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"An Inner Comprehension of the Pueblo Indian's Point of View": Carl Gustav Jung's 1925 Visit to Taos, New Mexico

ABSTRACT

Carl Jung paid a short visit to Taos, New Mexico, in January 1925. A brief account of his stay at the Pueblo appeared in Memories, Dreams, Reflections, edited by Aniela Jaffe in 1963. Remembering his conversations with Mountain Lake (Antonio Mirabal), Jung wrote of the confrontation between the "European consciousness," or the "European thought," with the Indian "unconscious." My article provides a reading of Jung's text as a meeting ground of the aesthetic, emotional, visionary and of the analytical, rational, explanatory. Like many other European and Anglo-American visitors to Taos Pueblo, Jung rediscovers its capacity to mirror the inner needs of the visitor; he examines the significance of the encounter with the Southwestern landscape and with the Pueblo Indians' religious views in terms of self-reflection and of the return to the mythical. As Carl Jung's "inner comprehension" of the Pueblo Indian's philosophy is mediated through language, aware both of its desire and its inability to become liberated from the European perspectives, Mountain Lake's attitude towards his visitor from Switzerland remains ultimately unknown; Mountain Lake does, however, communicate his readiness to assume the archetypal role of a teacher and a spiritual guide whose insights reach beyond the confines and mystifications of language. According to Jung's account, during this brief encounter of the two cultures, he and his Indian host experienced a sense of satisfaction and fulfillment, the sources of which, as they both understood them in their own individual ways, resided in the comprehension of universal sharing.

Knowledge does not enrich us; it removes us more and more from the mythic world in which we were once at home by right of birth. C. G. Jung: *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*

In Helen Elna Hokinson's 1938 cartoon for The New Yorker, two middleclass, middle-aged women whose fancy hats, long coats, high-heeled shoes, plump faces and stooping postures mirror each other, visit Taos, New Mexico. Known as the "Hokinson ladies," these two clone-like women in city clothes approach a figure of a man wrapped in an Indian blanket, with a Mexican hat on his head, squatting by an adobe wall next to an assortment of wicker baskets and pieces of pottery offered for sale. Behind is a multistorey, flat-roofed Pueblo village; ladders connect receding terraces and the highest level is drawn against a range of undulating mountains. One of the women says to the other: "Just a minute. I'm going to ask him a question or two about Mrs. Luhan."1 Like the best of The New Yorker's cartoons, Hokinson's depends for the comic effect on the viewer's/reader's recognition of its aptitude to make the image/caption integrated situation of apparently marginal, incidental character provide a carefully calculated, ironic commentary on the phenomena representative of their time. In Hokinson's Taos cartoon, irony operates on many levels. The women whose semblance seems to correspond to the Pueblo's repeated architectural patterns are there obviously out of place, and at the same time, very much "at home," as though they had just happened to step out into the street in a familiar shopping area. Their ignorance is a kind of innocence, reflecting because, rather than in spite of, their being unaware of it, upon a certain truth about the conditions which made their appearance and the words they speak possible and meaningful. Inseparable from the humorous aspect is a touch of cruelty to the scene; the women are both its target, as we cannot help judging their looks ridiculous in the Pueblo village, and agents, as they cannot help viewing the Indian with complete disregard for the very purpose of his being there: he is interested in selling his goods and not in answering questions about Mrs. Luhan who lives in Taos in a world that is much closer to the visitors' than to his. Would the Indian's answering the questions amount to more than selling his goods? And would these women have come to the Taos Pueblo village as potential buyers had their interest not been stirred by the gossipy information about Mrs. Luhan they could get in the city they came from? It is ironical that the Indian should be asked a question or

¹ Hokinson's cartoon was included in *The Complete Cartoons of* The New Yorker, edited by Robert Mankoff (on one of the CDs, together with "all 68,647 cartoons ever published in the magazine"). The cartoon also appears in Lois Palken Rudnick's *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luban House and the American Counterculture* (15).

two about Mrs. Luhan rather than about himself. It is even more ironical that, were the Indian willing to answer any questions, he would probably feel more comfortable telling these women about Mrs. Luhan than about himself.

