



VCU

Virginia Commonwealth University
VCU Scholars Compass

Theses and Dissertations

Graduate School

2014

Fred Kabotie, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, and the Genesis of the Santa Fe Style

jessica w. welton

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd>



Part of the [American Art and Architecture Commons](#), [American Studies Commons](#), [Fine Arts Commons](#), [Indigenous Studies Commons](#), [Modern Art and Architecture Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)

© The Author

Downloaded from

<https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/3637>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at VCU Scholars Compass. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of VCU Scholars Compass. For more information, please contact libcompass@vcu.edu.

© Jessica Wheat Welton 2014

All Rights Reserved

FRED KABOTIE, ELIZABETH WILLIS DEHUFF,
AND THE GENESIS OF THE SANTA FE STYLE

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Art History at Virginia Commonwealth University.

By

Jessica Wheat Welton
BFA, Virginia Commonwealth University, 1976
MFA, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2006

Director: Robert Hobbs
Rhoda Thalheimer Endowed Chair In American Art
Virginia Commonwealth University

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
November 2014

Acknowledgements

There are many people to thank for their help during the years it took to write this dissertation. My husband, John, daughter, Jen, and sons, Peyton, Jeremy and Justin, have all generously supported my efforts.

The many scholars who went before me, including the outstanding group of professors in Virginia Commonwealth University's Art History Department must be thanked. Dr. Robert Hobbs, my advisor, is the master of being both encouraging and demanding at the same time. His efforts to help me improve as a writer and scholar have been tireless and greatly appreciated, and his own writings will always be inspiring. Dr. James Farmer is both brilliant and dedicated to developing the best students possible, and his classes perpetually stimulating. Michael Schreffler was immensely generous in working with me on the murals of Peruvian painter José Sabogal, and a pleasure to work with and learn from. Babatunde Lawal is an exemplary and engaging professor of African and non-Western arts, who generously gave of his time to review this work. Charles Brownell, who demands his students to give their all, and gives his own enthusiastically in return, and Margaret Lindauer, who has helped shepherd me through the final stages of this work, are also owed my gratitude, as is Gregory Smithers of the University's History Department, whose thoughtful work on the interconnections between American Indian and African American histories is both salient and significant. I also thank the Virginia Commonwealth University Art History Department for awarding me the Rhoda

Thalhimer Endowed Chair Graduate Assistantship over two years, as well as six travel grants that enabled me to present my research across the country at conferences sponsored by the College Art Association, Native American Arts Studies Association, Southwest Art History Conference, Southeastern College Art Association, Native American and Indigenous Studies Association. I wish to especially cite Cindy Myron and Krista Privott, of the Art History Department, for their unfailingly cheerful shepherding of administrative details pertaining to my efforts.

I owe appreciation as well to W. Jackson Rushing III, Adkins Presidential Professor of Art History and Mary Lou Milner Carver Chair in Native American Art at the University of Oklahoma, my outside reader; his encouragement and generous support have bolstered me on numerous occasions, as have his own outstanding writings.

My most sincere thanks go to Fred Kabotie's children: Michael, Hattie and Mary, without whose support and encouragement none of this could have been undertaken; I also owe a great debt to Hattie's children, Fred Lomayesva and Mary Levi, and granddaughter, Allaura Levi; and to Michael's children, especially, Paul and Ed. Although I only knew Fred and Alice Kabotie for a few years, they each have left lasting impressions on me and my work.

I am deeply grateful that in 2006 the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian offered me an internship working with Museum Programs Outreach Coordinator, Keevin Lewis on the Native Arts Program in 2006. The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts awarded me a fellowship in 2008, and the Amerind Foundation provided me residencies in 2008 and again in 2009.

Dr. Kelley Hays-Gilpin of Northern Arizona University and the Museum of Northern Arizona has always been wholeheartedly encouraging and supportive, and her husband, Dennis, put up with my many visits. I would also like to acknowledge Zena Pearlstone, Professor Emeritus, California State Fullerton, who offered thoughtful ideas and insights along the way. Diane Boyer helped out at several junctures, and located several important articles on Native Americans, that I had not found in earlier research.

I am indebted to the staff of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, and the members of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team, who have supported my efforts from the beginning. Over many years now, Hopi artists Delbridge Honanie, Terrance Talaswaima, Neil David, Sr., and Milland Lomakema have all contributed to my studies and understanding in multiple ways.

Without Jean Scott at the Virginia Commonwealth University Cabell Library, I would still be looking for several key books. My thanks go to her as well as the countless other librarians across the country who helped me. I cannot possibly name them all in this space, but Patricia Hewitt of the Fray Angelico Chavez History Library, part of the New Mexico History Museum, has repeatedly extended herself to help, finding fantastic materials, even meeting last minute requests with equanimity and grace.

The author thanks the generous members of the Library of Virginia's history listserv, many of whom offered excellent suggestions for readings on American social history of the 1900s–1920s: J. Ballato, John C. Carter, Scot French, John T. Kneebone, John Metz, Michael Nichols, Margaret Peters and Mitch N. Weinshank.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	vii
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: Fred Kabotie and Hopi Background before the Development of the Santa Fe Style.....	45
Chapter Two: Teachers College, John Dewey and Pedagogy in the Early 1900s: How these Ideas Informed Elizabeth Willis.....	114
Chapter Three: The Philippines and Carlisle Indian Boarding School: Elizabeth Willis’s Initial Experiences as an Educator Form Underpinnings for the Santa Fe Style.....	144
Chapter Four: Angel De Cora, Hampton Institute and Carlisle Indian Boarding School: Native American Art Educator Participates in the Arts and Crafts Movement and Creates a Pan-Indian Approach.....	158
Chapter Five: The Impact of the Arts and Crafts Movement on the Santa Fe Style.....	204
Chapter Six: Fred Kabotie Meets Elizabeth Willis DeHuff: The Genesis of the Santa Fe Style.....	225
Chapter Seven: Museums and Collectors Develop an Interest in Fred Kabotie and the Santa Fe Style: Edgar Lee Hewett and Kenneth Chapman of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe and John Louw Nelson’s Commissions for George Gustav Heye.....	245
Chapter Eight: The Development of the Santa Fe Style through Kabotie’s Early Watercolors (1918–1930).....	286
Conclusion:.....	325
Figures:.....	331
Bibliography:.....	527
Appendix One: Angel De Cora: Report of the Executive Council.....	571
Appendix Two: To Whom It May Concern.....	574

Appendix Three: Kabotie: Indian Artist.....	577
Appendix Four: Museum of New Mexico: Paintings on Display at Opening.....	580
Vita:.....	590

Abstract

FRED KABOTIE, ELIZABETH WILLIS DEHUFF,
AND THE GENESIS OF THE SANTA FE STYLE

By Jessica Wheat Welton, Ph.D.

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Art History at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2014.

Director: Robert C. Hobbs
Rhoda Thalhimer Endowed Chair, Department of Art History, School of the Arts

Those scholars who have overlooked the relevance of Fred Kabotie and the Santa Fe Style he developed have missed an important historical segment of early Native American painting. This dissertation underscores the convergence of diverse intellectual, artistic and cultural backgrounds, especially those of Kabotie and Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, his first art teacher, which led to the formation of the Santa Fe Style in 1918. This style was formative for Dorothy Dunn's later Studio School at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School.

This first generation of the Santa Fe Style of watercolor painting was empowered by highly educated men and women, who helped to ensure the national recognition

Kabotie's work received. Among Kabotie's early supporters were Elizabeth Willis and John DeHuff, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Edgar Lee Hewett, Kenneth Chapman, Robert Henri, Maynard Dixon, Marsden Hartley, John Sloan, John Louw Nelson and George Gustav Heye. By uncovering the multiple discourses connecting these individuals with Kabotie and his work, this study develops a basis for analyzing the many perspectives this new style synthesized and advanced. This dissertation positions Kabotie and the Santa Fe Style within these and several larger cultural arenas, including Hopi culture, modern art and Santa Fe intellectuals, thus providing a multistoried dimensionality overlooked in earlier scholarship.

Through evaluating these individuals who informed and empowered the creation of the Santa Fe Style, while carefully considering Kabotie's response to them in his work, this dissertation initiates a clearer understanding of early twentieth-century cultural and artistic interactions, both locally and nationally. The Santa Fe Style provided a new direction for American Indian art prior to World War II; it initiated a fresh dialogue between the Hopi people and the Anglo government, and it afforded a complex and ongoing conversation for not just Fred Kabotie and his art, but also, through him, the Hopi people. Moreover, it had a profound effect on the development of Southwest Native American painting over the next fifty years.

Introduction

Early twentieth-century Hopi Indian painter, Fred Kabotie, whose Hopi name was Nakavoma (c. 1900–1986) (figure 1), has never definitively been identified as an initiator of the nationally recognized Santa Fe School of Native American watercolor painters, a group designation this dissertation calls the “Santa Fe Style.” The Santa Fe Style (1918-1930), for the purposes of this dissertation, is the formative style of watercolor painting developed and promulgated by students of Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, among whom Fred Kabotie was a leader, and all of whom were first generation Pueblo easel painters. It was eventually incorporated into Dorothy Dunn’s Studio School Style (1932-1937), and became part of the overall Santa Fe Movement in Native American art.¹

Kabotie originally became a watercolorist in response to the encouragement of Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, who was his first art teacher at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. While working at the Museum of New Mexico he further advanced his style under the watchful eyes of museum employees and visiting mainstream artists. Their encouragement offered Kabotie the initiative to develop his work beyond the boundaries of Willis DeHuff’s limited art pedagogies. Kabotie’s watercolor style became, as acknowledged by noted New York painter John Sloan, a true American hybrid style, and as such deserves the serious attention of scholars of American

1. It is therefore a style discreet and different from the early works of San Ildefonso artists. As W. Jackson Rushing, III, states, “I tend to think of the emergence of modern Pueblo painting as taking place on multiple fronts with multiple amateurs: Willis DeHuff, Hewett, etc.” (email to the author, October 29, 2014).

art. Additionally, Kabotie's Santa Fe Style has earned a place in Native American art history as one of the first "easel painting" styles.

The Santa Fe Style is known for its depiction of Native American dancers, often situated on an empty field without detailed backgrounds, and it was foundational for Dorothy Dunn's later Studio School² (also originated at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School). Although frequently cited by academics as one of the first Native American easel painters, like all first-generation modern Pueblo watercolor painters working in Santa Fe and at San Ildefonso, Kabotie's contributions and significance are not yet fully understood, and the Santa Fe Style has not been sufficiently investigated in modern scholarship. The reasons for this oversight are several, perhaps the most significant being that modern artists and curators who initially supported Kabotie's work (and that of other pueblo painters) no longer referenced Native art as a primary source for an American style following World War II, when the country and its cutting-edge artists moved from a predominantly national arena to an international one.³ Additionally,

2. While Willis DeHuff had no formal education as an art teacher, Dunn both worked at the Chicago Field Museum and was educated at the Art Institute of Chicago.

