake in at a specific site.⁸² Avant-garde stylistic qualities were often used as was the theme of a break from the reality of the tourist's everyday life. There is a sense of excitement, entertainment, and social prestige offered by these posters, often achieved by a limited use of text and a strong reliance on visual imagery. One such image is a poster produced by the French Railways company (Figure 16). The upper three-quarters of the advertisement is comprised of the visual image, with only the bottom quarter for a small space for text that reads "Go by train to the French Riviera." Underneath this in small, faint letters are the words French Railways. The French Riviera had blossomed in the mid-nineteenth century, with fifty hotels constructed in only forty-five years.⁸³ It had been "discovered" by aristocrats and developed specifically with the wealthy in mind; like many destinations in France, the Riviera had been an elite destination long before the French Railways advertised it as desirable place to vacation. Like the other French and American railroad advertisements, the point of this image is to sell tickets on the French Railways. This is a characteristic that seldom changes. Unlike other French posters, French

⁸¹Patrick Young, "La Vielle France as Object of Bourgeois Desire: The Touring Club de France and the French Regions, 1890-1918," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar, (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 173, 175.

⁸² However, these activities and entertainments were not sponsored by the advertiser.

⁸³ Mary Blume, *Côte d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 30.

Railways chose to make place the theme, rather than the means of transport, much like the Santa Fe Railroad's pamphlets for Indian Detours. French Railways designed their image to appeal to the upper middle class traveler, constructing a place where artistry and culture met beauty and entertainment and where the *nouveaux-riches* could mingle with aristocrats and improve their social standing. As in the United States, visual tourist advertisements promised their viewers cultural superiority.

This is a much more colorful poster than either of the previous two. While still built up from geometric shapes in a Cubist fashion, this artist seems to have adopted some of the vibrant color techniques of the Fauvist art movement. In this poster, color represents emotion and captures sensory pleasure more than it is a realistic depiction of a place. Blue skies and water, green palm trees, and colorful dwellings give off a feeling of warmth and comfort. The main residence structure of the image is made entirely from rectangular or triangular blocks of warm color. It features an orange chimney, red roof, and white, yellow, and pink walls. Various shades of green, orange, peach, blue, and brown make up the shadowy segments of the buildings in the background. While the geometric elements are reminiscent of the Cubist works of Pablo Picasso or Georges Braque, the color and coastal setting are more in the style of Henri Matisse and other Fauvist painters. Color and form are the most predominant formal qualities of this poster, but line is present in the smaller details of balconies and ship masts. The only curvilinear lines in the poster are located in the hull of the boats, mooring in the water in front of the residence and church structures. The boats are equally as colorful as the buildings; yellow and green hulls, pink and white interiors, with red and yellow stripes. In the sandy brown area in front of the primary structure are several human figures. It is unclear if this area is

meant to be a boardwalk, a pier, or is actually the beach although the color, and the presence of what seems to be an umbrella, would suggest that it is a beach. However, the nearness of the boats, as well as the abrupt way that the water meets the land, could suggest a pier. Whether beach or boardwalk, this poster has created an environment of vibrancy and life. The brilliant colors are bold enough to make the Riviera exotic and appealing. Moreover, the figures present on the poster are dressed informally and even scantily. These figures have been liberated from the strict, buttoned-up dress of the bourgeoisie so that in addition to the vibrant landscape, the poster sells corporeal liberation and sexuality.

Despite the stylistic differences, this image imparts many of the same messages as those featuring images of the train and the social rituals so dominant in the Normandy paintings by Monet. Here is an idyllic world of boardwalk strolls and luxury yachting on crystal blue Mediterranean waters. This is an environment where industry has not penetrated; like the paintings by Monet, industrial elements have been hidden from the view of the tourist.⁸⁴ Tourists can relax, mingle with the social elite, and leave feeling that they had a higher cultural awareness and involvement. Most importantly, though the artist chose not to include a train, there is just enough text to remind the audience and potential customer how to get to this paradise. The train is the device that will help the everyday, middle class individual reach new levels of society and modernity. If the train was the visualization of modernity, then these idyllic tourist destinations were the tangible proof and benefits of it. The destinations and the sense of social superiority were the commodities that aesthetic production created and promoted, because in a post-war

⁸⁴ Such industrial elements include factories and other structures designated for work.

society that wanted change but was still dominated by class, the promises of tourism could reap substantial economic rewards. Tourism as a business was booming. Cities along the French Riviera, including Nice and the principality of Monaco, restructured themselves to be glamorous and luxurious, building new hotels, casinos, and terraces to support the new tourist population.⁸⁵ Tourism guides and pamphlets such as those produced by Michelin were not only rampant but also earned their companies and subdivisions profits that, in turn, stimulated the rapid growth of the industry.⁸⁶

Advertising techniques for tourism in the United States and France were often similar. In the United States, the Santa Fe Railroad created an interest in the remote scenery and exotic cultures of the Native Americans that not only drew tourists but contributed to a sense of cultural superiority that could result from tourism. French railroads used avant-garde artistic styles to showcase the class and cultural exclusivity of its destination. In these images, Cubist, Italian Futurist, Fauvist, and other avant-garde artistic styles were the preferred method of representation because they were yet another way of promoting modernity and the exotic attractions outside of the working industrial city. Artists and the companies they were working for used the train, and by extension tourism, as a prime symbol of modernity.

There was a new theme in advertisements of the experience of the modern train, of a desire for speed and technology rather than just an appreciation for nature. For societies recently affected by World War I, there was an urgent appeal in the technology of the train. A train could literally move a tourist away from the harsh landscapes of

⁸⁵ Mary Blume, *Côte d'Azur*, 38-40, 74.

⁸⁶ Stephan L. Harp, "The Michelin Red Guides: Social Differentiation in Early-Twentieth-Century French Tourism," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar, 192.

France and Europe ravaged by trench warfare, but it also took them away metaphorically, to places where a tourist could forget, to places untouched by violence. Trains represented modernity, and tourist and advertising companies transformed the train from a vehicle into a symbol of promise. However, this was not just the hope of a more peaceful future. The railroad business was a lucrative one, and advertisements prompted the idea that to ride a train was to be a part of that profitable and powerful enterprise. According to the railroad companies producing the advertisements, tourism was high on the class hierarchy, a method of achieving cultural status and superiority, of breaking out of the mundane and living life beyond urban capitalism.

The railroad was a predominant mode of travel for several decades in the early twentieth century before the convenience, lower cost, and accessibility of travel by automobile began to dominate the tourist industry. The car instigated a new freedom and independence of travel that would compel tourism companies to restructure their marketing techniques to attract this new form of traveler. Despite such new trends, the use of visual images and powerful graphic design to evoke an experience and create a desirable commodity would persevere and deepen.

Chapter 4

THE CONSTRUCTION OF EXPERIENCE IN AIRLINE TRAVEL POSTERS

Striking new conventions emerged in mass produced posters for tourism companies and their destinations as the twentieth century unfolded. The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed an early occurrence of this trend as North American tourism companies adopted highly stylized images that placed less emphasis on place in favor of images that promoted methods of travel, much like the European railroad posters discussed in the previous chapter. With the popularity and affordability of the automobile and with other modes of leisure travel such as cruises and airlines, tourism posters in Europe and the United States continued to use subtle elements of avant-garde art styles to appeal to large numbers of people and more diverse classes. However, images were more orientated toward popular cultural stereotypes of destinations than they were with radical new artistic conventions. These new images were still easily readable and often used vibrant colors with eye-catching images and bold modern graphics. At their most basic, these images sought to construct popular expectations of what a modern vacation might be. Probing deeper into the imagery and social context of these advertisements, the mixing of front and back realities discussed by Dean MacCannell and highlighted in previous chapters can be seen in several typical advertisements. Often there is less emphasis placed on the mingling of social groups, as was seen in the Santa Fe Indian Detour images (Figures 10 and 11) and in its place, a sense of the inauthentic emerges, suggesting that the modern traveler has nostalgia for ancient cultures based solely on historical and cultural stereotypes, and that ultimately serve the economic goals of

tourism companies.⁸⁷ Frequently, there is a contrast suggested between the quaint cultures represented by the poster and modernity of the tourist. That contrast is constructed through cultural stereotypes that contribute to the tourist's sense of superiority and are calculated to feed a tourist's cultural expectations.