Hokinson's cartoon humorously documents the Anglo-American changing perception of Taos and the Southwest from the social, economic and cultural perspective of the post-Depression period, a significant aspect of that perception being also that it is the middle-class women who travel to Taos where a female celebrity of the time chose to have her home. There is no sense of romance, exoticism and authenticity projected onto the Taos Pueblo. The Indian is not stylishly, silently and powerfully posed against the massive, picturesque, ancient dwelling in contrast to the strangers' energetic intrusion fueled by fashion, desire and lack of much time. He himself, no less than the tourists and the wares he offers, is a product of commodification and consumerism. It is the depiction of the land of disenchantment that we find in the cartoon amusingly attractive.² As in the early years of The New Yorker's history, it was not uncommon for its staff to decide collectively on the most appropriate caption for a drawing, so one may be tempted to provide alternative texts for that appearing under Hokinson's: "Here of course it's very different-not the U.S.A. at all"; "I am of course a great stranger here"; "And the Indian with his long hair and his bits of pottery and blankets and clumsy home-made trinkets ... more fun than keeping rabbits and just as harmless"; "The Indian, yes: if one is sure that they are not jeering at you"; "They are all sad. After all, they are true to what is"; "I tell you leave the Indians to their own dark destiny." All of the above quotations come from D. H. Lawrence's letters written in or about Taos, the last one addressed to Mabel Dodge Luhan on whose property he came to live in 1922 in answer to her invitation and their shared vision of redeeming powers of New Mexico's landscape, climate and native inhabitants (717, 761, 804, 814, 847). Developing simultaneously, both influencing and influenced by his relationship with Mabel Dodge Luhan, Lawrence's fascination and disillusionment with the reality of the American Southwest have become part of the region's well-documented history and mythology.

Considering how brief it was, Carl Jung's visit to Taos in 1925 seems more like the Hokinson women's than Lawrence's. Everything else about that visit was so obviously different from the one depicted in the cartoon that, were it to be captured in another drawing/caption visualization for *The New Yorker*, readers seeing the two would no doubt appreciate the

² "Land of Enchantments" is the state of New Mexico's official nickname.

emblematic setting's capacity to provide suitable background for strikingly contrastive scenes. There was, to be sure, an anecdotal aspect to Jung's brief visit in Taos, with the figure of Mabel Dodge Luhan playing a part in it. When Jung came there, Mrs. Luhan was away in New York City. She did, however, receive a report from Jung's visit in a letter from Jaime de Angulo, a cowboy, a writer, a linguist, a student of medicine and anthropology, who, himself much "at home" among the Pueblo Indians, invited Jung to Taos. Angulo wrote to Luhan:

I made up my mind that I would kidnap him if necessary and take him to Taos. It was quite a fight because his time was so limited, but I finally carried it.... It was a revelation to him, the whole thing. Of course I had prepared Mountain Lake. He and Jung made contact immediately and had a long talk on religion. (qtd. in Rudnick 97–98)

We may raise our brows at the hasty transition from Angulo observing that "the whole thing" provided Jung with a "revelation" to Angulo acknowledging his own role in staging it. Why did Angulo think Mountain Lake, the Indian name of Antonio Mirabal, needed to be "prepared"? Why "of course"? Did Angulo need to tell Mirabal how famous the visitor was in his own native land? What did Angulo tell Mirabal that Jung might be interested to know? Did Mountain Lake "prepare" himself for the "talk"? To ask more general questions: Why is it that in the relationship of representatives of two cultures the anxiety of difference is a precondition of, necessary preparation for, the satisfaction of contact? And why is it that that contact should be judged in terms of immediacy? These are the questions we might be interested in addressing to Jung himself who begins the description of his visit to Taos by asking: "How, for example, can we become conscious of national peculiarities if we have never had the opportunity to regard our own nation from outside?" (*Memories* 246)