3. The question of terminology referring to racial and cultural delineators is one with which all scholars of Native American arts grapple. Before the 1900s and well into the 1950s, the term "white man" or "white" was used frequently, along with "Anglo-Saxon" to describe European emigrants to the continent of North America. Both terms are used in publications from scholarly journals and books to popular magazines. By the 1960s, "Anglo," "Anglo-American" and "Euro-American" became popular descriptors. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines them thus: "Anglo: chiefly North American, a white, English-speaking person of British or northern European origin, in particular (in the US) as distinct from a Hispanic American or (in Canada) as distinct from a French-speaker." "Euro-American: a North or South American of European ethnic origin." Based on the *Oxford English Dictionary*, and for variety, this dissertation uses the terms: Euro-American, European-American, Anglo-American and even occasionally Caucasian and white.

It should be noted also that even the descriptor "American" is problematic, as anyone from the continents of North and South America could be correctly called American. North American is a more accurate definer, but includes both the United States and Canada. For the sake of readability, this study follows this country's common usage of the words "America" and "Americans" as meaning Natives and citizens of the United States of America or "relating to or characteristic of the United States or its inhabitants" as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

Furthermore, although it is appropriate to refer to the *Oxford English Dictionary* in defining Euro-American terms, it may not be so in connection with the Native people of the country, whose descriptors have also changed over the years as Native Americans have gained voice. As of this writing, there are 562 federally recognized Native tribes in America, and 4.3 million Native Americans, each of whom may have his or her own opinion on the conversation. Stella U. Ogunwole, *We the People: American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States: Census 2000 Special Reports* (Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce, February 2006), accessed December 10, 2009, <http://www/socdemo/race/censr-28.pdf>; Edna L. Paisano, *We the First Americans* (Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce, September 1993), accessed December 10, 2009, <http://www.census.gov/apds/wepeople/we-5.pdf> ; US Department of the Interior, “Federally Recognized Indian Tribes,” *Federal Register* 67, no. 134 (2002), accessed December 10, 2009, <http://www.artnatam.com/tribes.html>.

In the 1920s, the terms “redman” and “Indian” (with an occasional “Injun”) were still in common parlance; sometimes references to “American aborigine” or “American native” were made. The writings of scholars such as Edgar Lee Hewett and Watson Smith reflect these usages, as do the contemporary novels of D. H. Lawrence and Mary Austin. In 1961 American poet, B. Jonson, published a treatise *Amerigine*, (Monterey, CA: Savant, 1979) referring to a theoretical group of Homo sapiens who evolved independently in North America. As late as the 1966 University of Chicago Press edition (translator unknown) of Claude Lévi-Strauss’s *The Savage Mind*, the word is used freely, although Lévi-Strauss usually combined the tribal name with it; for example, he refers to “Hopi Indian” and “Cahuilla Indian” as opposed to the more generalized term “Indian.” Lévi-Strauss also refers to “whites” on more than one occasion in this book. During the Civil Rights “Red Power” movement of the 1970s the word “Amerind” (also “Amerindian”) was popular, and preferred by Indian Rights leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means. In the 1980s and 1990s, the term “Native American” became the descriptor used by scholars and writers, although some Native-born Americans objected to this term as well. Concurrently Canadians tended to prefer “First Nations” and “aborigine.” With the act of the United States Congress that created the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian in 1989 and the opening of its flagship museum on the National Mall in Washington, D. C. in 2004, the term “Indian” came back into acceptable usage, despite sporadic resistance by Natives to the label. Today, according to the National Museum of the American Indian, a museum managed to a large degree by members of America’s Indian tribes, acceptable terms include: American Indian, Indian, Native American, and Native. Their site (accessed September 24, 2013, <http://nmai.si.edu/explore/forfamilies/resources/didyouknow/#2>) says:

All of these terms are acceptable. The consensus, however, is that whenever possible, Native people prefer to be called by their specific tribal name. In the United States, *Native American* has been widely used but is falling out of favor with some groups, and the terms *American Indian* or *indigenous American* are preferred by many Native people.

Detroit Museum of Art curator and American Indian specialist, David Penney, succinctly states in “The Poetics of Museum Representations: Tropes of Recent American Indian Art Exhibitions,” “America does not know how to think or talk about Indians.” Penney, in *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures* (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 58. Professor of Literature Arnold Krupat notes in his book *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature*, the American myth traps American Indians in a kind of pendulum course that veers back and forth between the classical emplotments of comedy and tragedy. Introduction to *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 3–45.

In an insightful discussion on this subject, Fred Kabotie’s grandson, the Honorable Fred Lomayesva, General Counsel to the Hopi Tribe, states:

The problem of Indian identity is that it is a term created outside the context of tribalism. The origin of the Indian as we understand the term can be traced to a particular moment in time; the instant Christopher Columbus looked across the bow of his ship and yelled, “hey look, Indians.” Perhaps, those were not his exact words, however, we know at that moment the Indian came into being. Most significantly, the term Indian (as it pertains to the indigenous populations of the Americas) is an identity that did not exist prior to Columbus. “Indian Identity--Post Indian Reflections,” *Tulsa Law Review* 35 (1999): 63–72, accessed February 19, 2014, <http://digitalcommons.law.utulsa.edu/tlr/vol35/iss1/4/>.

Additionally, art critic Lucy R. Lippard includes a chapter entitled “Naming,” in *Mixed Blessings*, in which the discussion of Native identity is thoughtfully explored in numerous essays. Lippard, *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990), 19–56. Also see W. Jackson Rushing, ed, *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999) and the essay “Primitive,” by Mark Antliff and Patricia Leighton in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 217–33.

The author thanks, in alphabetical order, the many, Native and non-Native, who have read this explanatory footnote: Kelley Hays-Gilpin, Professor of Anthropology, Northern Arizona University and Edward Bridge Danson Jr. Chair of Anthropology, Museum of Northern Arizona; Michael Kabotie (1943–2009), Hopi artist and son of Fred Kabotie; Paul Kabotie (Santa Clara/Hopi), Michael Kabotie’s son and Fred Kabotie’s grandson; Keevin Lewis, Navajo, Community and Constituent Services coordinator, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution; Zena Pearlstone, Professor Emeritus, California State University, Fullerton; Aleta Ringlero, Pima/Tohono O’odam/Cahuilla, art curator and art historian; W. Jackson Rushing, Adkins Presidential Professor of Art History and Mary Lou Milner Carver Chair in Native American Art, University of Oklahoma.

The final usages of terminology in this dissertation are the responsibility of the author.

A similar issue arises with the usage and various spellings of Kabotie’s Hopi name, including Nawavoy’ma and Na-kah-who-ma. Kabotie used Nakavoma (*Day after Day*) in his autobiography, so this dissertation will as well. Furthermore, unlike many Native artists, in contemporaneous written publications Kabotie is rarely referred to by his Hopi name, and he consistently signed his work with his English name, either Kabotie or Fred Kabotie. It is also the name by which Elizabeth Willis DeHuff knew him. Out of respect for his choice, and to minimize confusion, he will be referred to as Fred Kabotie in this document, perhaps not an ideal choice, but one made for the sake of clarity.

In his autobiography, Kabotie says that he was assigned the name “Fred” when he was about seven years old and first attended the Toreva Day School near his home village of Songòopavi; Fred Kabotie and Bill Belknap, *Fred Kabotie, Hopi Indian Artist: An Autobiography Told with Bill Belknap* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977), 9–10. Later, when he was fifteen years old and several months after he arrived at the Santa Fe Boarding School, his records arrived from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Keams Canyon stating his last name was “Kabotie.” He writes:

At that point my English wasn’t good enough to explain that when you’re baptized in the old Hopi way it is your so-oh, grandmother, your father’s mother, who names you. And that as you’re growing up, the women in your father’s clan are always kidding you about being their sweetheart, and how they love you and will never give you up. And how their husbands, following age-old Hopi custom, belittle you, say you’re not good enough, and give you a nickname. And that they’d said the name Nakavoma [*Day after Day*] was too good for me and had shortened it to Kavotay, which means “tomorrow.” And that some

Kabotie left Santa Fe in 1926 and returned to his Hopi homelands; he then lived in Santa Fe and Cowles, New Mexico from 1927 until 1929, when he moved home to Hopi, this time permanently. There he was far removed from all but occasional contact with his supporters. Little

teacher at Toreva Day School hadn't listened carefully, and had written "Kabotie" on a paper that would follow me forever. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 18.

The importance of naming cannot be understated. Like people of many cultures, the Hopi are given several names over their lifetime, some shared with others, some not. Kabotie might well have considered adopting a western name to be an important ritual in and of itself; it was one that both indoctrinated him into western society and simultaneously inherently alienated him from his Hopi culture. Additionally, if names can be considered as autobiographical and help to define a person's character, as hinted at by Kabotie in the quote above, he could be perceived as both surrendering his character and adapting to a new one prescribed by the white men and women newly dominating his life. See also Hertha Dawn Wong, *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years, Tradition and Innovation in Native American Autobiography* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 25, 37.

Compounding this, if this name change was not purely Kabotie's choice, which it apparently was not, the writings of Charlotte Hagström of Lund University should be considered. Hagström posits that the act of having one's name questioned, or altered without express consent, can be interpreted as a personal insult, as immigrants worldwide have testified. She puts this very succinctly. "To have your own name questioned is to be questioned as a person." Charlotte Hagström, "Naming Me, Naming You: Personal Names, Online Signatures and Cultural Meaning," in "Names and Identities," eds. Botolv Helleland, Christian-Emil Ore and Solveig Wikstrøm, special issue, *Oslo Studies in Language* 4, no. 2 (2012): 81–93.

Another important point to consider in this discussing, names can be interpreted as offering hints to the members of a society as to who a person is, while at the same time informing the bearer as to who "he or she is expected to be." Guro Reisæter, "Immigrants in Norway and Their Choice Of Names: Continuation or Adaption?" in Helleland, Ore and Wikstrøm, "Names and Identities," 223–34. In other words, names offer systems of identification and personhood, and situate individuals in their social networks, "Despite differences in tradition, certain fairly obvious generalizations can be made. Names serve the purpose of situating people in social space, connecting them to family, lineage, ethnic group, and such... Naming is a speech act, shaping the life course and the person involved;" (Gisli Palsson, "Personal Names: Embodiment, Differentiation, Exclusion, and Belonging," *Science Technology and Human Values* 39 (January 2014): 620–21. By adopting and maintaining a western name, Kabotie was positioning himself firmly in the dominant mainstream society. It is coincidental, but interesting, to note that his last name, while derived from his Hopi name, does not sound, to the English trained ear, particularly Hopi (unlike many other Hopi last names: Polelonema, Lomayesva, Lomakema, Sekaquaptewa, Talisyesva, Komaletstewa, Tewanima, Talayamtewa, Humiyistewa, Humiquaptewa, Lolomayoma, Tawahongniwa, Youkeoma).