The images in this chapter will be used to analyze aspects of the development that occurred in tourism advertisements from the inter-war period to the decades following the Second World War. Before the start of World War II, tourist images typically reflected the desire of citizens to distance themselves from the violence of war, both physically and mentally. Inter-war images for railroads showed trains climbing mountains or speeding into a distant horizon, symbolically leaving war-torn landscapes behind and heading for leisure. After World War II, images refocused so that while a mode of travel might be present, the primary emphasis of a tourist advertisement was on a specific place and the enjoyment that could be had there. Tourist images of this time do not imply the global tensions of the period, such as the Cold War or the Korean War; instead, advertisements reflected the growing prosperity of the post-war world. Often they showed airplanes soaring to distant exotic lands replete with culture and glamour. Airplanes opened up the world like never before and created vast new opportunities for tourism. With these new destinations opened by air travel came a variety of new tourist experiences and expectations that are represented in tourist advertisements. Those exotic experiences—whether exploring ancient ruins or temples, mingling with colorful local cultures, or going out on the town in a stimulating and fast-paced city—were the powerful new commodities of tourism. Like their predecessors, postwar posters for these new

⁸⁷ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), xii.

destinations led the viewers to believe that vacations in such exotic and remote places were a route to social prestige and cultural superiority by establishing hierarchies between the tourist and the local.

An advertisement produced by Richard A. Fish for the Canadian Pacific Cruise Lines in 1925 and captioned “Round the World and Mediterranean” is a fine example of the continued use of avant-garde art styles by tourism companies (Figure 17). Railroad advertisements in North America had previously been much more pedestrian, with only minor elements of modern art conventions visible in the images. The poster, constructed for the Canadian Pacific Cruises, conveyed the vibrancy and exoticism of a cruise to various regions around the Mediterranean and is highly abstracted. The image is dominated by planes of uniform color in shades of red, orange, purple, and green.⁸⁸ The graphic on the cover of this booklet is gold and merges with the strongly geometric patterning of the image. There is no indication of a specific place or country, but instead two female figures are represented in a swirl of colorful planes. The only identifying graphic proclaims a cruise that travels “Round the World and Mediterranean.” The image offers the suggestion that enticing cultural experiences will be encountered on this journey. Two female figures appear in the center and at top left of the image. While parts of their bodies are clearly depicted within geometric space, other aspects of their bodies are rendered by the geometric shapes, for example, a large triangle forms the skirt of the figure in the top left. Like the images analyzed in the previous chapter, this advertisement is influenced by Cubism. The vibrancy of color and abstract style also distance the image

⁸⁸ In some planes, there is very subtle patterning or color variation; however, these variations are not vivid enough to change the shape of the sections they are found in.

from traditional representational conventions, which, in turn, subtly suggest that a tourist would become open to new exotic experiences traveling “round the world”.

Each figure suggests a culture of the Mediterranean world. The woman in the top left could represent a Spanish flamenco dancer with her dramatic arm movements, a subtly patterned full skirt, and dark hair. However, she also wears an angular headdress, which could make her a fashionable Frenchwoman. The central female carries a large Greek or African looking urn on her head, and the rest of her appears to suggest other ancient or exotic Mediterranean cultures. She has a darker skin tone than the other figure and wears gold cuffs around her upper arms, more stereotypical of the ancient Egyptians or North Africans. Her dress drapes erotically over one shoulder and is held up by a thin strap across her back. The central woman is turned so that her left shoulder and most of her bare back are open to the gaze of the viewer, and the hand she has placed on her hip draws the eye to the curve of her figure. The arm she holds up to balance the vase atop her head also exaggerates the line of her body and makes her figure available to the audience. The woman in the top left corner wears a sleeveless blouse that dips low between her breasts and below her armpits, thus exposing much of her chest and upper torso. She leans back, which serves to push her chest forward suggestively. Though across her body, her right arm does little to cover her, and her left arm is thrown out to the side, offering no obstruction to the viewer’s gaze. In addition, her eyes are closed, leaving her unaware of the gaze of the audience. Not unlike the Native Americans in the Santa Fe Railroad pamphlets, the women’s presence creates an exoticism and a suggestive sexual aspect calculated to arouse the interest of a potential tourist. There is an implication of a titillating sexual experience to be encountered on the cruise. “The belief

amongst people from affluent countries that women of colour are more available and submissive” is evident in this poster: the women are scantily clad and drawn in positions that are both vulnerable and inviting.⁸⁹ The sexualized look of the women suggests to the viewer a baser local culture, one less morally refined. While this was in some ways a part of the appeal of the image, it was also an effective method of distinguishing between the tourist and the local and establishing the tourist as the superior.

As described by John Urry in his book, “the tourist gaze is directed to features that ...separate them off from everyday experience.”⁹⁰ In this advertisement, Canadian Pacific Cruise Line offers a unique fantasy world of foreign cultures where the women are available sexually, if not promiscuous, and that will appeal to a variety of tourists taking its cruises “round the world”.⁹¹ Canadian Pacific presumes the audience to be white, heterosexual males of the upper middle class who would be enticed by the idea of promiscuous women and more liberal cultures. However, the image has equal potential to appeal to women, who, stifled by the strict codes of middle class life in the 1920s, would find appeal in visiting a country where those codes were relaxed.

If the Canadian Pacific Line wished to make this cruise more about place, they could have easily made the dress of the women more specific or the background less abstract. A more realistic interpretation of space might have made the poster’s destination more readable but would have lost the link to contemporary artistic styles. Like the European railroad advertisements from the inter-war period, the appeal of a cruise had less to do with an actual place and was more about experiences that one might have, as

⁸⁹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 63.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

well as potential social and cultural gains that could result from being a tourist. By utilizing the Cubist style, Canadian Pacific demonstrated awareness of cultural trends, which allowed their customers to engage and participate in high culture as well. This advertisement informs a viewer that a Mediterranean cruise offered its participants exotic cultures, freer sexuality, and the prestige and social capital that came from European travel.

Between 1921 and 1924, immigration from Europe was restricted by the United States government, so steamship lines converted areas previously reserved for “steerage” immigrants to “Tourist Third Class” sections, designed to accommodate lower middle class tourists. The popularity of the “Tourist Third Class” led to improved dining areas, lounges, smoking rooms, and cabins. This conversion allowed larger numbers of people to participate in travel and reinvigorated the shipping industry that had been stunted by World War I.⁹² During this period, images like the Canadian Pacific Cruise advertisement reflected a growing adoption of avant-garde styles by North American companies.

While the cruise industry reached new heights of luxury, fashion, and accessibility, other methods of travel were having a profound impact on the tourism industry as well. After the First World War and well into the 1930s, the automobile “democratized” travel, so that more people in a wider range of social classes were able to participate in leisure.⁹³ “Cars introduced speed and mobility to everyday life” and gave

⁹² Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 235, 236. According to Levenstein, “About 40 percent of the 322,000 Americans traveling to Europe in 1927 went Tourist Third Class.”

⁹³ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 16, 26.

the suburban dwelling middle class a new taste for tourism.⁹⁴ Air travel also increased in popularity throughout the 1930s, although the Second World War momentarily arrested the growth of a tourist economy, as men went to war and early airlines such as Pan American Airways became involved in war preparation and aid.⁹⁵ Despite this stagnation, it was not long until tourism re-ignited as the propeller plane, and quickly thereafter, the jet airplane, took the place of the car as the premier method of conveyance.⁹⁶ Airplanes became a fashionable and even enviable mode of travel, the instrument of travel that could take a tourist to the most exotic, most glamorous, *new* locations with unprecedented speed.⁹⁷ Artistic trends shifted in airline posters to focus on local geography and stereotypes in order to appeal to a new type of tourist in the “jet age.”

Post World War II images featured airplanes and are generally bright, colorful, and positive: the landscape in these posters appears unscathed by war, and the people smile and wave, while above a lone airplane moves through a clear sky. Tourism companies quickly embraced the economic potential of the jet and found new ways to market it as a means to exotic locales and higher social status. The economic boon of the post-war years also meant that the working classes had greater access to leisure travel.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Max Gallo, *The Poster in History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000), 229, 230. American motor tourists crossed the country visiting major cities as well as national parks and landmarks. Motels and service stations were frequent and inexpensive, which allowed American’s at many social levels to travel.

⁹⁵ R.E.G. Davies, *Airlines of the Unites States Since 1914* (London: Putnam, 1972), 265.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 508-509. The propeller plane dominated the field after the end of the Second World War, but as early as 1949 the first successful jet engine flights crossed Europe, and by 1954 other airlines were utilizing the jet engine.

⁹⁷ Davies, *Airlines of the Unites States Since 1914*, 388.