Unfinished and unpublished in his lifetime, the short text "America: The Pueblo Indians" can be found in Jung's *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* where it appears, following the chronological order, together with the psychologist's other accounts of travel, to North Africa, Kenya, Uganda, India and Italy. To all these places Jung came prepared. The preparations consisted in the assumption of the mediating and essentially falsifying nature of preparations, understood as preconceptions which "suppress" the actual experience, or, using Jung's reference to military psychiatry during the First World War, "psychic defenses against the impressions from outside" (273). Chief among them was persistent return to the notion of difference itself. Jung's texts of travel seem to draw their energy

from acknowledging that energy's source in the confrontation between "European consciousness" or "European thought" and what it recognizes, to the traveler's not entirely unexpected surprise, to be manifestations of the European unconsciousness rather than of African, American, or Indian consciousness. "I had not known in advance what Africa would give me," Jung wrote. But he had known that it would give him something "secret," "invisible," "incapable of being formulated," that in not knowing what Africa would bring him "lay the satisfying answer, the fulfilling experience" (274). "I was not prepared for the existence of unconscious forces within myself which would take the part in these strangers with such intensity" (272), Jung confessed. He was, however, willing and ready to make contact with these strangers, representatives of the "foreign collective psyche" (246), as a means of gaining insight into the reality different from that of "speeds and explosive accelerations," of "steamships, railroads, airplanes . . . rockets" and pocket watches, symbols of European expansion which, of course, allowed Jung, whose time was limited, to get to all places of his interest. "Just a minute" from the caption of Hokinson's cartoon may come to mind. On his trip to India, an "intermezzo" in his intensive work on alchemical philosophy, Jung took with him a volume of Theatrum Chemicum, Gerardus Dorneus's work from 1602. For a traveler from Zurich immersed in his speculative studies "like a homunculus in a retort," perceptions of Indian spiritual life and culture "constantly counterpointed" revelations of the unconscious in the book "belonging to the fundamental strata of European thought" (275), and in the contents of a dream about the Holy Grail which he dreamt in Calcutta, "this essentially European dream emerging when I had barely worked my way out of the overwhelming mass of Indian impressions" (282).

The patterns of the textual organization in Jung's account of the Taos experience show traits of his preoccupation with the principle of *coincidentia oppositorum*. Jung talked to Ochwiay Biano (Mountain Lake, Antonio Mirabal) on the roof of the fifth storey of the main building with "characteristic ladders" reaching up towards successive levels ("anticipating" skyscrapers in an American city, as Jung notices), the blazing sun, a subject of their conversation, "rising higher and higher." The dynamics of elevation responds to rather than abolishes the contradiction in Jung's growing "desire" to "[descend] to a still lower cultural level" than that "caught up and imprisoned in the cultural consciousness of the white man" by continuing "to carry the historical comparison still further" (247). What the psychologist from Zurich discovers about himself and about his cultural background on the top roof of the Taos Pueblo, which he discovers also in other destinations, is that his consciousness of being European, that is

of being different, distant, rational and "superior" (245), is for the deeper stages in the process of self-discovery an obstacle, a hindrance, a falsification, by means of such destinations, made more easily definable. In Jung's formulation, his New Mexican message of particular appeal to us today: "I understand Europe, our greatest problem, only when I see where I as a European do not fit into the world" (247).

Jung did come to Taos prepared to ask questions not knowing what questions he could get answers to. Not receiving the answers to questions he asked directly and learning not to ask them were, in effect, the answers he sought and then commented on in his analytical text. Thus, in some of the more characteristic beginnings of paragraphs we read:

I asked him whether he did not think the sun might be a fiery ball shaped by an invisible god. My question did not even arouse astonishment, let alone anger. (250)

Unfortunately, the conversation was soon interrupted and I did not succeed in attaining any deeper insight into the symbolism of water and mountain. (251)

I observed that the Pueblo Indians, reluctant as they were to speak about anything concerning their religion, talked with great readiness and intensity about their relations with the Americans. (251)

I could observe from his excitement that he was alluding to some extremely important element of his religion. (252)

I then realized on what the "dignity," the tranquil composure of the individual Indian was founded. (252)

Focused on observation and inquiry, the text of Jung's preliminary Taos Indian case study collects hints, allusive and elusive psychological material which holds the promise of some revelation while holding the mirror to itself. Mountain Lake is prepared to "draw" for Jung a picture of "the real white man," in which, not entirely to his surprise, Jung cannot fail recognizing features of his own countenance and of the very method that the "I" standing so prominent in the fragments quoted above represents: "Their [the white men's] lips are thin, their noses sharp, their faces furrowed and distorted by folds. Their eyes have a staring expression, they are always seeking something. What are they seeking? The whites always want something; they are always uneasy and restless. We do not know what they want?" (248). Having for the first time "a good fortune to talk to a non-European, that is a non-white" (247), Jung, a European, a white, is determined not to surrender easily. There is something about him and about his words (and, in his efforts to make the account less "incomplete, "something" is the word he himself finds as useful as the equally vague word "atmosphere") which