The author was kindly permitted to review and copy Fred Kabotie papers at his Second Mesa home, as well as those in the possession of Michael Kabotie and Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva, in which there is extensive information relating to the years after Kabotie returned to Hopi, but nothing concerning the years before that. Happily in the fall of 2014 these papers were donated to the Museum of Northern Arizona, and will be available to scholars in the future.

remains of his written correspondence before the 1950s; whether that indicates there was none, or simply that it no longer exists, is unclear.

This dissertation undertakes to establish the origins of Willis DeHuff's pedagogy, through both her own education and that of the schools in which she worked, and it will look at how the extended conversation between Willis DeHuff and Kabotie, combined with their individual approaches to art, led to the formation of a new aesthetic idea. This genesis was the primary force behind the collaborative effort joining elements of Native American and modern arts that resulted in the creation of the Santa Fe Style. The circumstances that led to Kabotie's development as a painter and his subsequent conflation of the western tradition of painting with his own Hopi traditions,⁴ in conjunction with other Pan-Indian styles, are manifold; in past

4. For the purposes of this dissertation, western art will be described as being the visual art of western Europe, or as forms of art that have their roots in that of western Europe. The author would like to acknowledge that although doing so is expedient, it is also questionable. As Homi K. Bhabha writes, "What is at stake in the naming of critical theory as "western"? It is, obviously, a designation of institutional power and ideological Eurocentricity." Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 31.

In the same vein, on naming things, such as arts versus crafts, Jay Garfield (Doris Silbert Professor in the Humanities and Professor of Philosophy, Smith College) and Murray Kitley (Sophia Smith Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Smith College) offer a thoughtful insight when they write:

It doubtless may, and I believe it will, be found, that mankind have [sic] multiplied the varieties unnecessarily, and have [sic] imagined distinctions among things, where there were only distinctions in the manner of naming them... We must begin by recognizing the distinctions made by ordinary language. If some of these appear, on a close examination, not to be fundamental, the enumeration of the different kinds of realities may be abridged accordingly. Garfield and Kiteley, *Meaning and Truth: The Essential Readings in Modern Semantics* (St. Paul, MN: Paragon House, 1991), 11–12.

Even the category of pueblo "arts" raises problems. It is a category defined by the dominant Anglo culture's aesthetic values, and as such includes religious items as well as pottery and weaving. Penney, in "Poetics of Museum Representations," 49–50, offers this:

The application of the word "art," like "politics" or "religion," to many categories of traditional American Indian objects is possible only through allegory. The introduction of American Indian "art" to museums stemmed from its ethnographic definition, the development of a pan-cultural, allegorically formulated "humanistic: definition of art. These objects have yet to escape this identity.

scholarship they have sometimes been misstated. One common misunderstanding is found in the various interpretations of the mimetic nature of Kabetie's painting that prioritize this aspect of his work at the expense of others; this misinterpretation will be explored in later chapters, especially as it relates to both Kabetie's own culture and that of his audience. Beginning in 1918, with the meeting of Kabetie and DeHuff and the inauguration of his Santa Fe Style, Kabetie became a cultural ambassador by offering his patrons and tourists the chance to own or experience Native America through him. For these men and women, interactions with Kabetie and his paintings offered a doorway into a realm they considered to be primal. Thus his works were not solely about the people and things depicted but also enhanced his viewers' understandings and interpretations of their inner selves, which their readings of Sigmund Freud and C. G. Jung had encouraged them to regard as also primal.

Another often-repeated major mistake is that art educator Dorothy Dunn taught Kabetie, when in fact, Dunn and the Studio School she founded at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School

The ethnographic allegory of American Indian art was first invoked in support of the early generations of Pueblo watercolorists and Anadarko painters of the 1910s and 1920s. The artist John Sloan, the dealer Amelia Elizabeth White, and others promoted the work of these early Indian painters by stressing their unity with sculptured, painted woven, and modeled American Indian objects produced in the past that possess a wide range of political, religious, economic, or cultural dimensions in addition to their artistry: kiva paintings, pictographs, decorated pottery, and basketry. Sloan and White organized the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts in 1931, where modern watercolors were shown side by side with baskets, pottery, jewelry, beadwork, carving, and textiles of earlier generations. This juxtaposition was calculated to authenticate the watercolors as artifacts while reclassifying the other objects as works of art, seamlessly joining the two together by means of an elaborate ethnographic allegory of American Indian painting "at once classic and modern." Quotation from Frederick Webb Hodge, Herbert J. Spinden, and Oliver La Farge, *Introduction to American Indian Art*, 2 vols (New York: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931; reprint, 2 vols. in 1, Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press), 1:15.

were informed by Kabotie's work.⁵ Rather than being a Dunn student, Kabotie studied art under Elizabeth Willis DeHuff at the Santa Fe Boarding School almost twenty years before Dunn arrived.⁶ Thus, although Dunn did contribute to the Santa Fe Studio School, it was actually

5. Kabotie states in an interview with Bill Belknap that he did not meet Dunn until much later. Fred Kabotie and Alice Kabotie, interview session 1 by Bill Belknap and Frances Belknap, transcript of tape recording, December 5–7, 1975, Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, NAU.OH.70, Folder 5, 165.

6. Kabotie arrived at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1915 almost two decades before Dorothy Dunn.

Although an active field of American watercolor existed long before she arrived in Santa Fe, Dorothy Dunn is perhaps the best known of the teachers and promoters of modern American Indian watercolor painting. Dunn founded The Studio of the Santa Fe Indian School, where young artists were guided carefully to record their native traditions using watercolor. Emily Ballew Neff, *The Modern West: American Landscapers, 1890–1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press; Houston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2006), 175.

Despite the seminal role that Willis DeHuff played in developing the Santa Fe Style, her contributions have been downplayed even more than Kabotie's in literature on the subject. As noted, several generations of scholars have promoted the notion that Dorothy Dunn was primarily responsible for launching the Santa Fe Style; this dissertation puts forward that she did spearhead the Santa Fe Studio School Style, and that it was informed by the Santa Fe Style and other first generational Pueblo painting styles. This was a major achievement. The outstanding art historian Bruce Bernstein, in the preface to *Modern By Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*, begins, "For those of us interested in the history of modern American Indian painting, Dorothy Dunn did a remarkable thing: she saved almost every sketch, unfinished painting, and notation produced in the five years she taught at her Studio at the Santa Fe Indian School." While this is both true and admirable, the author would like to have seen Willis DeHuff mentioned, for she not only bought and saved watercolors by her students, but those works also went on to be exhibited in the Museum of New Mexico and the *Independents Show* in New York. Bernstein begins chapter one of *Modern by Tradition*:

When Dorothy Dunn established the Studio, the fine-arts program at the Santa Fe Indian School which she directed from 1932 to 1937, she helped coalesce local and national movements to formulate a painting genre and foster an international market for American Indian painting. (Bruce Bernstein, in Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 3.)

In "The Art of Pueblo Life," William Truettner writes, "In many ways, Dorothy Dunn's studio classes, begun at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1932, represent the culmination of the Anglo movement to encourage Indian watercolor painting." Truettner positions Chapman as key to the developing of Southwestern Indian watercolorists, saying, "Chapman... was destined to become one of the leading authorities on southwestern Indian art, discovered Apie Begay about 1902 converting traditional sand-painting designs into two-tone drawings..." and he continues, "Hewett became more actively involved in

Kabotie, with Willis DeHuff's help, who decades earlier originated the Santa Fe Style. Moreover, his watercolors helped establish guidelines for the Studio School's so-called traditional Indian art perpetuated by Dunn. Many of Dunn's students were exceptionally talented, although they were sometimes inhibited by both Dunn's and their own subsequent interpretation of Kabotie's earlier work at the School. Despite these constraints, Kabotie's groundbreaking work paved the way for succeeding generations of Indian artists to emerge from their individual Native spheres into a Pan-Indian one, and nowadays, into a culturally diverse mainstream.

The mainstream art world's awareness of his work depended on Mabel Dodge Sterne Luhan's connections to artists and intellectuals in Taos and nationally, and her important efforts in promoting the art world's appreciation of Kabotie's work. When Mabel Sterne (her name before her marriage to Tony Lujan in 1923) acquired a collection of Santa Fe Indian Boarding School student works and arranged for them to be exhibited in New York City, she ensured Kabotie's recognition in the national art community. Her actions led to John Sloan's support of Native painting, and through their backing, Kabotie became acknowledged as an original contributor to the genre of Native American painting. At the same time one needs to remember that Kabotie was cast as a childlike primitive in closer touch to the world than the overly civilized mainstream culture, and he, at least superficially, accepted this role. This approach proved useful for Kabotie in developing a style that enabled him to earn a living from selling his work to members of the dominant culture.

the revival as a result of excavations he was conducting in Frijoles Canyon, near San Ildefonso. Precontact mural fragments were discovered, which Indian laborers copied with such success that their work was immediately acquired by School of American Archaeology personnel." "The Art of Pueblo Life," in *Art in New Mexico, 1900–1945: Path to Taos and Santa Fe*, by Charles C. Eldredge, Julie Schimmel, and William H. Truettner (New York: Abbeville Press, 1986), 73.

Because of Luhan and Sloan's efforts, Kabotie's work was exhibited in 1920 in the *Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists* in New York City, at the Venice Biennale in 1932, and again in the Museum of Modern Art exhibition entitled *Indian Art of the United States* that opened in January, 1941. Kabotie was not the only Indian artist feted; an earlier (1933) Museum of Modern Art exhibition, *American Sources of Modern Art*, curated by Holger Cahill,⁷ presented Indian cultures as integrally related to modern art, a point of view asserted by the avant-garde and urban museums alike.⁸

Theoretical Approaches Employed in this Dissertation

Primary research for this dissertation has necessitated an intensive and at times exhaustive odyssey through a great number of archives, including those at Harvard University Peabody Museum, Yale University, the Museum of Modern Art, the University of New Mexico,

7. Rushing points out that Cahill patronized the Indian painters, as Hewett and Henderson had, calling them "these Pueblo Indian boys," despite the fact that they were adults, and one of them, Tonita Peña, was a woman. *Native American Art*, 34.

8. Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 7.