⁹⁸ Mary Caputi, *A Kinder, Gentler America: Melancholia and the Mythical 1950s* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 2005), 17. In the 1940s and 1950s, American was the wealthiest country on the planet. The typical white American family saw a continuous rise in wages and standards of living in the 1950s. Access to consumer good high, with 73 percent of white Americans owning a car by 1956, and

Therefore, more expensive commodities like airplane travel became potent signifiers of success and upward mobility. With travel by jet planes, tourism became “one of the defining characteristics of being ‘modern’” just as railroads had been in the early decades of the twentieth century.⁹⁹ Companies like Trans World Airlines and Air France produced posters and advertisements that offered images of exciting new experiences available for the tourist (Figures 18-22).¹⁰⁰ Many relied on bold color, offering access to popular destinations, and using cultural stereotypes to entice customers. Airline advertisements usually featured an airplane near the top of the image, which appeared to be soaring to the next exciting destination. Posters were fine tuned to visually suggest the various environments of the destination promoted. The visual image continued to dominate the advertisement, with minimal typography. As in previous advertisements and paintings, there is a strong dichotomy between the “front” tourist space and the “back” area reserved for the local, working class population. However, there are also representations of what MacCannell describes as the “victory of modernity.”¹⁰¹ In these posters, the modern world re-imagined and stereotyped earlier cultures, thereby artificially preserving them. Ancient Egypt, medieval Ireland, and the “Orient” are examples of some of the cultures reconstructed to uphold generalized ideals and cultural vistas offered by tourism companies (Figures 18, 19, and 21). Such cultural conceptions were promoted by the airline industry because they were appealing and yet safe experiences for travelers. The

81 percent owning a television. In addition, new vacation destinations such as Disneyland opened in the 1950s, offering Americans even more opportunity for enjoyable experiences.

⁹⁹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ David E. Sumner, *The Magazine Century: American Magazines Since 1900* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 117. Magazines were very common in the 1940s and 1950s, and publishers saw the desire for leisure time and products. *Fortune* magazine found that Americans were spending \$18 billion every year on travel—regional and international— as well as other leisure activities. It is likely that magazines saw an increase in tourism promotion in these and following decades.

¹⁰¹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, xii.

entry of a tourist into the world of the local can seldom be authentic and such representations of past cultures were rarely more than stereotypical.

In a dramatic poster for their Egypt service, David Klein, working for Trans World Airlines, constructed an image that played on themes of history, myth, and exoticism (Figure 18). In the poster from 1960, three faces in profile resonate with images derived from ancient Egyptian art. The faces overlap, which would indicate that the figure at left is closest to the viewer. However, like ancient Egyptian art, there is no apparent depth or perspective in the poster. Rather, the three figures exist in a flat space. Line and color are equal in their presence and creation of shape and space. Blocks of color are the basis for the forms, while line provides detail to the faces and elaborate headdresses and jewelry worn by the disembodied heads. The contrasts between light and dark provide no dimensionality other than allowing the viewer to see where one face ends and another begins. In a burnt orange color across the top of the poster is the word “Egypt”, with “Fly TWA” in smaller type below it.¹⁰² The colors of the poster are rendered in shades of orange, yellow, red, and brown, evocative of the inviting warmth of the Egyptian desert.¹⁰³ Together the colors create a poster that is harmonious and repetitive. Though the faces are quite static, the bold colors keep the image from being dull and stiff. The faces are rendered in a modernist manner and the appropriation of the style from ancient Egyptian art is unmistakable. The elaborate head pieces of the figures are reminiscent of the pharaohs whose relics would have been a large attraction to a tourist experience of the most popular sights.

¹⁰² “Fly TWA” was featured on all TWA posters, in various sizes.

¹⁰³ Derek Hopwood, *Egypt: Politics and Society 1945-1990* (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991), 2.

Trans World Airlines was advertising an experience of the storied history of an ancient world of tombs, pyramids, and pharaohs, not the culture of contemporary Egypt. Figures in an ancient style of dress are the focal point of the image. However, unlike local figures in the works of William Hahn, the “authentic” world promoted in the poster by Trans World Airlines is not contemporary, nor do the figures work in service to the tourist.¹⁰⁴ The Egypt offered in this poster is a mythic place of storied history that does little to “anchor [the tourist] to contemporary reality.”¹⁰⁵ Historic architecture and culture from the time under the Islamic Ottoman Empire is not presented, and contemporary Egyptian culture, for example, the Islamic religion or power struggles against British imperial presence, is excluded from this image in order to make it more appealing to the tourist, much as Monet excluded signs of the growing industrialism in Normandy, and the Santa Fe Railroad romanticized the vision of life on an Indian reservation. Each tourist destination is represented as having a specific appealing touristic quality. For Normandy and the American West, those qualities were scenic escapes from urban life (Figures 4-8). Native Americans were transformed into a tourist sight once they were no longer perceived as a threat (Figures 10 and 11). In Egypt, according to Trans World Airlines, the commodity on offer is an adventure in the tombs of pharaohs such as King Tutankhamen, with the mystique of curses and strange practices of ancient peoples. By ignoring the modern aspects of Egyptian culture, Trans World Airlines establishes Egypt as a safe yet exotic vacation spot.¹⁰⁶ Tourist Egypt is crafted around stereotypes that

¹⁰⁴ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 92.

¹⁰⁵ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 40.

¹⁰⁶ Hopwood, *Egypt*, 12-21. Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, there was a continuous struggle between the British and Egyptians, who desired liberation from Britain’s imperial rule. Prior to 1952, the tensions between the two countries were not always violent but this changed between 1952 and

imply an authentic historical excursion and a subtle cultural experience, but not a complete immersion.¹⁰⁷ Trans World Airlines used the stereotypes of ancient Egypt for their own economic benefit, to preserve an ancient place in a modern world, and create a destination that would otherwise be too foreign for white middle class travelers.¹⁰⁸

Another poster designed by David Klein in 1960 for Trans World Airlines for their service to Ireland also plays on the cultural stereotypes and familiar geographical aspects of the country (Figure 19). Ireland, as seen from the perspective of this poster, was little more than a lush green countryside of small, simple cottages, friendly old fashioned people, and quaint Catholicism. By emphasizing only such positive and traditional Irish cultural stereotypes, the airline steered tourists away from rougher ones, such as the violence associated with the Irish Republican Army, the extreme poverty, and excessive consumption of alcohol.¹⁰⁹ However, by the period of this poster, Ireland was already much more than these stereotypes. That much is implied from the simple fact that the nation already had an airport for Trans World Airlines to service.

Here, rather than the historicized desert exoticism of Egypt, Trans World Airlines is promoting the idea that tourists would be welcomed to the country by locals who would be their cultural and technological inferiors. Like the contrast between wealthy traveler and poor local worker in William Hahn's *Sacramento Railway Station*, there is a

1954, when the Egyptians revolted. By ignoring any sign of contemporary culture, this poster denies any of the struggles between Egypt and the European and Middle Eastern countries whose political maneuvers were often in question.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 98.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., xii, xix.

¹⁰⁹ Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd, 2011), 11-13. The Irish Republican Army was active throughout the late 1940s and 1950s. A cessation was not called until the 1960s, due to a lack of success and division. The violence ranged from attacks against Northern Ireland, raids on British weaponry holdings, and the bombing of public works in Dublin.

stark difference in this poster between the man on horseback and the airplane soaring through the blue sky, which the tourist could identify as their elite mode of transportation.

Stylistically, this is a conservative image. In the center of the poster is a pleasant landscape that fades into the background and is dotted with quaint cottages, small farms, and bisected by a thin winding stream that leads back to verdant hills and a medieval castle. In the foreground, a man on a horse and a woman in slightly antiquated Irish peasant costume with a basket wave in a gesture of welcome. At left in the foreground is another cottage, and at right is a large Celtic cross with relief carvings. There is an implied contrast constructed between the traditional rural culture of Ireland and the social superiority of the tourist that results from a sense of technological advantage over the nostalgic Irish culture and people.¹¹⁰ The cross highlights the cultural chasm between the traditional faith-based destination and the technology-driven travel of the tourists. The picturesque Irish farmers are linked to the small rural cottages, crumbling medieval fortresses, farms that still relied on horses, and religion. The Celtic cross in the foreground, with the farmers behind it, serves as a symbolic barrier between the ways of the quaint past and the arrival of jet powered modernity. The tourist and local, however friendly, are in cultural opposition. The tourist looks to the skies and sees the plane, and knows that he is superior and a part of modern technological progress. The tourist views the plane as an efficient method of traveling the globe and discovering interesting places, while the Irishman remains to work his land.

The poster is designed as if the tourist were already in Ireland. The wave from the man on horseback and woman in the foreground suggest the viewer is in their presence

¹¹⁰ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 25.

and helps to minimize the social and physical distance between Irish farmer and tourist jet-setter. Even if the farmer and woman are only waving at each other, they exude a friendliness that extends to the tourist who is witnessing the interaction. Similar to the Santa Fe Indian Detour advertisements, the tourist is invited into the back, private space of the local. While Irish farmers were not actually hired by Trans World Airlines to appear for tourists as the Native Americans were, the interaction, nonetheless, remains false. A tourist might rent an Irish cottage for a few days, but they would not experience the grueling farm labor or poverty that an Irish farmer might. Moreover, unlike the historicized figures represented in the Egypt poster, Irishmen still exist, and will be in service to the tourist. Because the Irish were working for the tourist, the possibility of an authentic experience and a deeper awareness of a place are further minimized. Once again, Trans World Airlines attempts to represent a place for its old ways and customs, so that the tourist might achieve modernity through their separation.¹¹¹ One simplified poster image cannot begin to capture the essence of a country or a place, but Trans World Airlines and other companies did little in their advertisements to suggest that there was more to a place than the stereotypical experiences represented in their posters.