allows the very rationale of the encounter, the distinction between "we" and "they" reaches towards some deeper level of significance, to the growing satisfaction of both. The two, Jung and Ochwiay Biano make contact, as Angulo, who may have been observing from a distance, wrote Luhan. When "direct questioning" about religious matters, "something essential," fails, since the betraval of the secret knowledge or desecration would endanger the Pueblo Indian identity, Jung resolves to making "tentative remarks" and observing "[his] interlocutor's expression for those affective movements which are so very familiar to [him]." Jung's "staring expression" meets the Indian's, evasive and "in the grip of a surprising emotion which he cannot conceal" (250). That emotionalism, which Jung had "a good fortune" to observe also in contacts with native inhabitants of other parts of the world he visited, stands in complementary opposition to the very way of his judging its importance for himself: tears filling Ochwiay Biano's eyes are "a fact which greatly helped to satisfy my curiosity" (250).³ Were the Indian's tears genuine? Did Mountain Lake want Jung to see them knowing/ feeling what they would mean/do to him? Did Jung see tears in Mountain Lake's eyes because he wanted to see them (like in Ravenna where in the mild blue light of the tomb of Galla Placidia he saw the mosaic frescoes "of incredible beauty" which he thought he had forgotten since his earlier visit but which he later learned never, in fact, existed [284-88])? We have reasons to ask such questions because in two longer fragments of his text Jung emphasizes the visionary quality of his perceptions; their function is then similar to that of the dream or sentiment de déjà vu accounts often appearing in his other travel narratives.

³ Brian Yazzie Burkhart's essay on the differences in the approaches to questions and question-formation as represented by American Indian philosophy and traditional Western philosophy could be viewed as a useful commentary on Jung's understanding of Mountain Lake's tendency to ignore his direct inquiry. In "What Coyote and Thales Can Teach Us: An Outline of American Indian Epistemology," Burkhart observes that for Native Americans questions are often "a sign of confusion and misunderstanding" because "[t]he answer to a question often lies in the question itself rather than in some solution outside of the question." Making a reservation that his argumentation applies mostly to "popular" modern Anglo-American philosophy, Burkhart sees it as "propositional," not so much "conducive" to some human ends but rather an end in itself, and dependent on "question-asking" and "hypothesis-testing." In contrast, American Indian philosophy tends to be less dogmatic since it is always shaped by human activities and experiences, the "lived knowledge" which "cannot be directly spoken or written about." The Native wisdom, Burkhart writes, is "a wisdom that is carried in one's heart," follows the principle of relatedness and "the limits of questioning principle," both essentially alien to Western philosophy due to its "incapacity to grasp the idea that certain things should not be known" (American Indian Thought 15-26).

The first of the two follows Ochwiav's telling Jung of the sources of the white people's cruelty and madness: they think with their heads and not with their hearts, as the Indians do. Significantly, Jung's "meditation" on the meaning of Biano's words and gestures leads him to the experience combining the sensual, expressive and the spiritual, the concealed-his readiness to follow the Indian way. "I felt rising within me like a shapeless mist something unknown and vet deeply familiar" (248, emphasis added), he wrote, never tired of evoking the spirits of the past. These spirits both prevent him from and help him in reaching the goal-they need to be summoned, given shape and done away with. It seems as though in his vision Jung were opening a book on the history of the so-called progress of the white civilization, the pages filled with names emblematic of evil doing and oppression. The mist condenses into scenes of smashing, pillaging, murdering, the images of the Roman eagle and the tips of the Roman lances, the "keenly incised features" of Julius Caesar, Scipio Africanus, Pompey, the figures of Charlemagne, St. Augustine, Columbus, Cortez. Jung sees the processions of conquerors, warriors, crusaders, conquistadores, missionaries, bringing destruction to the indigenous people with sword, fire, torture, firewater, syphilis, scarlet fever. Even the sounds of some of their names, like the sounds of the words "Crusading armies" ["Kreuzfahrerheere"] or "Christian creed" ["das christliche Credo"], seem to carry with them notes of aggressiveness. In a still further symbolic condensation of the drive to colonize, suppress, eliminate, Carl Jung sees "the face of a bird of prey seeking with cruel intentness for distant quarry" which he then associates with "predatory creatures" adorning "our coats of arms" (248–49). The text invites us, as it were, to see a direct line of relatedness between Jung's recognition of the white man's "cruel intentness" and his own "curiosity" and methods of "questioning," between "a distant quarry" and "something essential" Jung can occasionally "hit on."