The *New York Times* refers to this exhibition as "Among the important museum shows...in the main, a...very illuminating affair." The article continues:

The two rooms on the ground floor devoted to contemporary work are to a certain degree interesting. That modern Mexican artists such as Rivera, Charlot, Merida and Siqueros⁸ should eagerly have surrendered to the heritage of their own land is not at all surprising. The exhibition further sets out to demonstrate that the same sources have been sought by some of our own modern American artists. Edward Alden Jewell, "Very Plump Lean Year: Art Is Longer Than Any Bread Line – A Second Look at "American Sources," *New York Times*, June 4, 1933.

Thus, the *New York Times* author appears to be saying categorically that modern painting based on America's own aboriginal arts was not as accomplished as that of the Mexican painters. (The Museum of Modern Art's 1932 exhibitions, devoted to Diego Rivera, "broke all daily attendance records," exceeding the number who attended the Matisse exhibition that preceded it by almost twenty thousand, and, according to art historian Bernard Smith, "heralded a change from a European to an American focus." Smith, *Modernism's History*, 233.

Northern Arizona University, the Museum of Northern Arizona, Denver Art Museum, the Arizona Historical Society, the University of Arizona, Arizona State University, the National Museum of the American Indian, and Kabotie's own private files, held by family members in Second Mesa, Arizona and in Riverside, California. These files, never previously shared with an outsider, were very generously made available to the author over several years by Fred Kabotie's children: Michael Kabotie and Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. In addition to its reliance on this information, much of it representing facts and views new to scholarship, this study considers Kabotie's work as a hybridization of several discourses that have in the past been regarded as entirely separate. These include folk and/or vernacular art, traditional Hopi works, Arts and Crafts creations, and modern painting. It will also rely on an understanding of Kabotie's markets, particularly the ones in Santa Fe and New York City, in order to analyze the creative role that reception plays in the formation of the seemingly simple yet highly complex style Santa Fe Style of painting he helped inaugurate. In doing so, this dissertation subscribes to Michel Foucault's theorization of discourses,⁹ overarching structures which enable or constrain information so that it is legitimized as knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge is not limited to the scientific, but encompasses broad-spectrums of information as well. It is not confined to written texts, but includes general practices and institutions as well. Foucault writes:

One cannot accept either the distinction between the broad types of discourse, or that between forms of genres (science literature, philosophy, religion, history, fiction, and so on). The reasons are blindingly obvious. We are ourselves uncertain of the use of these distinctions in the world of our own discourse.¹⁰

9. Michel Foucault and Alan Sheridan, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972).

10. Michel Foucault, *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: New Press, 1998), 303.

Moreover, the Foucauldian idea of an archaeology, uncovering the interconnectedness of multiple histories, is germane to this study of Kabotie's art, especially in light of the lack of written documentation between several key participants.

As University of Hawaii Professor Joseph J. Tanke iterates, from the Foucauldian standpoint, when archaeology is applied to visual works, it illustrates how specific exemplary visual products displace the conventions of those that preceded them. In a similar manner, this dissertation asks the question, how does Kabotie's work confirm and contest its historical role?¹¹ Tanke posits that Foucault wanted to stymie habitual ways of looking and thinking by not speaking in terms of style or development and avoiding "commentary," but by seeing "differences, heterogeneity, and divergences," while interpreting rather than judging the work.¹² Indeed, in *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault describes archaeology as showing why a discourse (work of art) "could not be other than it was, in what respect it is exclusive of any other, how it assumes, in the midst of others and in relation to them, a place that no other could occupy."¹³ The Santa Fe Style certainly falls into this realm, and furthermore could be categorized as a Foucauldian "profound rupture," for it initiated a major shift in Native art.¹⁴

This tactic of utilizing discourse to empower works of art is still relatively new, but it is not unique. Southwestern University Professor of Communications Bob Bedner follows a

11. Joseph J. Tanke, *Foucault's Philosophy of Art: A Genealogy of Modernity* (London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 7.

12. Ibid., 56–57, 60.

13. Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 28.

14. Tanke, *Foucault's Philosophy*, 63.

parallel path to that of this dissertation in analyzing the work of Shepard Fairey (creator of the infamous Obama *Hope* poster). In fact, Bedner understands this poster as changing Fairey's environment (America) to the point of affecting social change, clearly a Foucauldian profound rupture.¹⁵ Foucault's writing has also been addressed by artists, such as Sherrie Levine, who has "systematically investigated" the concepts of critique, authorship, the simulacrum and the place of artistic authenticity with her copies that become original.¹⁶

In addition to the works of Foucault, this dissertation's analysis of the Santa Fe Style will be based on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann's now classic study, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, which puts forward the concept of reality as a series of ratified social and historical constructions, "the systematic study of the social conditions of knowledge as such."¹⁷ In Foucault's book *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*, this idea is carried further when the French theorist writes:

What should be noted here is that those true discourses we need relate only to what we are in our connection with the world, in our place in the natural order, and in our dependence or independence with respect to the events that occur.¹⁸

In other words, this dissertation positions Kabotie and the Santa Fe Style within several larger worlds: those of Hopi, modernism and Santa Fe intellectualism, while revealing Kabotie's

15. Brady Granger, "Examining Shepard Fairey's Street Art Through a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis," *The Art of Shepard Fairey: Changing Institutions of Display and the Social Lives of Images*, May 4, 2009, http://people.southwestern.edu/~bednarb/su_netWorks/projects/granger/discourseone.html

16. Kristine Stiles and Peter Selz, *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2012), 341.

17. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966), 12.

18. Michel Foucault, *Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth*, ed. Paul Rabinow, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: New Press, 1994), 100.

dependence and partial independence from them. Indeed, his reality can be found in the interstices of a series of very diverse social and historical constructions and was self-manufactured to meet these circumstances.

In accomplishing these goals, this dissertation ascertains a number of informants, their respective views, and their discursive affiliations to the Santa Fe Style by demonstrating its multivalent aspects and exposing a true dimensionality overlooked in earlier scholarly works. Although by necessity many questions must remain unanswered because of a lack of documentation and living witnesses to interview, it is this study's ambition to offer fresh interrogations and open new avenues of research. It will clarify that while the outlook and ambition of this one Native American artist is in part predicated on mainstream modern artists and styles, these mainstream cultural adherents were also looking at Kabotie: each had much to offer the other. In addition, this study seeks to uncover the roots of innovative and contemporary pedagogies leading to Kabotie's art education to confirm that his relationship with Elizabeth DeHuff was neither strictly hierarchical nor one-sided, and in doing so it will place Fred Kabotie and his art in a number of different contexts, including that of contemporary mainstream American artists.

How Nakavoma became known as Fred Kabotie

How did one Hopi Indian male, who had marginal contact with white Americans until the age of fifteen, carefully and deliberately develop a style¹⁹ that catapulted him into the national art

19. A word especially difficult to define, for the purposes of this dissertation, *style* indicates a recognizable and distinctive utilization of line, form, color, media, technique, composition and subject matter in a work of art, and is influenced by both culture and period, as well as by the individual artist.

Meyer Shapiro (artist and art historian who was a student of John Sloan at the Hebrew Educational Society and of Franz Boas at Columbia University) positions style as referring to the formal qualities and visual characteristics of a work, writing that "by style is meant the constant form—and sometimes the

world? What were the circumstances around Kabotie's education in art at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School and the interactions that informed the development of his distinctive approach?

Fred Kabotie estimated that he was born in February of 1900 in the village of Songòopavi,²⁰ one of the oldest Hopi villages high on the mesas of northeastern Arizona (figure

constant elements, qualities, and expression—in the art of an individual or a group.” Thus style might identify a period, the artist and the culture in which the work was produced. According to Shapiro, style also reflects social and economic conditions while revealing underlying cultural assumptions and values, not only of the artist, but of the art historian writing about the art. Meyer Shapiro, “Style,” in *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society*. New York: George Braziller, 1994, 51. Also, *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 143.

The Santa Fe style is known for its depiction of Native American peoples, especially in dance scenarios, sometimes painted in flat coloring with minimal modeling, with the figures situated on an empty field without detailed backgrounds. J. J. Brody differentiates the works by Willis DeHuff's students (i.e. the Santa Fe Style) from earlier San Ildefonso watercolors, noting that the San Ildefonso paintings are:

Almost always simple, linear compositions organized parallel to the picture plane...shown in profile, either isolated from each other or interacting in very limited ways. The Indian School artists, on the other hand, used many different dance subjects in realistic, active, and interactive postures. The favored frontal and three-quarter views and experimented with foreshortening and with compositions that are far more complex, panoramic, and ambitious than anything attempted before.... J. J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico 1900-1930* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1997), 86.

Brody points out that the Indian School figures painted by Willis DeHuff's students

are three dimensional and painterly, ...[offer] realistic images and develop highlights and shadows....modifying colors to suggest atmospheric haze and spatial depth. In a curious instance of selective blindness, later observes often referred to all of these pictures as “flat” when discussing them as a revival of ancient Pueblo traditions.

To make his point, Brody shows Kabotie's c.1920–1921 *Hopi Snake Dance*, a painting in which Kabotie does indeed utilize modeling, as will be discussed in later chapters (figure 15).

While these ideas of style are important, one should understand that styles change; although Kabotie developed the Santa Fe Style, he also rapidly moved away from it once he left Santa Fe.

20. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 1. Songòopavi is the contemporary spelling of the name of Kabotie's home village on Second Mesa Village. This study follows contemporary spelling of Hopi words utilizing the *Hopi Dictionary: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect compiled by the Hopi Dictionary Project* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998) for the spelling of Hopi words, even though: (1) Shungopavi is the spelling Kabotie used in his autobiography, and (2) Kabotie was from Second Mesa, not Third, which is the locus of the *Hopi Dictionary*. Therefore, the reader should bear in

2). He grew up having minimal contact with Anglo-Americans, and those he did encounter would have been among the influx of anthropologists, archaeologists, ethnographers, missionaries, educators, collectors and more adventuresome tourists. This changed when Kabotie was fifteen and was sent from home to the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School in New Mexico. In Santa Fe, he was a fairly typical Indian student until the arrival of the new superintendent, John DeHuff, and his wife, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff (1886–1983), in 1918.²¹

Soon after her arrival, Willis DeHuff grew interested in Kabotie's artistic abilities and had him excused from carpentry classes in order to take art lessons from her. For a time, the art class consisted of only this one pupil, but several other talented young students soon joined them. To apprehend why and what Willis DeHuff taught Kabotie, an understanding of the then-current norms of mainstream art education pedagogy as well as the Indian education systems in America is key.

Frequently scholarship on early twentieth-century art instruction of American Indians subscribed to the common fallacy that the best quality Indian art was untainted by Anglo-Americans. As noted in *Young America: A Folk-Art History*:

The painted history of Indian life seems especially valid when done by the Indians themselves, as in nineteenth-century pictographs and scenes of daily life such as this [*A New Married Man Receiving His Friends*, c. 1876 (figure 3) by Buffalo Meat, one of the Fort Marion prisoners], simply and crisply drawn and colored. Unfortunately, too much of the work done by twentieth-

mind the two villages have many divergences in language and culture. Additionally Kabotie used the spelling of the word Kachina, common in his time, but the contemporary spelling, Katsina, is considered more appropriate, and thus this dissertation follows this trend, again, except in direct quotations.