It is interesting to observe that for destinations within the United States, or at least for its modern cities, there is an absence of such distinct and limited cultural stereotypes. A poster produced by Trans World Airlines for New York City plays on the ideas of an intense, vibrant, and colorful city brimming with life, action, and movement (Figure 20). Also designed by David Klein in 1958, New York City is promoted here as *the* place of glamorous nightlife. Rather than a theme of superiority over the local cultures of a place,

¹¹¹ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, xii.

or the sense that the past is the only value a country has to offer, here the emphasis is on the city itself, and the modern one at that. This is the opposite of the early Monet paintings, in which people sought to escape the city. In the age of the airplane, there is a campaign dedicated to the vibrant life of the modern city and all of its wonders. Tourism had become such a huge and successful industry that every city and country wanted to be a part of it.¹¹² Country folk were enticed to visit the city, and foreign travelers were assured that no trip to the United States was complete without a visit to New York. For those who could not afford travel, this poster, like others, was a vicarious visual enticement and a temptation to experience the unsleeping New York City scene.

There is a suggestion that a vacation in this dynamic light filled city will yield only pleasure. Like all of the posters and paintings examined in this paper, this advertisement for New York City represents a constructed and highly filtered reality for a tourist. For a rural tourist headed to the city, this advertisement would assure them that the only experience to be had is that of a vibrant nightlife and stimulating lifestyle. New York City was advertised as a place beyond monotony. According to this image, New York City was not filled with factories spewing smog into an already gloomy sky, nor was it built of stone and concrete, a drab monotone world. It was a city of twinkling lights and bold colors, waiting for the tourist to arrive so that the fun could commence. Contrary to the earlier paintings of Normandy by Monet and the paintings of Hahn, (Figures 4-5, 7-8) there are no associations in this image to work, labor or strife. While both artists contrasted the leisurely tourist with local in the act of working, here Klein

¹¹² Alden Hatch, *American Express* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1950), 261. In 1949, Americans spent \$12,000,000,000 on domestic vacations, thanks, in part, to faster trains, a wider array of less expensive airlines to choose from, and bus services.

depicts no figures laboring nor taxis driving recklessly through the city streets. Moreover, the buildings that make up the city are dark; it is the posters and advertisements of Times Square that reflect light and are composed of neon colors. Work is literally in the shadows while bright lights urge the tourist to come and enjoy what the city has to offer.

The image of New York City as a dynamic cultural destination is derived, in part, from the construction of the poster using stylistic qualities strongly reminiscent of Precisionism, one of the few modern posters to utilize elements of an avant-garde movement so blatantly. Precisionism was a distinctly American art style that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s and continued to develop and adopt new influences through the 1930s. Compositions in the Precisionist style are distinguishable by their geometric yet realistic approach to the land and cityscape painting of modern, urban industrial America.¹¹³ Artists who practiced this style were influenced by such European movements as Cubism, Futurism, and Purism.¹¹⁴ In the Trans World Airlines New York City poster, the skyscrapers and billboard advertisements that make Times Square so famous are constructed from bright colors that seem to emerge out of the black background. There are no details to the structures, advertisements, or streets below, but the dotted lines and cluster of stars, combined with the bold colors, make the image incredibly dynamic. Despite being an abstract construction, the average middle class viewer could still read the visual cues and underlying messages of this poster. It is interesting to note that a contemporary influence is the Precisionist work of artists such as

¹¹³ Abraham A. Davidson, *Early American Modernist Painting 1910-1935* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1981), 5.

¹¹⁴ Davidson, *Early American Modernist Painting*, 177. One such artist was Georgia O'Keefe, whose painting *Radiator Building- Night, New York* from 1927 is stylistically very similar to the Trans World Airlines New York City poster. Painting and poster both use geometrical line and form to depict city structures in a nighttime setting, and contrast electric light with the darkness of night.

Georgia O'Keefe and Charles Sheeler, who achieved wide popular success as members of the Alfred Stieglitz circle at the 291 art gallery. Like the subtle use of avant-garde styles and principles found in European railroad images, this image introduced the middle class to high art. Though many tourists might not have recognized the Precisionist art style of this painting, the sense of life, adventure, and modernity would be a powerful enticement to those who lacked such excitement in the monotony of their own lives. These posters were like windows into different lifestyles, and for those who could not actually afford to travel, they offered vicarious thrills.

While this poster visualized for the tourist a different lifestyle, it was not one that the tourist would feel superior to or separate from. There are no human figures in this poster to present different cultural looks, norms, or clothing styles. None of the structures presented are antiquated, and the only mode of transportation in the image is an airplane. It is assumed that a part of the bustle in the lower portion of the image is automobiles, but like the airplane, these were a major part of a modern urban environment. The image suggests that New York City offers a tourist complete immersion into the pleasures of modernity. There is no contrast with the local because the native New Yorker was not necessarily the inferior of the tourist. There is very little implication of a back region or a subservient local, because New York City was American. A tourist would not necessarily have to interact with people from other cultures, races, and religions. The black background from which these colorful structures emerge may hint at the darker elements of the city, but the focus of the viewer is constantly pulled to the center of the poster so that the development of any alternate reality than the one presented is severely limited.

Similar stylistic qualities and thematic content defined tourist posters in France during the period post World War II. One such example is Air France, who promoted distant lands and exotic destinations using cultural stereotypes and vibrant imagery just as effectively as Trans World Airlines. Air France advertised a unique experience and the illusions of heightened cultural superiority over the locals and did so by subtly manipulating modern artistic conventions to depict geographical, architectural, or animal signifiers to represent a city or country. The lack of human presence in the following examples, and the emphasis placed on attractions such as architecture and landscape, diminished the feel of an actual interaction between local and tourist. Posters of this time may have evolved from the blatantly hostile imagery of laying tracks across the body of a Native American, but there remained a universal feeling of removal and superiority over non-white peoples. A poster produced by Air France and designed by G. Dumas in 1950 for the Extremo-Orient is an outstanding example of this (Figure 21).

Like the Trans World Airline advertisements, the only graphic text on this poster is the name of the airline and the destination. The visual image itself is simplistic, while featuring enough detail to be informative about the place and stimulate the imagination of the tourist. The unnamed artist of this poster emulated the flatness of Japanese prints, and achieved this stylistic mood through a solid red background, which constrains the imagery presented on the poster from forming a realistic space. The only other colors on the poster are yellow and green, which contrast boldly with the red background. Yellow is used to depict the conical shaped hat placed at an angle in the middle portion of the poster, above a sort of ground space or land mass, upon which several structures rest. On this hat are several darker shadows, which appear to be a rough sketch of the Asian

continent.¹¹⁵ The land shaped area below the hat is similar in shape to Japan, which like the hat, highlights the geographical qualities of the “Orient”. The temple structures depicted in the poster are styled after traditional Asian architecture. Despite these sketchy figures and vague structures, there is no perspective, and, therefore, no sense of proportion.

In addition, directly below the Air France title is an airplane, similar to the design seen in the Trans World Airline posters. The airplane, flying low over the rough map of Asia, represents the strong presence of the airline on that continent. When contrasted with the traditional hat of the peasant class and historic architecture, the airplane demonstrates the technological superiority of the tourist over the tourist attraction and its inhabitants. While there are no human figures included in the poster, there is still a strong suggestion of racial superiority. The structures in the image are depicted in a more traditional architectural style, and the conical hat is often worn by lower class rice paddy workers. Air France constructed a destination whose primary enticements were religious relics and cultural stereotypes based on the lower class. For many Americans and Europeans, at least one of the World Wars was a recent memory. To think of a country for its past was, therefore, much less threatening than to represent a country whose contemporary citizens had been the enemy and who had been responsible for the death of family and friends. Because the past is over, it is stable, “safe from the unexpected and untoward, from accident or betrayal.”¹¹⁶ Marketing a place and a people as non-threatening was the same device utilized by the Northern Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads earlier in the century

¹¹⁵ This type of traditional conical hat was worn by many cultures throughout Asia; it is fitting then that the hat features a rough map of the area.

¹¹⁶ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, 62.

(Figures 9-11). Americans were interested in Native American culture and history when much of it had been erased. Similarly, veterans of World War II were intrigued by Asia only after it had been constructed by Air France as a destination of traditional temples and devoid of hostile peoples.

However, the same elements that make the Orient a safe destination are also what make it enticing. The architecture depicted, while traditional, was vastly different from anything to be found in Europe or the United States. Even the flora drawn around the base of the temple-like structure was unusual, and all combined, made Asia into an exotic foreign destination. Superiority may have been comforting to the potential tourist, but the exoticism provided the thrill necessary to attract tourists.