Another "visionary" fragment follows Ochwiay Biano's words: "The sun is God. Everyone can see that" (251). It is written as an account of what actually happened rather than as a description of a mental image. Jung remembers standing alone by the river looking at a distant mountain rising high above the plateau. He then "suddenly" hears "a deep voice, vibrant with suppressed emotion" speaking right behind his left ear: "Do you not think that all life comes from the mountain?" An elderly Indian who has approached him inaudibly asks Jung a direct question of the kind that Jung would be more likely to ask himself, which, however, is directed to his left ear, the one on the side of the heart. The "swelling emotion" which he "feels" in the way the Indian utters the word "mountain" responds to Jung's own immersion in the New Mexican landscape and brings about an

immediate recognition of the obvious truth of there being life where there is water. Jung's emphasis on the word "obvious" (he uses it twice) is again that of one who "feels" what he says rather than who intends to state a fact, just as in the earlier account of the white man's violence the intensity of the vision becomes much more important than the listing of exemplary instances of historical infamy. As Jung reminds us at the beginning of his memories from Taos, it lies in the very nature of the psychological material that it should make the scientific mind "much more subjectively involved." While the Indian asks him a Jungian question, his own answer follows the Indian way mirroring Mountain Lake's manner of speech: "Everyone can see that you speak the truth" (251). Seeing, speaking, knowing form a single continuous line introduced, unlike in the sequence of passages quoted earlier, by the word "everyone", not "I." This formulation is perhaps as far as Jung's text about his Taos experience can encapsulate the sense of completion it seeks. The condensation it offers, not so much an illustration of the déjà entendu principle as a matter of conscious choice, may be taken to be Jung's symbolic act of rejecting the "coat of arms" burdened inheritance protecting him from a deeper insight into the truth of the "European" psyche. Jamie de Angulo was right when he wrote Luhan that "the whole thing" was for Jung a "revelation"; he was right in the sense that a "revelation" for Jung was contact with "the whole thing:" the totality of psychic experience.

The last paragraphs of Jung's text center on the idea of wholeness as (momentary) liberation from "European rationalism" and the possibility of gaining a broader and deeper perspective, fitting into the world, by embracing "the Pueblo Indian's point of view" (252). The religion of the Pueblo Indians, Mountain Lake tells Jung, helps Father sun in his daily journey across the sky; benefiting from the rites are, therefore, not only those practicing them but "the whole world." Entering the mythic world from which our drive for knowledge has distanced us, Jung explains, makes life both "cosmologically meaningful" and home-like; immune to the inhibiting sense of naïveté or irresponsibility, an individual feels then elevated to the position of "a metaphysical factor," both conditioned by and conditioning the actions of the divine. The conjunction of the innermost and of the broadest outside (an "immeasurable" horizon as seen from the Taos Pueblo highest roof) finds its final representation in Jung's formula "God and us," where "and" is not a sign of opposition but of equation. For the broadest, one could say monumental, development of that idea, not entirely free from the growing realization of difficulties and responsibility when undertaken in the German language, the world would have to wait until the publication of successive volumes of Thomas Mann's tetralogy

Joseph and His Brothers. Aware of the sources of pleasure in seeking correspondences and establishing cultural affinities, Jung himself puts his New Mexican experience of "the mountain, which has no name" in the context of the revelation of Yahweh on Sinai and Nietzsche's inspirations in the Engandine.

Readers of Jung's manuscript on Taos will probably find it impossible to free themselves from the impression that the "individual Indian" of whom Jung writes may owe some of his "dignity," "tranquil composure" and "enviable serenity" to the company of visitors such as Jung and the readers themselves when sensitive to and appreciative of what he, the Indian, "means" to them. In the last sentence of the text, Jung evokes the image of the Indian he believes "everybody" desires to be: "Such a man is in the fullest sense of the word in his proper place" (253).