21. This dissertation refers to Elizabeth Willis DeHuff as Willis before her marriage and Willis DeHuff afterwards so as not to confuse the reader between her and her husband, Santa Fe School Superintendent, John David DeHuff. This double name is how she was referred to in her books and publications, and, in respect for her usage choice, the author will follow suit.

century Indians was indelibly styled by their well-meaning white patrons, and art teachers in the Santa Fe, New Mexico area. These mass-produced “Pueblo style” paintings of Indian life sold well, but they are so homogenized in style and content that they look as if one deliberately naïve artist could have made them all. In contrast, Buffalo Meat’s drawing is a true folk expression. It tells us, in his own way, how he and his fellows lived in better days.²²

Although parts of the authors’ assessment of the post-Kabotie era Santa Fe Indian Boarding School artists are inarguable, it should be noted that the work of Buffalo Meat and other early Native American artists was no less affected by white patrons than was Kabotie’s. For example, the paintings portray both Native home life before living with their Anglo captors, and their (the Indians’) journey across the country and life under Colonel Richard Henry Pratt’s supervision.²³ These images were all painted with western tools and materials on paper, and created for sale to white tourists and local collectors.

Elizabeth Willis DeHuff (figure 4)

The turn of the twentieth century was a time of germination and maturation in terms of the pedagogy of American Indians, as illustrated by Kabotie's art education. Before the DeHuffs’ arrival, there was no art instruction available at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. The DeHuffs, fresh from the Carlisle Indian Boarding School in Pennsylvania, brought modern approaches to the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, such as Willis DeHuff’s invitation to students to gather for art classes in her kitchen, in which she suggested each draw on their

22. Jean Lipman, Elizabeth V. Warren, and Robert Charles Bishop, *Young America: A Folk-Art History* (New York: Hudson Hills Press in association with the Museum of American Folk Art, 1986).

23. Pratt and the Fort Marion prisoners will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.

traditional backgrounds. This was an idea heretofore frowned on by the Indian school administrators; with few exceptions they eschewed encouraging Natives to express non-western concepts (a practice that may have in part led to the DeHuffs subsequent transfer to Riverside, California).²⁴

This dissertation also repositions Willis DeHuff and Kabotie's formative roles in the creation of the Santa Fe Style and help provide a greater understanding of the evolution of an early twentieth-century hybridized Native American-folk painting style in terms of one of its major artists; it will look at how Kabotie's work originated, while examining his mentor Willis DeHuff's role, and that of the boarding school where they met. The study of his development as an artist does more than illuminate an often-acknowledged but under-recognized figure in Native American art history: examining how Kabotie developed as a successful painter offers essential insights into the ways in which Native American artists and mainstream modern American artists cooperated with one another.

To date, few scholars have looked beyond Dunn in assessing the origins of the art this dissertation calls the Santa Fe Style, and even those individuals have not undertaken extensive research on the subject. Dunn did not come to the School until 1932, well after Willis DeHuff and her husband had left the institution. Willis DeHuff initiated art education at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1918 soon after she and her husband arrived there. When they were at the Carlisle School (1913–1918), it was able to boast having a strong Native arts program, which had been established by Angel De Cora, a member of the Winnebago peoples (figure 5). De Cora had taken several art classes between 1883 and 1890 at the Virginia-based Hampton Institute,²⁵ a

24. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 27–29.

25. De Cora attended Hampton from 1883 until 1890.

school originally created to educate former slaves; then attended Miss Burnham's School in Northampton, Massachusetts, to study music during the year of 1891. She found Miss Burnham's to be too "aristocratic," and over the summer of 1892 the Springfield Ladies Indian Association arranged for De Cora to take drawing lessons.²⁶ Finding drawing more to her liking, she moved to the School of Art at Smith College in 1892, and after graduating in 1896 she proceeded to the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia.²⁷ She subsequently headed the art program at Carlisle School from 1906 to 1915 and developed several systems for instructing Native American students. Willis DeHuff would have encountered De Cora's methods in 1913–18, when she was at Carlisle. She no doubt had been demonstrably inspired by De Cora's pedagogical approach, if not by De Cora herself, when she invited Kabotie and several other young Indian men to participate in art classes, thus connecting the Santa Fe School with both Carlisle's and the Hampton Institute's emphasis on art instruction.

Art Education in America: American Indian Schools and Fred Kabotie

In determining how Kabotie and other early twentieth-century Native American artists developed a hybrid style that relied on both Indian tribal traditions and western concepts, it is important to look at how they, and Americans in general, were educated. The concept of art education in the public schools was relatively new, and the United States school system at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries was in the process of analyzing and adopting European models while at the same time working to establish its own pedagogy.

26. Linda M. Waggoner, *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 59.

27. Waggoner, *Fire Light*, 58–69.

Educational philosophies were evolving rapidly, and then-current social and historical ideas about children informed the methodology of teaching arts in the schools. Similarly, the approaches utilized in teaching Native students were a direct consequence as to how these pupils were perceived. The dominant culture viewed Native Americans as little more than under-evolved European-Americans, or more succinctly, as overlarge children who needed to be civilized in order to save them from extinction. A May 27, 1920 *New York Times* article, citing a study by the Institute for Government Research and entitled “The Problem of Indian Administration,” reads, “As wards of the Government the Indians find their economic affairs largely shaped and controlled by governmental policies.... They look, and rightly so, to the Government for advice and aid.” The article continues, “The Indians’ low standards of life and incompetence in business affairs are in large measure natural conditions, due to the fact that they are in a transitional stage.”²⁸ Earlier, in an attempt to explain his methods to help America’s Natives become upwardly mobile, Richard Henry Pratt (figure 6), father of the Indian boarding school pedagogy, famously said, “Kill the Indian in him, and save the man.”²⁹

28. “The Plight of the Listless American Indians: Research Institute Finds Deplorable Conditions Among Them and Asks New Methods for Converting Them Into Wage Earners,” *New York Times*, May 27, 1928.

29. “Address by Captain Pratt before the National Convention of Charities and Correction at Denver, Colorado, June 28, 1892,” *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction* (1892), 46–59, reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the “Friends of the Indian” 1880–1900*, ed. Francis P. Prucha (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–71. For more insight into Pratt’s ideas, see also Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964).

It might be noted here, the noxious nature of this statement builds on such battles as the November 29, 1864, Sand Creek Massacre in Colorado when, with orders to take no prisoners the Colorado state militia killed and mutilated about 200 Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, two-thirds of whom were women and children, just after they were promised by the United States Government that they would be safe where they were.

In fact, one theory of the day was the “Doomed Race Theory,” developed in Australia and dominant there until the Second World War. Ostensibly grounded in nineteenth-century science, this theory held that contact with Europeans was “fatal in some unknown manner” to aboriginal peoples,” and “following the law of evolution and survival of the fittest, the inferior races...give place to the highest types.” While this theory was also followed in America, in Australia it reflected much bleaker attitudes, where it was believed that all the “highest types” could do was provide food and shelter to the doomed, who did not have the capacity to climb the evolutionary ladder.³⁰ Additionally, from the time of Thomas Jefferson,³¹ frequently Americans subscribed to the idea that the only way to civilize Native people was to dilute their bloodlines with those of the more civilized (Europeans).³² This concept is echoed today in the words of the late Elaine Jahner, Professor of Comparative Literature at Dartmouth College, who argues, “the mixblood who belongs in both worlds at once is the natural deconstructionist.”³³

Educators like De Cora translated and personalized early twentieth-century American art pedagogy and brought it to Native American boarding schools at the instigation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis Leupp. The development of an educational institution

30. Russell McGregor, *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880–1939* (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 13–14.

31. And, according to professor emeritus of history at Indiana University and past editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History* Bernard Sheehan, “No major changes occurred in Jeffersonian theory between the Revolution and 1830.” Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (Chapel Hill: Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 11.

32. A. Dirk Moses, *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), Kindle edition, locations 478, 5355 and 6533.

33. Elaine Jahner, "Allies in the World-Wars: Vizenor's Use of Contemporary Critical Theory," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 9 (1985): 68; and Elvira Pulitano, *Toward a Native American Critical Theory* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 156.

that nurtured Native American artists, such as the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, can be understood by tracing the progress of art classes in the original Indian schools of Hampton and Carlisle, and these early views of art pedagogy will provide important clues to Kabotie's art education at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School.

Creating a New American Style: How, and Why, Santa Fe and Taos Art Communities Promoted National Interest in Fred Kabotie and Native American Painters

Such scholars as J. J. Brody and W. Jackson Rushing III established the idea that the first Native easel painters drew from numerous sources, not all of them Indian.³⁴ A case in point, as this dissertation demonstrates, lies in the work of Kabotie, whose art was informed by precolonial and contemporaneous Hopi art,³⁵ his studies with Willis DeHuff, and national art theories espoused in 1920s New York and Santa Fe. The burgeoning intellectual and artistic environment in Santa Fe and Taos was an ideal environment for the modern artists who lived there and interacted with Kabotie.

In the early 1900s Santa Fe attracted a remarkable group of modern artists, diverse in education and upbringing, including Maynard Dixon, Robert Henri and John Sloan.³⁶ These

34. J. J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 59–60; Rushing, *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, 3–6; Janet C. Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, *Native North American Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1–17.

35. Precolonial is used in this study to indicate before European contact with America's Native peoples. A thoughtful article on the impact of word choices is: James H. Merrell, "Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," *William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (2012): 451–512.

36. This dissertation reinforces Sascha Scott's position, that instead of talking of modernity, art historians should speak of multiple modernities. Scott directs her readers to several key works on the subject: Angela L. Miller et al, *American Encounters: Art, History, and Cultural Identity* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 500–501; Arjun Appadura, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3, 9–10; and S. N.

artists informed Kabotie's developing style in both indirect and direct ways. At the very least, this dissertation confirms that Kabotie liked to visit their studios in Santa Fe.³⁷ Despite this, whatever he may have envisaged in terms of his career: as a non-white artist Kabotie would not have been able to earn a living painting in the Anglo artists' style; but this fact would not have stopped him from scrutinizing their work and adapting the parts he could utilize.³⁸

Although Native artists were not invited to show alongside the Anglos in the Museum of New Mexico, they were given gallery space there, and as Kabotie contemplated his own art hanging in the museum's Indian Alcove, it would only be human nature to study the paintings and drawings of the mainstream artists in the main galleries. Thus, through the exhibits at the museum, visits to the artists' studios, and contemplating the magazines he bound for the library, the ideas and work of these nationally recognized artists came into Kabotie's purview.³⁹ Yet, at the same time, Kabotie was adapting to and adopting from western culture, he remained distinct

Eisenstadt, "Multiple Modernities," *Daedalus* 129, no. 1, (Winter 2000): 1–29. Sascha Scott, "Awa Tsireh and the Art of Subtle Resistance," *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 4 (2013), 597–622.