The concluding image of this chapter is an Air France poster for the flight to West Africa (Figure 22). The poster was designed by Vincent Guerra in 1946, and like the Air France Extremo-Orient poster, there are no human figures depicted. Across the top of the poster an Air France jet appears and is the largest and most detailed image of a plane in these posters. The Air France logo, a seahorse, usually rather unobtrusive, is here made prominent in the top left corner of the poster. Along the bottom of the image is the Air France title and destinations, written on what is made to look like a wooden sign. In the middle ground are three elephants and several palm trees. Line is the predominant formal element of this poster. Strong outlines form the elephants and create leaf-like patterns on the ground. The ground lines are diagonal and create a shallow space; while the elephants diminish in size as the farther they are from the viewer, this regression does not contribute to the perspective of the poster. This poster is unique because it is monochromatic. The entire poster is produced with varying shades of brown, with only

Air France written in a light beige color for contrast. To avoid this image becoming boring, the artist has filled the empty space of the sky with a wood grain pattern. The wood grain lines are fluid and organic, which separates this poster from the previous advertisements for European railroads, the Canadian Pacific Cruise line, or New York City, which relied heavily on geometric shapes and modernist principles.

The wood grain gives this advertisement the appearance of being a woodcut print. Though woodblock prints had seen resurgence among German Expressionist painters in previous decades, woodcutting was a more traditional art method, especially in contrast with the mass produced images of the mid-twentieth century. The woodcut also seemed like an “earthy” art form because it relied on a natural material. This earthiness contributed to the African safari aesthetic that Air France was creating. It is a stylization that fits well with the stereotypical images of equatorial Africa: “primitive” tribal cultures co-existing with animals like the elephant. The lack of human figures operates similarly to the Extremo-Orient poster. While paintings by Monet and Hahn had established the local as a separate entity that worked for the tourist, and the Santa Fe Railroad encouraged an “authentic” Indian experience through gift shops, carefully designed pueblos, and well placed, hired Native Americans, Air France offered its customers an exotic environment that lacked any overt interaction with local peoples. Underlying the lack of figures is France’s struggle to accept the various cultures and people under their colonial rule as a part of their national identity, and not “alien and primitive.”¹¹⁷ There was a “marked intolerance” towards immigrants from Algeria and other regions of

¹¹⁷ Winifred Woodhall, “France in the Wilderness,” in *French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race*, ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges Van Den Abbeele. (New York: Lexington Books, 2003), 55.

Africa, regarding the Islamic religion in France.¹¹⁸ Therefore, in marketing Africa to French citizens, the removal of human presence was a method of disguising racial prejudice and promoting experience in a French colony without actually having to interact with colonists. The wild animals of the African landscape were adventure enough for upper middle class tourists. The safari was the “main attraction,” and would have been planned down to the minutest detail by a travel agent, not the tourist.¹¹⁹ Airplanes may have opened up an entire world of travel opportunities, but tourist experiences were still limited to those crafted and promoted by the airlines and by other tourism based companies. Advertisements were created to inform the potential tourist where they wanted to go and how they wanted to get there, but on a deeper level, were informing the French middle class viewer of a lack of interaction with a culture considered inferior.

Despite the separation implied between tourist and local, this image still indicates a far more extreme entrance into the back regions of a tourist destination. Though communication with locals may have been limited, the tourists on an African vacation could engage with wildlife. Tourists were still provided with shelter, but out in the African wilderness there were no walls—or cages—to separate the tourist from any native, animal or human. Conditions were rougher, and the tourist was much more remote, not just from a city, but from the safety and comfort of a hotel and their own specifically designated tourist space. Indian Detours provided a scheduled interaction

¹¹⁸ Tyler Stovall and Georges Van Den Abbeele, “Orientalism and the Mahgrebian Presence in Postcolonial France,” in *French Civilization and its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race*, ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges Van Den Abbeele. (New York: Lexington Books, 2003), 187.

¹¹⁹ Hatch, *American Express*, 246. The American Express Travel Service was one of the largest and most extensive in the world in the mid-twentieth century, planning and executing the vacations of hundreds of thousands of travelers per year.

with Native American employees, but African excursions sought out wild elephants. It was a much bolder tourist experience.

The airplane flying above the scene is removed from this primitive environment, and is like a safety net for tourists. The wood grain surrounding the plane is hazy, and the plane itself is drawn with more detail than in other TWA images. Such a rendering suggests that the metal of the airplane was both more powerful than wood and due to its modernity, separate from the “primitive” African environment. Just as the train was unstopped by any land mass that it encountered, the airplane was a force whose power could not be checked. It was a reassuring sight to tourists venturing forth into wilder landscapes; should one vacation not live up to a tourist’s standards, there was always another plane and another destination.

Glamorous, exciting, and, most importantly, *different* experiences were the key to a successful tourist advertisement, as well as a successful vacation in mid-century Europe and America. Whether that was lounging on a beach with the wealthy jet-set at the French Riviera, touring the Orient, or participating in the glittering nightlife of New York City, tourists at this time wanted vacations that would take them beyond the ordinary pale of everyday life and into the colorful worlds of exotic and foreign lands. Posters reflected these desires. There was a new commonality in tourist advertisements that emerges with the use of avant-garde styles in posters in the 1920s and accelerated after World War II with the even more frequent use of bold colors and graphics to produce illusions of visually appealing scenes for tourists. After World War II, leisure travel that had once been highly restricted to elites became widely available,¹²⁰ and, thus, the tourist industry

¹²⁰ Hatch, *American Express*, 261.

blossomed like never before to become the ultimate method of achieving a higher social status.

Despite the use of real elements of local cultures in these tourist images, the experiences they advertised are only constructed illusions. If locals were pictured, it was because they were in a position to be of service to the tourist. The contemporary local was stereotyped or even excluded, as there remained in the minds of many travelers an aversion to cultures different from their own. The contrast between front and back spaces in these places remain, and are especially prominent in the Trans World Airlines poster for Ireland. While a tourist could witness the life of an Irish citizen, there was a distinct separation between the two groups. These distinctions were often exaggerated by the religious, traditional, historical, and even anthropological connotations given to a destination. A tourist, it was always implied, had a superior position to the land and people that they visited. Having visual control over the expectations of a tourist destination meant that it did not need to be feared. The racial and cultural differences of a place were interesting to travelers when they were historic or deceased, not when the contemporary population was potentially threatening to national peace.

Both jet and propeller powered airplanes allowed for new visual constructions of the tourist experience. Air travel and exotic destinations were the prized tourist commodities crafted by the airlines to accelerate the growth of the tourist industry. With travel democratized to include the lower middle classes, tourist advertisements had a vast new market, and thanks to the airplane, they had thousands of new destinations to advertise. For those who could not travel, these posters offered vicarious thrills and the continuous temptation of upward social mobility and cultural superiority.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, leisure travel was a privilege reserved for the wealthy. However, the development of the railroads across Europe and the United States, combined with the economic growth that resulted from the Industrial Revolution helped make tourism a viable option to a larger number of people predominantly from the middle class. The high numbers of people living in large, polluted cities and surrounded at all times by labor led to the desire to escape the mundane rituals of working life to the scenic countryside. Yet without the images produced first by individual artists, and later by railroad, cruise ship, and airline companies, tourism could not have flourished as it did into one of the world's largest and most profitable industries.

Images had long been a stimulus for travel whether they be the paintings of the West calling American pioneers to their verdant, fertile valleys, or the scenic qualities of the seaside that were promoted for their healing properties to wealthy Europeans. Artists who traveled to new destinations visualized those scenic places for the everyday working man of the city who longed for different adventures and experiences. Visual images created a desire for a life beyond one's own, and turned landscape into commodity and vacation into social advancement. At their most basic, images were successful institutional support for tourism because they visualized distant lands to those who would otherwise never see them. Images enticed figures with lush scenery and exotic landscapes, as well as establishing a sense of intrigue about various destinations, their attractions, and the local population. The opportunity for new experience was a powerful motivator for the tourist. Experiences promoted by the various tourism companies,

whether they be the Santa Fe Railroad or Air France, were always beyond the ordinary. If an interaction with the local population was implied, the local provided some sort of entertainment value for the tourist. For example, “off the beaten path” with a Santa Fe Railroad Indian Guide meant witnessing a traditional ceremony or practice. The world was full of opportunities for excitement, if only the tourist would board the Canadian Pacific Cruise line, or hop on an Air France flight. Images were constructed by the artist or the company to be as appealing as possible to large audiences. They played on cultural stereotypes that implied superiority over the local population, eliminated elements of the site that were less enticing to a tourist mindset, and promised a move up the hierarchical steps of society.

Initial tourism by the middle class was done in imitation of the wealthy and the aristocratic, to align oneself with the higher class. Rituals of dress, location, and entertainment were imitated by middle class travelers in order to suggest that the participant had achieved the same cultural status. Paintings by Claude Monet and William Hahn show these rituals and how they were adopted by the middle class (Figures 4-8). Because tourism began in emulation of the upper class and because it was such a potent stimulus, subsequent images by other artists and companies maintained the idea that through tourism, a traveler could achieve cultural and social capital. By offering the tourist such distinction, advertisements were not only promoting a place and the experiences available there, but offered the tourist a better life.