It would be too cruel to have the Hokinson women say this to each other when they approach the Indian selling his goods by the entrance to the ground floor of the Taos Pueblo. A more appropriate drawing for the text would show the two, Mountain Lake and Carl Jung, sitting on the highest storey of the Pueblo, Mountain Lake wrapped in a woolen blanket, Carl Jung wearing his European clothes that may appear too tight for him, both looking at a distant horizon with a river and a mountain basking in the rising or setting sun. Something about the play of light and shadow in Mountain Lake's countenance should remind us of the flowing, smooth, adobe-like features of Tony Luhan, Mabel Dodge's Indian husband as famously photographed by Ansel Adams, while the play of light and shadow on the face of Carl Jung, sharper, more furrowed, already prognostic of the photograph from the cover of the 1963 edition of *Memories*, *Dreams*, Reflections, should encourage one to seek links between the two portraits. Perhaps an even more challenging and imaginative caption for the drawing will still then be the sentence from the beginning of Jung's manuscript which reads: "At the same time, one never knows which is more enjoyable: catching sight of new shores, or discovering new approaches to age-old knowledge that has been almost forgotten" (247). In agreement with D. H. Lawrence's ironic perception of the white man's response the Pueblo Indian culture, "enjoyable" ["entzückender"] could perhaps be underlined.

The language of Jung's "America: The Pueblo Indians" attempts to find aesthetic means to describe a highly emotional, hardly communicable response to the experience of Taos. It is designed to provide him with the "vessel" to float "on deep, alien seas" (247). Searching for possible formulations of some truth about his encounter with the Indian culture, Jung makes reference to and actual use of pictorial elements. The "picture" of the "real" white people which Ochwiay Biano allows him to see for the

first time in his life is contrasted with the ways he remembers them depicted in "sentimental, prettified color prints" (248). But the way he himself paints the picture of Taos-its square reddish adobe structures, clear skies, a clear stream, a gently rolling plateau, conical peaks, an isolated mountain wrapped in clouds, isolated figures of Indians wrapped in their blankets-Jung celebrates rather than seeks escape from sentimentalizing and prettifying patterns. Despite his propensity to see clearly through the missionary practices of spiritual and cultural colonization, the kind of picture Jung draws of the Taos Pueblo and its inhabitants belongs to the same gallery of imaginative representations of the American Southwest as the one painted by Willa Cather in 1927 in the opening chapter of Death Comes for the Archbishop; there Father Latour's vision of the "cruciform tree" taking shape among the conical monotony of the desert evolves into a wellbalanced composition of a pastoral miniaturist assembling such familiar romanticized elements of the New Mexican landscapes as adobe houses, streams, clover fields, and figures of Mexican girls and boys harmoniously completing the scene of tranquility. With its dependence on the need for order, Jung's account of his aesthetic appreciation of Taos (like Cather's literary account of her aesthetic appreciation of a New Mexican village) is a compromise between a European (or urban American) consciousness and what it recognizes as alien.

Jung's "America: The Pueblo Indians" adds to a composite picture of Taos which has been constructed by its short and long-term visitors since the second half of the nineteenth century and which demonstrates the place's capacity to respond to the need for what in Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture Lois Palken Rudnick calls "the preservation of the world's relatively pristine natural environment and the native peoples who inhabited them as necessary to the well-being of modern society" (8). In the introduction to the book, Rudnick includes a quotation from Susan Sontag's essay "The Anthropologist as Hero" on the condition of the "felt unreliability of human experience brought about by the inhuman acceleration of historical change" (4). That condition, defining the existential situation of people in the twentieth century in terms of homelessness and homesickness, creates the desire for the "self" to seek itself in the "other." The "other," Sontag writes, "is experienced as a harsh purification of 'self," while simultaneously the "self' is busily colonizing all strange domains of experience." When Sontag writes that "Europe seek itself . . . among preliterate peoples, in a mythic America" (qtd. in Rudnick 4), she is actually summarizing Jung's account of his Taos Pueblo experience as a kind of self-reflection, an Indian psychological detour which is ultimately meant

to bring him, like so many other representatives of the "foreign collective psyche" journeying to the mythic American Southwest, back to the "proper place," back home.

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