37. See Appendix 4. Fred Kabotie, Biography Collection, PP MS 300, Arizona Historical Society – Papago Park.

Much later, his son Michael and daughter Hattie recall Anglo artists, including Georgia O'Keeffe, occasionally visiting the family house, as they told the author in conversations between 2006 and 2012. In his interviews with Belknap, Fred and Alice try to remember O'Keeffe's first name—Julia or Georgia? Fred states, "But anyway, she lived at Abiquiu [she bought this house in 1945] and I don't approve of her house. She had a big house there...." He went on to talk about herbs, and that is what Michael and Hattie remember O'Keeffe and their father talking about at the kitchen table, plants and seeds. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 2" Folder 17, 551.

38. It should be noted that there were Native painters in the western style, as seen in a photograph taken by Charles Lummis on November 4, 1926, *The Painter Albert Lujan in Taos Pueblo* (figure 14). Albert Lujan, or *Xenaiua* (1892–1948), was a well-known Native American landscape and genre painter in oils.

39. Appendix 4 offers a list of those images on view at the opening of the museum in 1917.

from it, both by choice and as sometimes imposed on him by his situation and patriarchal sponsors.⁴⁰

As this dissertation shows, Kabotie's mature work was a highly sophisticated hybrid of several formerly unrelated currents in contemporaneous American art, including the Arts and Crafts ethos, as well as modern arts. Kabotie's painting was not simply an Anglicized Hopi style but one informed by many genres and traditions, including Pan-Indian and folk (in the European sense of a folk school born of a long tradition of isolated groups). Kabotie's work was thus an amalgamation and synthesis of diverse approaches, while remaining modern American in both philosophy and construction. Actually, this approach is also the foundation of Kabotie's lifetime oeuvre, as can be seen in his 1940 *Pueblo Green Corn Dance* (figure 7) and 1954 *Flute Ceremony* (figure 8), in which he is visibly not only looking at the work of such artists as John

40. Kabotie relates in his biography:

One season Dr. Hewett was excavating a pueblo ruin and an early Catholic church at Jemez Springs, west of Santa Fe. Students from several universities came to work under him. Velino Shije (Ma-Pe-Wi), Alfonso Roybal (Awa Tsireh), and I had been painting at the museum during school, and Dr. Hewett got us summer jobs on the dig. We decided to make the eighty-five mile trip, all on dirt roads, on our bicycles....Dr Hewett and his party were to leave by car....

Kabotie also relates:

At first everybody ate together in camp, the archaeologists, students, and labor crew, but we soon started cooking on our own. Soft-boiled eggs for breakfast are all right if you're just taking notes, but for pick-and-shovel work we needed beans and meat and bread.

And he tells of the trip he made home to Hopi at Hewett's invitation:

Dr. Hewett hired chauffeurs...for the two cars. He and Mrs. Hewett, with a woman from Washington, D.C., and her daughter and an older Indian man all rode in one car. The other car was loaded down with bedrolls and camping gear; I rode in it.

Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 38.

Sloan (figure 9) and Maynard Dixon (figure 10), but unequivocally responding to them. Thus while Kabotie outgrew his Santa Fe Style, Dunn adopted and institutionalized it.

By closely examining representative Kabotie paintings from Kabotie's early years (1918–30), this study probes dialogues on the subject and style of his work. A better understanding of the symbols and semantics Kabotie employed to convey his role as both a Hopi and a modern American artist will be developed by analyzing key sources and reviewing ongoing conversations formative to Kabotie's work. The process of reviewing his interactions with members of the contemporary art worlds of New York and Santa Fe will provide evidence that his Santa Fe Style was part of an ongoing conversation with mainstream art world while demonstrating Kabotie's highly important role as a key participant in a national dialogue promulgating the development of American art.

Scholarship on Kabotie

Previous historians have offered important insights into the Santa Fe Style, but have not supported their chronological overview of its genesis with historical overviews, including linkages to contemporaneous pedagogical practices in schools where Native Americans were enrolled.⁴¹ And none have analyzed formally the components of this pictorial style in terms of the Native American and mainstream art with which Willis DeHuff would have been familiar, nor that of modern artists residing and exhibiting in Santa Fe while Kabotie lived in the town. Undertaking simultaneous historical and stylistic analyses will more accurately align this style

41. Although a number of scholars have told parts of the story of the development of the Santa Fe School, Brody and Van Ness Seymour have offered a most thorough overview; J. J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900–1930* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 1997); Tryntje Van Ness Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down: The Artists and Stories behind the Apache, Navajo, Rio Grande Pueblo, and Hopi Paintings in the William and Leslie Van Ness Denman Collection* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1988).

with such sources in order to present a more accurate portrayal of the genesis of the Santa Fe Style.

Early Scholarship (1920s and 1930s): The Myth of the Unsullied Indian Artist

Publications contemporaneous with the early development and formation of the Santa Fe Style from 1918 to 1932 frequently referred to the watercolorists as “boys” unsullied by “white” painters. With a few notable exceptions, these writings generally did not discuss these artists' work in terms of either individual style or artistic sources. Artist and art critic Walter Pach⁴² in the March 1920 issue of *The Dial* does so,⁴³ when he mentions Kabotie by his Hopi name, albeit unknowingly (Pach notes the title of the painting to be *Na-ka-vo-ma: Hopi Snake Dance* by Fred Kabotie. Nakavoma was, of course, Kabotie's Hopi name, not the name of the dance). Pach also declares Kabotie's painting to have “an element of grandeur that should make all comment unnecessary.”⁴⁴ The same month an unknown *New York Times* writer in “Notes on Current Art” (figure 11), asserts that:

“Fred Kabotie” has done a snake dance that has been compared by Walter Pach to Egyptian painting (figure 12). It still more resembles the paintings on Greek vases in the fifth century, when the vase painter was recording in a vivid and significant idiom lively scenes from contemporary life. There is no background; the

42. Walter Pach (1883–1958) studied art under Robert Henri at the New York School of Art and helped to organize the Armory Show in New York in 1913. In the 1920s while teaching at the National Autonomous University of Mexico he received a Shilling Fund grant to study American Indian art; his work while supported by this grant remains unexplored to date. Laurette E. McCarthy, *Walter Pach (1883–1958): The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 21–22, 99–100.

43. Walter Pach, “Three Indian Water-Colours/Notes on the Indian Water-Colours,” *The Dial* 68, no. 3 (March 1920), 343–45.

44. Pach, “Indian Water-Colors.”

groups and single figures emerge from the white paper with startling distinctness. At the right a little clump of green shrubbery, exquisite and faithful as a pre-Raphaelite might have made it. Then a straight line of dancers advancing with a rhythmic gesture. Then singly and in pairs the figures curve about a central figure with such a compelling sense of movement that the observer feels as though he must begin marching around to the same rhythm. The colors are of the simplest, chiefly red and black in the figures, but they have no crudity.⁴⁵

A decade later, American Museum of Natural History director H. J. Spinden referred to “the marvelous untutored drawings of Indian children” and the Indians’ “inheritance of good taste” when describing their watercolor paintings.⁴⁶ In his “Indian Arts on Its Merits” (1931) and “Introduction to American Indian Art” (also 1931), he suggests as a source for all Native paintings ethnographer Jesse Walter Fewkes’s commissions of early Hopi figure paintings in 1899 and 1900, although there is no scholarly evidence linking these drawings to the early Santa Fe Style,⁴⁷ and later scholarship has brought to light numerous earlier sources.

An alumnus of the Philadelphia Academy of Arts and the Julian Academy of Arts in Paris, Santa Fe resident Frank Guy Applegate published a small volume in 1929 entitled *Indian Stories from the Pueblos* (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott). In it he includes seven black-and-white “Illustrations from Original Pueblo Indian Paintings.” Although he does not mention the painters, the signatures include Julian Martinez, Awa Tsireh and Oqwa Pi. It is interesting that he chose not to illustrate the book himself.

45. “Notes on Current Art: Indian Paintings in the Exhibition of the Independents,” *New York Times*, March 14, 1920.

46. Herbert J. Spinden, “Indian Arts on Its Merits” *Parnassus* 3 (November 1931), 12–13.

47. Frederick Webb Hodge, Herbert J. Spinden, and Oliver La Farge, *Introduction to American Indian Art: to Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value* (New York: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931).

Early scholarship on the Santa Fe Style also includes the 1941 publication *Indian Art of the United States* by museum directors Frederic H. Douglas (1897–1956)⁴⁸ and René d’Harnoncourt (1901–1968). This book concludes with a brief final chapter entitled “Indian Art for Modern Living”⁴⁹ and features Kabotie’s watercolor *The Delightmakers* (figure 13), as well as paintings by Oscar Howe (1915–1983), Awa Tsireh (1898–1955) and Munroe Tsatoke (1904–1937). The authors note “murals and watercolors executed by Indian painters in New Mexico, Oklahoma and the Dakotas...retain much of the style...in traditional tribal art and may well be the beginning of a new phase of Indian art.” Regrettably they did not name individual artists, sponsors, the iconography of the paintings or how these were generated, but it must be acknowledged that it was remarkably innovative for these two men to introduce Native arts as both fine art and meriting display in the modern home.⁵⁰

48. In 1929 Frederic H. Douglas joined the Denver Art Museum as Curator of Indian Art, with the objective to define the manner in which American Indian objects were re-contextualized in a museum setting. Douglas was intimately involved in a myriad of organizations and activities throughout the United States, and was considered the contemporary expert in Indian Art and culture. He served as Curator until 1946, and also served as Director of the Museum from 1940 to 1942. He was also a Trustee of the Museum. In 1947 Douglas became Curator of the Department of Native Art, a position he held until his death in 1956. Undated and untitled brochure, Douglas Society of the Denver Art Museum, n.p., in author’s collection.

49. Frederic H. Douglas and René d’Harnoncourt, *Indian Art of the United States* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1941).

50. Frederic H. Douglas and René d’Harnoncourt, “Indian Art for Modern Living,” in *Indian Art of the United States*, 181–94. This final chapter includes a reproduction of Fred Kabotie’s *The Delightmakers*, from the collection of Charles de Young Elkus. The only other contemporary Native painters included are Oscar Howe, Munroe Tsa-to-ke and Awa Tsireh.