These social promises were made through a tourist versus local construction in paintings, posters, and advertisements. In the United States, where there was a lack of history to lend prestige to various destinations, there was instead an implication of the

power of man over the land and any local population— namely, the Native American tribes— who lived there (Figures 9-13). In images from both France and the United States, advertisements contrasted the well-dressed, wealthy tourist with less fashionable, working class locals. Locals were typically in service to the tourist or were connected to service by their proximity to various services such as hotels and entertainment. The local was represented in paintings and posters as poorer than the tourist, nostalgic if not outdated in their lifestyle, and even sexualized to be a tantalizing enticement to the tourist. These depictions made the local weaker in comparison to the tourist, who was linked to money, class, and technology.

Transnational examples of constructed tourist images can be found in the paintings produced by Claude Monet in France and William Hahn in the United States. Monet's painted images of the Normandy coast from the latter half of the 19th century omitted industrial structures and enhanced natural features; this selective editing appealed to Monet's urban Parisian patrons. By removing the reminders of industrial activity, Monet presents to his viewers the idyllic yet still chic lifestyle that coastal towns offered to the visitors, and in a sense, a guide to aristocratic behavior and achievement.

In contrast, William Hahn painted tourists experiencing the wild, untamed American wilderness. Destinations in France were cultured, with just enough of an old world charm to provide urban visitors with a sense of nostalgia. However, such places did not exist in the United States. Instead, Americans travelled to see the land that they had so recently conquered. What the United States lacked in history they made up for with the beauty of the land and the implied sense of accomplishment that came with having brought it all under their control. Hahn, in the two paintings discussed in this thesis,

effectively contrasts the tourist and the local by depicting realistic scenes of the tourist experience. Tourists are upright, controlled, well-dressed, and separate from work. The locals depicted are lively, almost shabbily dressed, and if not physically laboring for the tourist, are placed near elements of service. Locals are also depicted as desensitized to the scenic qualities of the landscape they work in, which further distinguishes them from the tourist.

MacCannell's distinctions between front and back space were visualized by these two painters. Whether separate or contrasted, there is a divide between the realms of the tourist—hotels, beaches, casinos, restaurants—and those of the local. Though the two groups sometimes met in neutral territory, it was not until the early twentieth century that tourism advertisements began to promote an entry into the space of the local for a more “authentic” touring experience. The railroads began to promote excursions for these remote areas when a potential for profit was anticipated. Not only would they see the majestic landscapes, but the native peoples and their “primitivist” lifestyles. This way of life was highlighted by the “Indian Detours,” where from the comfort of an automobile, accompanied by an expert guide, tourists in the Southwest encountered scenes of Native American culture. There is a sense that the landscape is visually available to the tourists in the car. This construction would give the audience the feeling that while they were stepping into the unknown southwestern desert, they would still be safe and in control. Tourists held dominion over the land and the people in it. With Santa Fe Railroad images, there was also a sense of having removed the historical concerns about control over the Native American peoples. The Native tribes could be marketed as thoroughly subjugated, and a stimulating source of interesting cultural habits and souvenirs. Like the image of

tracks over the Indian body, the railroad, the ultimate symbol of modernity at the time, had tamed the Wild West. Like the contrast between the local and tourist, in Santa Fe Railroad images, the sense of superiority is derived from this link to modernity.

French railroads focused their advertisements on the train and the experience of travel itself. Posters emphasized speed and movement, and were constructed under the influence of various avant-garde art styles emerging or popular at that time. While the various cities and towns a train serviced were listed on railroad posters, the landscape surrounding the train on the poster was often vague. Unlike many of the other images, these railroad posters lack any sense of nostalgia. The train often speeds into the distant horizon, and as the First World War had only recently ended, it seems as though these train posters were offering to their viewers an escape from the violent, war torn landscapes of Northern Europe, and into a future that would not be decimated by war and loss.

As the twentieth century progressed, so did an increasingly sophisticated construction of imaginative images promoting tourism. With both French and American advertisements, imagery remained the dominant form of communication by a tourism-based company to its audiences. The image was supported by text, but the image was what garnered attention and most effectively promoted tourism. By the mid-twentieth century, the rise of commercial airplane travel greatly expanded the culture of tourism. While the car could reach places that a train could not access, airplanes could cross oceans in a matter of hours, compared to the days that an ocean passage would take. The globe was literally opened up to travelers and with it a whole new realm of tourist experiences. Travel companies, especially the airlines, were quick to promote this idea.

Posters for the airlines continued to construct images that highlighted the tourist experience, except that now those experiences could be had on other continents. History, culture, nightlife, and glitz were all now within the realm of possibilities for the air-borne tourist.

Advertisements for air travel showed their audience a place; the name of the city was never hard to find, usually emblazoned in bold graphics with bright colors across the image (Figures 18-22). These images were eye catching and calculated to appeal to the masses. They were easily read, and typically drew on visual stereotypes or conceived ideas of what attractions a country, city, or state offered. For example, images of Egypt are designed after historical hieroglyphics and paintings, and harken back to the days of pharaohs and their great tombs and pyramids. Posters for Asia feature traditional architecture and dress, and Africa is depicted as a wild jungle safari. Both Trans World Airlines and Air France visualized the triumph of modern technology over antiquated, yet still exotic and exciting cultures and locations.

It is important to examine not just what advertisements promote, but what they may conceal. In an advertisement for New York City, the thrill of nightlife is the major draw to the potential tourist. But it cannot be forgotten that behind the skyscrapers, lights, theaters and museums were slums, poverty, and the working people who kept the city functioning. In all of these images, the mundane and the unpleasant are suppressed for the sake of business. Visual advertisements provide the powerful institutional support that is necessary to keep tourists intrigued. Each advertisement offered a specific constructed experience, but one still designed to appeal to as many members of the viewing audience as possible. While only those with the necessary funds could actually afford to take the

vacations, anyone could see and own the poster and feel as though they were participating in the experience of that place.

The goal of this thesis was to more fully understand the symbiotic relationship between visual imagery and the tourist industry. The vibrant and manipulative images produced by painters and tourist companies helped tourism become one of the most economically successful industries of the twentieth century. In the latter 1950s and into the 1960s, tourism advertisements would continue to utilize many of the same themes but would use the photograph as the primary medium, rather than lithographic prints or paintings. Posters and advertisements that included photographs were able to create a contrived sense of reality. Because a photograph captures an actual event, it seems like a more reliable medium and accurate representation of a tourist destination. The tourism departments of cities and countries produced posters of the local people or of scenic and historic landmarks that offered the tourist beautiful landscapes, luxurious amenities, or exciting adventure opportunities. Airlines showcased bird's eye views of their newest, most technologically advanced planes flying above the clouds (Figure 23).

But photography was not used just to capture place or plane; Pan American Airlines produced many images that focused on attractive female figures, all the more effective because they were real people, and not drawings. In an advertisement for Hong Kong service from the late 1960s, a demure local woman in Chinese-styled clothing smiles becomingly at the viewer in front of a scenic backdrop of the city (Figure 24). A similar poster from that time for Pan American Airline's service to France features a blonde woman, smiling at the viewer against a blank background (Figure 25). Oddly, despite having contemporary hair and makeup styling, as well as a modern manicure, she

is dressed as a French peasant, indicating her naïveté when compared to the jet-setting world traveler. Like the female figures of the Canadian Pacific Cruises poster (Figure 17) there is the sense that the women will be available to the viewer upon their arrival. An incredibly blatant example of this is Pan American Airline's poster for Rio de Janeiro (Figure 26). The advertisement is comprised of three Brazilian women in miniscule bathing suits, smiling and laughing while they pose erotically against a white background. The image works to establish Rio de Janeiro as a city of lively, sexual women who are welcome to the advances of visiting men. Bolstered by the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, images continued to feature little more than a scantily clad female with a small indicator of place to promote travel destinations. Other airlines even implied the sexual availability of their flight attendants. Photographs of flight attendants, who "just want what's best for you" did not feature any image of destination, but simply implied the comfort of their airlines and beauty of the attendants (Figures 27 and 28).

By understanding the developments in tourist advertising, modern audiences can recognize the similar techniques that are still apparent in today's advertisements. Posters, commercials, and other tourist advertisements seen today still construct many of the same themes and ideas as those of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Images offer a break from the mundane to a place where new adventures and experiences, like surfing or skiing, await. Those experiences are often bolstered by a strong dose of sexuality, nostalgia, and liberation from the gray walled cubicles of the modern office. Images still rely on cultural, geographical, or historical stereotypes. For example, surfing in California with an attractive blonde, the cowboy ghost towns of Arizona, or the

architectural gems and artistic presence found in Europe. Advertisements, and the vacations they promote, offer the same acquisition of cultural and social capital of previous images.

Sightseeing, according to MacCannell, may be a ritual to be performed differently by different cultures, but tourism advertisements offer the prospect of similar rituals up to everyone. They promise an exciting experience, a temporary escape from the everyday routine. Visual images are a prime support system for the tourist industry because they allow an individual to imagine the possibilities inherent in travel. While the United States and France promoted different aspects to their consumers, the historic site or the majestic wilderness, the ultimate goal was to attract as many paying customers to those destinations via trains, cars, and airplanes as possible. The tourist advertisement, which encouraged vacationers from their urban lives and out to the fringes of society or culture, provided the tourist industry the powerful institutional support that it needed to both initiate travel and sustain it. From the 1870s, when painters adjusted their landscapes to appeal to urban dwellers, to the “golden age” of posters in the 1950s, images of tourist destinations have been elaborately constructed to represent an idealized and often imaginary experience.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Albert Bierstadt, *Donner Lake from the Summit*, 1873

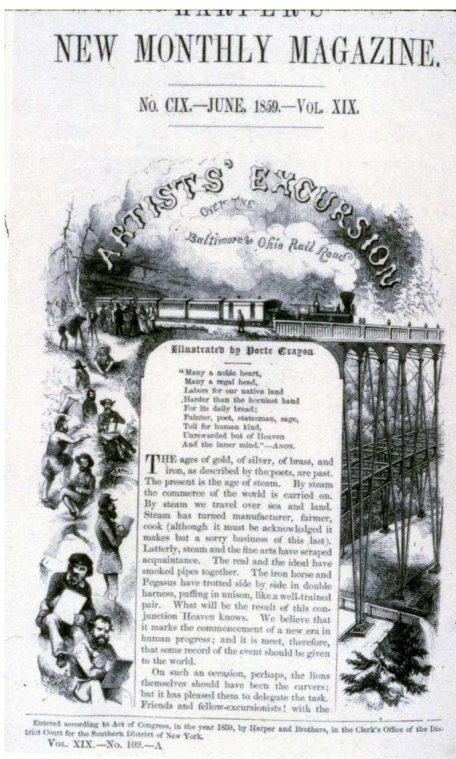


Figure 2. Baltimore-Ohio Railroad, “Artists’ Excursion over the Baltimore Ohio Railroad,” in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. XIX, 1859

Thomas Moran Sketching at
Grand Canyon
of Arizona



A large painting of the Grand Canyon of Arizona, by Thomas Moran, N. A., hangs in the National Capitol at Washington, D. C.

Mr. Moran was the first American artist of note to visit this world's wonder. He still frequently goes there to get new impressions. In his summer home at Easthampton or in his New York City studio, usually may be seen several canyon canvases under way.

Quoting from Chas. F. Lummis, in a recent issue of *Out West* magazine: "He (Moran) has come nearer to doing the Impossible than any other meddler with paint and canvas in the Southwest."

Other eminent artists also have visited the titan of chasms. They all admit it to be "the despair of the painter."

You, too, may view this scenic marvel as a side trip on the luxurious and newly-equipped

California Limited

en route to or from sunshiny California this winter.

Only two days from Chicago, three days from New York, and one day from Los Angeles. A \$250,000 hotel, El Tovar, managed by Fred Harvey, will care for you in country-club style. Round-trip side ride from Williams, Ariz., \$6.50.

Yosemite also can be reached in winter from Merced, Cal., nearly all the way by rail.

Write for our illustrated booklets: "Titan of Chasms" and "El Tovar."

W. J. Black, Passenger Traffic Manager
A. T. & S. P. Ry. System
111
Railway Exchange, Chicago

Figure 3. Santa Fe Railroad, *Thomas Moran Sketching at the Grand Canyon of Arizona*, 1909



Figure 4. Claude Monet, *The Beach at St. Adresse*, 1867, oil on canvas, 29" x 40"



Figure 5. Claude Monet, *The Terrace at St. Adresse*, 1867, oil on canvas, 38” x 51”



Figure 6. Claude Monet, *The Boardwalk at Trouville*, 1870, oil on canvas



Figure 7. William Hahn, *Sacramento Railway Station*, 1874, oil on canvas, 53" x 87"



Figure 8. William Hahn, *Yosemite Valley from Glacier Point*, 1874, oil on canvas, 27" x 46"

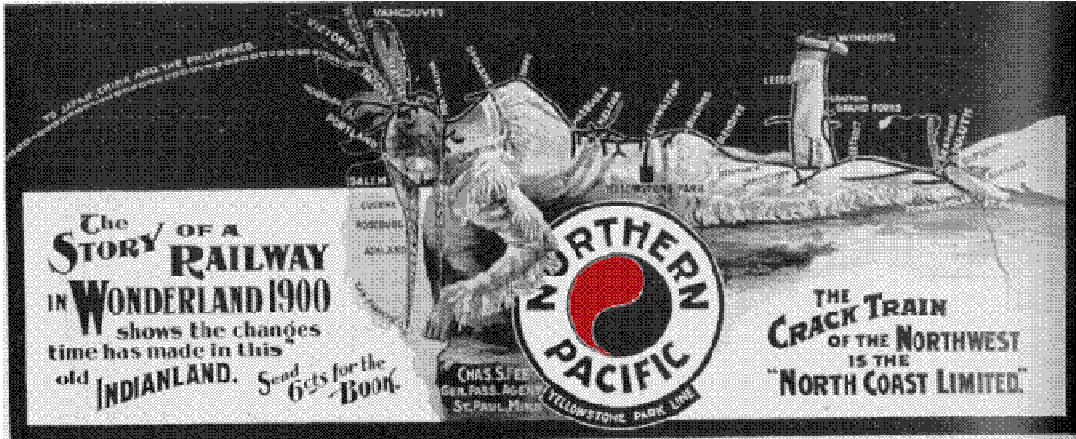


Figure 9. Northern Pacific Railroad, *The Story of a Railway Wonderland*, 1900

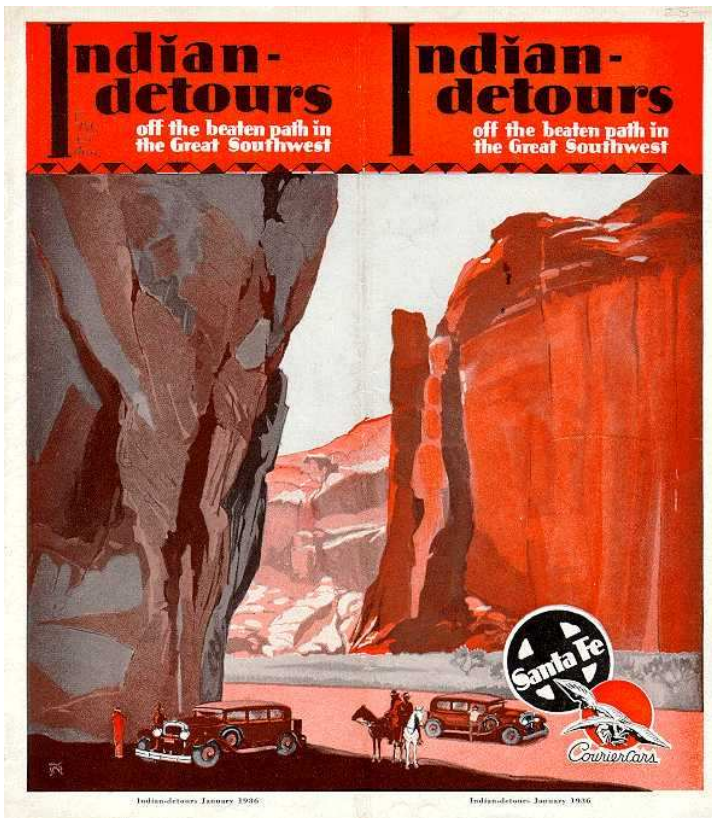


Figure 10. Santa Fe Railroad and Courier Cars, *Indian Detours*, *Off the beaten path is the Great Southwest*, 1936

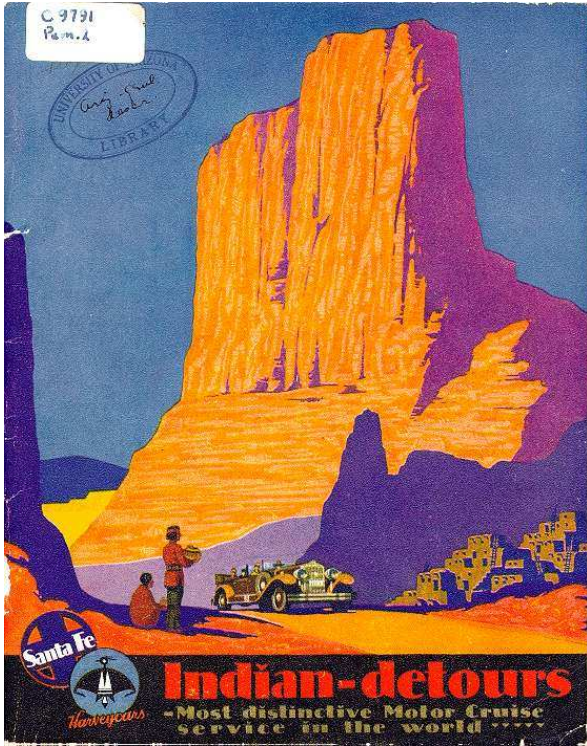


Figure 11. Santa Fe Railroad and Harvey Cars, *Indian Detours*, ca. 1930s



Figure 12. Maurice Logan for Southern Pacific Railroad, *By Rail Across Great Salt Lake Overland Route*, 1927