Mid-Century Scholarship (1940s to 1960s): Art Teachers Gain Recognition

In his 1954 book *The Eagle, The Jaguar, and The Serpent*,⁵¹ Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias mentions neither Willis DeHuff nor the Awatovi murals excavated in Hopi by Harvard University archaeologists in the 1930s, or sources for the contemporary American Indian painting—although he reproduces these works in his book. However, in the text he recognizes that the Southwest painters had an “ancient tradition.”⁵² Michael Kabotie recalled that Covarrubias and his father, Fred Kabotie, became friends at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco, where Covarrubias painted *The Fauna and Flora of the Pacific*, one of a six-part series of fanciful, larger-than-life-size murals. Apparently the two men greatly enjoyed talking about murals in general, and Mexican murals specifically.⁵³

In *Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art* (1957, reprinted in 1973), archaeologist and educator Clara Lee Tanner stated that before Kabotie’s employment at the School of American Research, Willis DeHuff “encouraged” him in his art efforts.⁵⁴ Tanner was perhaps the

51. Miguel Covarrubias, *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent: Indian Art of the Americas: North America, Alaska, Canada, the United States* (New York: Knopf, 1954).

52. *Ibid.*, unnumbered plate, facing page 152.

53. Conversation with the author, September 2002. Kabotie’s ties to Covarrubias were not just that of two artists, the Hopi have a centuries old connection to what is now Mexico, home of their trading neighbors to the south. Many Hopi tribes are said to be from the “red city to the south,” and certainly the iconographies of the two geographical areas have many similarities. (For more on the iconography, see James D. Farmer, “Goggle Eyes and Crested Serpents of Barrier Canyon,” in *The Road to Aztlan: Art from a Mythic Period*, ed. Virginia M. Fields and Victor Zamudio-Taylor (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art), 124–37.

54. Clara Lee Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 72.

most noted scholar of her time, renowned for promoting Native American painting, and a woman who worked tirelessly to support artists in their endeavors.⁵⁵

Dorothy Dunn's book *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (1968) was the first to outline Willis DeHuff's role even though it also handled her contribution in a somewhat summary fashion. Dunn wrote, "Seven boys still in school received encouragement after class from Superintendent and Mrs. John D. DeHuff [sic] in their home at the Santa Fe Indian School."⁵⁶ Dunn's own accomplishment in encouraging artists became perhaps controversial in its rigidity. Brody states that she "encouraged her pupils to invent tribally distinctive pictorial forms. But the painting tradition they created was pan-Indian in character, and it spread throughout the Indian School system." Certainly Dunn's efforts to bring formal art education to the Santa Fe School cannot be denied, even though she cannot be credited with helping to innovate the Santa Fe Style.⁵⁷

Later Scholarship (1970s through Present): Fleeting Accuracy

Brody's 1971 book *Indian Painters and White Patrons* heralds a shift in historiographical thinking about Native American paintings.⁵⁸ Brody writes of the interactions between patrons and Native artists, and was among the first art historians to present the effect white patrons had

55. Kim Frontz of the Arizona Historical Society created a twenty-seven-page document, "An Annotated Bibliography of the Writings of Clara Lee Fraps Tanner," that testifies to this claim. It was reproduced in *Kiva* 64, no. 1 (1998), 61–87.

56. Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1968), 201.

57. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 182.

58. Brody, *Indian Painters*.

on Native artists' work. He chronicles the schools where the young artists learned to paint, including the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, and clearly recognizes Willis DeHuff as Kabotie's teacher.

In *American Indian Art* (1973), Norman Feder, a pioneer in the field of Native American art history and material culture, continues the fallacy that "The Pueblo people have, in general, resisted change with vigor," although he subsequently states that, "many influences have affected them, and in a number of fields a good deal of change has occurred."⁵⁹ This contradiction reflects a shifting perception of the Pueblo peoples.

In 1990 Lucy R. Lippard's seminal *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America* was published. This book offered fresh insights into Native American arts in light of developing concepts of multiculturalism. Like many contemporary books on Indian art, it is not a survey, and as such it does not approach the subject of the first Native easel painters. It is, however, a book well worth reading by anyone interested in the subject.⁶⁰

In 1991 Margaret Archuleta, Rennard Strickland, Joy L. Gritton and W. Jackson Rushing's *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century* was released. Martin Sullivan of the Heard Museum (and now director of the National Portrait Gallery) wrote the foreword, in which he comments, "so many important artists of Native American heritage have yet to be acknowledged by historians and critics of American fine art"⁶¹ This catalog is a survey of the works included in the gift of the Rennard Strickland Collection of

59. Norman Feder, *American Indian Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1973), 59.

60. Lippard, *Mixed Blessings*.

61. Margaret Archuleta, Rennard Strickland Joy L. Gritton, and W. Jackson Rushing, *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century* (New York: The New Press, 1991), 3.

Fine Art exhibited at the Heard Museum. The book includes essays by W. Jackson Rushing III (post-World-War-Two Native painting) and Joy Gritton (“The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies”), and its focus is post Santa Fe Style. It does, notably, focus on Native American art in an art-historical manner.

W. Jackson Rushing III, in *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (1995), introduces the idea that Anglo artists were also learning from Native artists. Rushing writes:

About the same time that George Heye conceived of the Museum of the American Indian in New York, the avant-garde art colonists at Santa Fe and Taos began a period of intense patronage of Native American art. Both of these outposts of avant-garde culture maintained close ties with New York, simultaneously representing an extension of its art world, and a critique of the modern urbanism it typified.⁶²

William Truettner, in “The Art of Pueblo Life,” adds a new element that hints at the direction of this dissertation when he positions Kenneth Chapman and Edgar Lee Hewett as key to the development of Southwestern Indian watercolorists, saying, “Chapman...was destined to become one of the leading authorities on southwestern Indian art, [he] discovered Apie Begay about 1902 converting traditional sand-painting designs into two-tone drawings....” He continues, “Hewett became more actively involved in the revival as a result of excavations he was conducting in Frijoles Canyon, near San Ildefonso. Precontact mural fragments were discovered, which Indian laborers copied with such success that their work was immediately acquired by School of American Archaeology personnel.”⁶³

62. W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 13.

63. Truettner, “Art of Pueblo Life,” 73.

Independent scholar Tryntje Van Ness Seymour carefully and properly aligns the key players in her comprehensive and thoroughly researched book *When the Rainbow Touches Down* (1988).⁶⁴ The granddaughter of Kabotie's California patrons, William and Leslie Denman, as well as a long-time friend of the family,⁶⁵ Seymour was the first to arrange completely and accurately the sequence of events that led to the development and recognition of the Santa Fe Style.

In *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies* (1993), Arrell Gibson notes Fred Kabotie as being one of many artists in Santa Fe. While Gibson does mistakenly describe Willis DeHuff as teaching at the school after Dunn, he points out that Dunn had been a student at the Chicago Art Institute who grew interested in Indian art after attending anthropology classes as well as research classes at the Field Museum. He writes that Dunn arrived in New Mexico where, in her words, she "found more art than I ever dreamed of in Chicago." Gibson intriguingly describes Dunn as having established the Studio School with the help of several Denver Museum of Art employees, "Rush, Gustave Baumann, and F. H. Doyles," a statement worthy of further investigation, but beyond this study's scope.⁶⁶

64. Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*.

65. William Denman was a federal judge in San Francisco, and he and his wife were early collectors of Native paintings including works by Kabotie. They grew to be good friends with Kabotie, and employed him to illustrate several Christmas cards and the small books they produced.

"I got to make fun of Mrs. Denman after we got to know one another," says Hopi artist Fred Kabotie (Nakavoma). "She always used to wear the same hat when she came up [to the Hopi Mesas] – the same straw hat. And she wore the shoes that lace way up – to avoid the snake bite, I think. One time I told Mrs. Denman, 'Say, you've come back Mrs. Denman, and you wear that same hat! I think that hat should be in the museum.' She laughed." Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 317.

66. Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900–1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 152–58. Gibson also claims:

Brody's 1997 book, *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900–1930*, creates a more multi-dimensional picture of Willis DeHuff's and Kabotie's relationship. He cites Willis DeHuff as the first Santa Fe Indian Boarding School teacher of pueblo painters but acknowledges Esther Hoyt's earlier efforts to teach art to her students at San Ildefonso Indian School, saying:

In the year 1900 Esther Hoyt, a U.S. Indian Service teacher at San Ildefonso Pueblo Day School, northwest of Santa Fe, New Mexico, distributed watercolor paints and paper to her pupils and encouraged them to make pictures of Pueblo ceremonial dances.⁶⁷

Willis DeHuff had a somewhat different perspective, as will be revealed in chapter 2. Brody researched primary documents extensively, including “catalog, accession, and other museum collection records, letters, unpublished memoirs, photographs, notes scribbled on the backs of paintings, and other archival materials,” and establishes that “On the basis of new information, some statements made here conflict with earlier publications, including my own.”⁶⁸

Brody continues:

It is now clear...that watercolor painting on paper was introduced at the San Ildefonso Day School in the fall of 1900 and not [by] Elizabeth Richards,⁶⁹ who did not teach there until years later; that

The renaissance of Indian art began in 1902. Chapman, on a field trip searching for variant pottery types, discovered Apie Begay, A Navajo, composing tribal scenes in crayon and pencil. About the same time he learned that Elizabeth Richards, a young Anglo teacher at the San Ildefonso Pueblo school, was encouraging her students to draw pueblo-life scenes and paint them with watercolors (151–52).

67. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 3.

68. Ibid.

69. Anthropologist Clara Lee Tanner in her book *Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art*, 67, writes, “[Elizabeth Richards] collected from her pupils a number of pencil and crayon sketches and several watercolors, and sent them to Barbara Freire-Marreco [an anthropologist and folklorist] in England in February, 1911.”

Santa Fe Indian School students began their work in the DeHuff home in the fall of 1918 rather than 1917 and that John DeHuff was disciplined but not dismissed (as has been published so often) because of his wife's involvement with the new art.⁷⁰

Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips co-authored *Native North American Art* in 1998, in which they introduce Kabotie as being championed by non-Indian anti-modernists as described by T. J. Jackson Lears in his seminal volume *No Place of Grace*. They don't mention Willis DeHuff, but instead proceed to Dunn and her contributions.⁷¹

In their 1999 essay "Pueblo Painters in the Border Zone,"⁷² David Penney and Lisa A. Roberts build on J. J. Brody's 1977 *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900–1930*. They write:

The relationships between the producers, promoters, and consumers of Pueblo watercolors were dialogic and collaborative, as most border encounters tend to be. Although Pueblo artists created the work, many others contributed incentives and pressures to help shape it. From the beginning, critical discussion of the paintings was about a polarity of values that contrasted an indigenous/authentic identity with an assimilated/inauthentic one, a ploy that we will argue here was consciously intended to obscure the collaborative interactions between Pueblo artists and their Anglo patrons.⁷³

70. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 3.