Figure 13. Gustave Krollman for Northern Pacific Railroad, *North Coast Limited in the Montana Rockies*, 1929



Figure 14. A.M. Cassandre for Chemins de Fer du Nord, *Nord Express*, 1927, lithograph, 41" x 29"



Figure 15. Theodoro, *Chemins de Fer de L'est*, 1929, lithograph, 23" x 38"



Figure 16. French Railways, *Go By Train to the French Riviera*, 1952

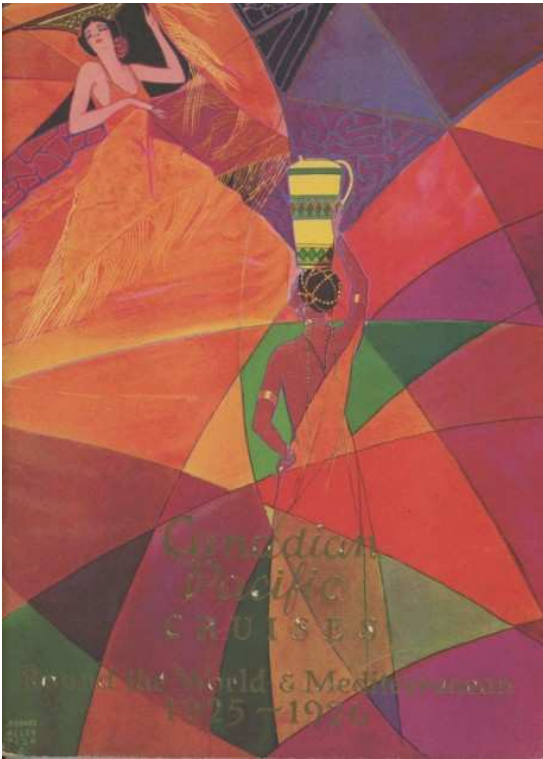


Figure 17. Richard Allen Fish for Canadian Pacific Cruises, *Round the World and Mediterranean*, 1925-1926.



Figure 18. David Klein for Trans World Airlines, *Egypt*, circa 1960, 24" x 36"

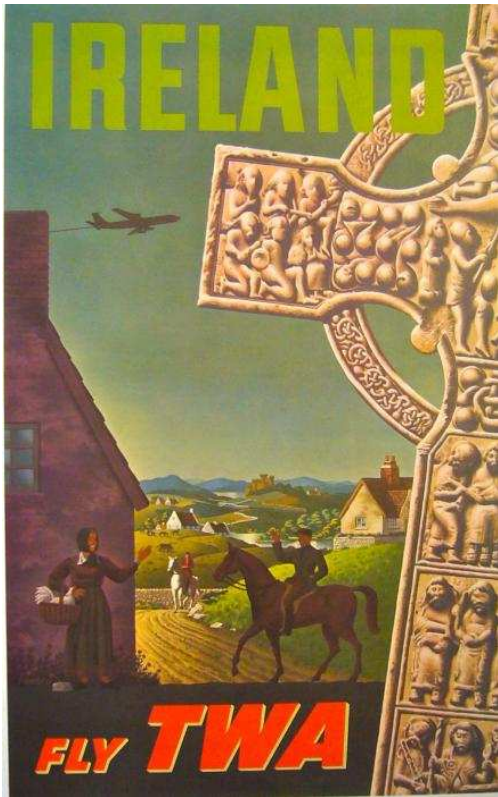


Figure 19. David Klein for Trans World Airlines, *Ireland*, circa 1960, 24" x 36"

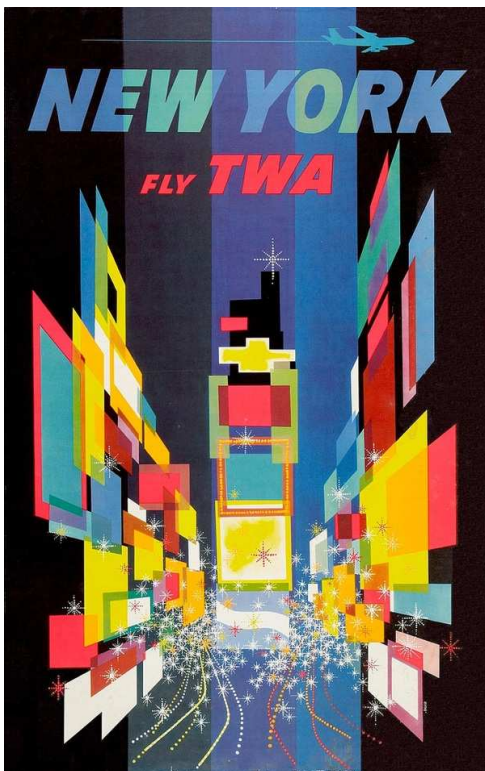


Figure 20. David Klein for Trans World Airlines, *New York*, 1958-1960, 24" x 36"



Figure 21. G. Dumas for Air France, *Extremo-Orient*, 1950, 20" x 30"

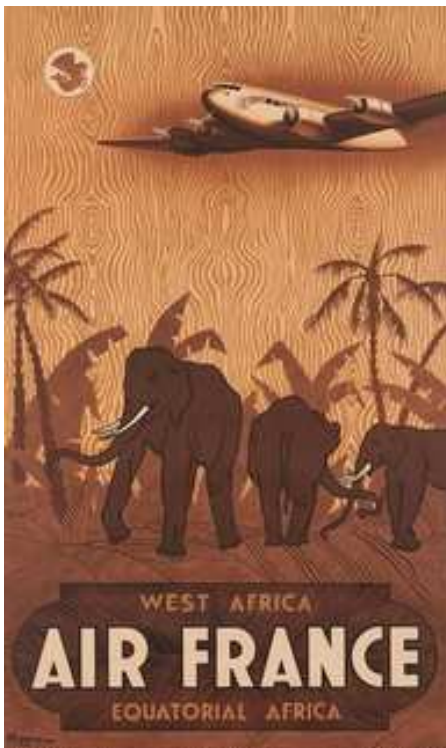


Figure 22. Vincent Guerra for Air France, *West Africa, Equatorial Africa*, circa 1946, 20" x 30"



Figure 23. British Overseas Airways Corporation, *Triumphantly Swift Silent Serene*, 1970s



Figure 24. Pan American Airways, *Hong Kong by Flying Clipper*, 1960s



Figure 25. Pan American Airways, *France*, 1960s

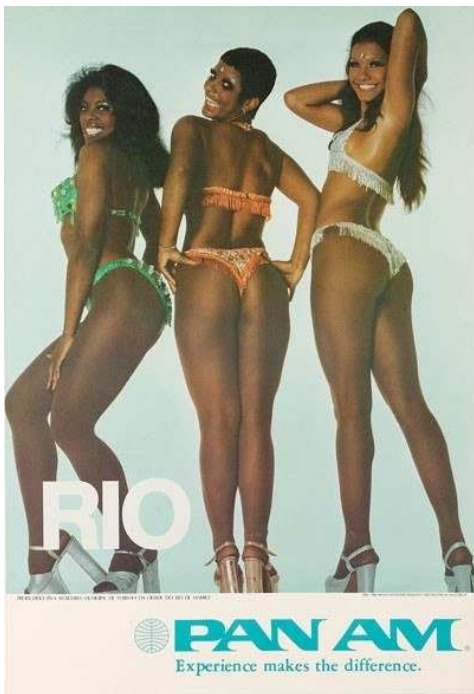


Figure 26. Pan American Airways, *Rio*, 1973

**Think of her
as your mother.**

She only wants what's best for you.
A cool drink. A good dinner. A soft pillow and a warm blanket.
This is not just maternal instinct. It's the result of the longest
Stewardess training in the industry.
Training in service, not just a beauty course.
Service, after all, is what makes professional travellers prefer American.
And makes new travellers want to keep on flying with us.
So we see that every passenger gets the same professional treatment.
That's the American Way.

Fly the American Way
American Airlines

Figure 27. American Airlines, *Think of Her as Your Mother*, 1960s

**The most beautiful
birds in the world.**

VCI0s and One-eleven jets and the most beautiful
hostesses to go with them. They *have* to be. When you're
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Figure 28. British United Airways, *The most beautiful in the world*, 1960s.