71. Berlo and Phillips, *Native North American Art*, 217; T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).

72. David W. Penney and Lisa A. Roberts, "Pueblo Painters in the Border Zone," in Rushing, ed., *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, 21–38.

73. *Ibid.*, 22.

Assistant professor of Art History at Pitzer University Bill Anthers refers to this dissertation's Santa Fe Style as "Dunn's studio-style" in his 2006 book *Native Moderns*. While recognizing that Dunn's studio did promote a certain look based on the Santa Fe Style, this study demonstrates Willis DeHuff's earlier contribution.⁷⁴

Whereas it is true that Dunn taught many more students than Willis DeHuff, and her Studio School had a major impact on Indian watercolorists, scholars have failed to comprehend Willis DeHuff's importance. It is a fact that Dunn taught many more Native artists than DeHuff, however, this dissertation would like to emphasize that Willis DeHuff was at the Santa Fe School before Dunn, and it will argue that her prior work informed and enabled Dunn's. Despite this difference in view of historical contributions, these late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century scholars have clarified many historic misconceptions and effectively and decisively routed out the concept that Native American art was unaffected by Anglo Americans.

By the 1990s, more and more volumes, such as *Made in America: Ten Centuries of American Art*, include Native Arts. This publication includes an entire chapter titled "Native American Art," but sadly reproduces no images of Indian paintings, and instead focus solely on showcasing objects, albeit beautiful ones.⁷⁵

The 1996 volume *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art*, edited by Lydia L. Wyckoff, is exceptional in offering a short yet pointed discussion of the Santa Fe Style:

74. Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940–1960* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 8.

75. Excluded is an image of a painted buffalo hide, as it is not an easel painting; Kathryn C. Johnson, *Made in America: Ten Centuries of American Art* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1995).

Works by Velino Shije Herrera and these Hopi artists [Kabotie, Polelonema and Mootzka] are very different from those by the early artists from San Ildefonso. Colors are usually more intense and are applied more thickly. Line is less important, and modeling is critical to produce a more realistic look.⁷⁶

Lecturer in Native American Studies at the University of California, Berkeley and managing editor of *New from Native California*, Margaret Dubin, has written a small volume with big ambitions entitled *Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World* (2001). In her introduction, she describes of her experience as a graduate student living on the Navajo reservation. There she met a young sculptor and went with him to Sedona on a trip to sell his work. “The sculptures were stylized depictions of Navajo men and women holding sheep, baskets, and cradleboards,” she writes, “typical of my friend’s work and similar to the carvings he had previously sold to art dealers.” But in Sedona the gallery owner, “a blond woman” (not Native) “wearing a thick Navajo turquoise-and-silver necklace, contemplated my friend, who was dressed in a long-sleeve flannel shirt and Wrangler jeans and whose dark hair was streaked with fine, white alabaster dust.” The gallery owner finally said, “Sorry. They’re just not Indian enough.”⁷⁷ Dubin interrogates the reasons for the decision, a process that led her, years later, to write this thoughtful book, which continues the questioning. In the process she establishes that while “Scholars commonly describe contemporary ethnic art worlds as spaces where power is unevenly distributed, paralleling the inequalities of colonialism,” a more complex system exists,

76. Lydia L. Wyckoff, ed., *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art* (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 27.

77. Margaret Dubin, *Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 2.

“in which political positions and cultural identities are negotiated, not preordained by postcolonial formulations.”⁷⁸ This dissertation is built on the same approach.

As mentioned earlier, Native American art begins to appear in published volumes on American art such as the 2002 *Twentieth-Century American Art* written for the Oxford History of Art series by Erika Doss. Doss writes of Dunn’s Studio program at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School as “launching the widespread dissemination of modern Native American painting throughout the United States.”⁷⁹ However, she does not mention either Kabotie or DeHuff.

By the twenty-first century, scholarship on Southwest American Indian art includes fresh looks at Kabotie’s efforts and how it might have been informed by Willis DeHuff and local Anglo artists and intelligentsia.⁸⁰

Most notable among the more recent books is *The Art of New Mexico: How the West is One: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts* (2007) by art historian Joseph Traugott. Traugott includes Hewett’s assistant, Kenneth Chapman, of the Museum of New Mexico, as an important figure in early Native art, although he focuses on Chapman’s impact in the area of pottery. He notes that supporters of Chapman in establishing the Indian Arts fund in 1925 include Frank Applegate, Andrew Dasburg, Mabel Dodge Luhan, B. J. O. Nordfeldt and Amelia White. Traugott also points out that many of these same people were involved in the Spanish Colonial

78. *Ibid.*, 3.

79. Erika Lee Doss, *Twentieth-Century American Art* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 113.

80. The author does not mean to imply that every important contemporary book on Native Art needs to speak to contemporary work. For example, Penney’s excellent *Native Arts of North America* is an historical survey with only the last chapter, of five pages, discussing twentieth-century American Indian art, much like d’Harnoncourt and Douglas’s 1941 *Indian Art of the United States*. David W. Penney, *Native Arts of North America* (Paris: Finest SA/Pierre Terrail Editions, 2003). Nor is it true that the record has been set straight; many important authors still refer to Dunn and the Studio School without referring to Willis DeHuff and Kabotie’s efforts.

Arts Society: Austin was the director, and Applegate was “in charge of the arts and crafts.” Members of this latter group included Frank Mera, Chapman, Andrew Dasburg, the DeHuffs, Alice Corbin Henderson, Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus McCormick and Mary Wheelwright.⁸¹

Another outstanding volume is Michelle McGeough’s 2009 *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945*.⁸² McGeough has, like Brody, done primary research into the Willis DeHuff papers at the Southwest Institute, and views Willis DeHuff as key to Kabotie’s initial development of the Santa Fe Style. She also has interviewed Willis DeHuff’s descendants. One interview pertains to seeing Kabotie in the DeHuff home. Frances DeHuff Barry recalls:

I was a small child at the time, but I remember sitting at the dining room table with Mother and my sister Ann, while Mother read folk tales to Fred and he drew sketches to illustrate sections that appealed to him. Not all of the stories and sketches made it into Mother’s books *Taytay’s Tales* and *Taytay’s Memories*. I suspect there were far too many.⁸³

McGeough includes a fascinating chapter titled, “Progressive Education and the Santa Fe Indian School” which corroborates much of the information this dissertation uncovers about the DeHuffs’ early days at the school, and progresses to the years after the DeHuffs’ departure and Dunn’s arrival.

In the 2011 volume *The Eugene B. Adkins Collection* W. Jackson Rushing notes, “the locus of the emergence of modern Native painting in the Southwest was Santa Fe...” The author clearly establishes a point that this dissertation develops further: “In this context, modern isn’t

81. Joseph Traugott, *The Art of New Mexico: How the West is One: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2007), 102.

82. Michelle McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2009).

83. *Ibid.*, 26.

meant to signify style, but signifies instead a commingling of social and aesthetic practice; the creation of nonritualistic pictures that were sold to white collectors.”⁸⁴

A Chapter-by-Chapter Rationale for this Dissertation

Through careful analysis this dissertation establishes exactly how Kabotie’s various relationships with key supporters of American art, including Willis DeHuff, Chapman and Hewett, had an impact on his style and the content of his work by pointing to the development of the specific motifs and the different stylistic approaches he employed. It also will place Kabotie and his paintings within the broader context of modern American art by exploring the contemporaneous national interest in aboriginal American painting and the search for an authentic and distinctive American style.

Chapter 1: During his early years on the Hopi Indian Reservation, Fred Kabotie was as far removed from western art as anyone born in North America could be. An integral question is how did he overcome such isolationist beginnings to become the Hopi artistic ambassador to the mainstream American art world? How did he become a pivotal figure negotiating Hopi identity, social practices and power in an increasingly Anglicized community? One of the least researched aspects of Kabotie’s development are these ongoing artistic colloquies between Kabotie and members of the Anglo American world, including a response to the question of who initiated and defined it, and why. What were the iconographic preoccupations of Hopi visual culture and how did they inform the development of the Santa Fe Style? Just what is known and what can be extrapolated and provisionally understood about Kabotie’s initial art education and interactions

84. W. Jackson Rushing, III, “Influence and Invention: Native American Painting and Sculpture.” In Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art and Philbrook Museum of Art, *The Eugene B. Adkins Collection: Selected Works* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 99–128.

with Willis DeHuff, and how did it impact the direction of his work? These are but some of the questions this chapter aims to address.

Chapter 2: Fred Kabotie's genesis as a professional artist first drew on his interaction with Willis DeHuff, enabling him to develop the Santa Fe Style. Some foundations for Kabotie's artistic training will be revealed by looking at Willis DeHuff's art pedagogy, beginning with its basis in her cultural and educational background. By briefly examining the arts she would have encountered during her Georgia childhood, including her secondary art studies at the Lucy Cobb Institute and college days in New York, this study develops a means for accessing the far-ranging underpinnings of the Santa Fe Style. This chapter combined with the next four chapters serves as the basis for the dissertation's broader aim of analyzing the formation of Kabotie's art and its development.

Chapter 3: Elizabeth Willis left Teachers College without graduating and traveled to the Philippines to teach mathematics. There she encountered pedagogies aimed at assimilating the children of a non-western, conquered culture, and developed her own initial ideas of teaching. Her experiences in the Philippines no doubt informed her later approach to teaching Kabotie. Upon her arrival at Manila, she also met her future husband, fellow mathematics teacher and school administrator John David DeHuff (1872–1945).

Chapter 4: When the DeHuffs left the Philippines they traveled to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, where they embarked on their careers as teachers of Native American students. There they worked with Winnebago art educator Angel De Cora (Hinook-Mahiwi-

Kilinaka, “Fleecy Cloud Floating in Place”),⁸⁵ whose own formal art education began at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. The artistic styles and pedagogies that converged in the Indian boarding schools of the early twentieth century in general and the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School (via the DeHuffs) specifically are best understood from a biographical and an historical perspective. Additionally, by investigating the evolution of art pedagogy in Native American boarding schools, this chapter provides a fresh examination of the roots of the early Native American easel painters – one essential to a better understanding of the origins of Native American easel painting and especially the Santa Fe Style.

Chapter 5: A manifold arts movement most germane to this study of the origins of the Santa Fe Style is the American version of the Arts and Crafts movement, in its prime from 1895 to 1918; one also occasionally referred to as the namesake “Craftsman” movement after Gustav Stickley’s popular magazine with the name of *Craftsman*, published from 1901 until 1916.⁸⁶ This movement would have affected the everyday life of each of the persons important to Kabotie’s early arts education, most notably DeHuff and Kabotie himself.

Chapter 6: The DeHuffs moved to Santa Fe in 1918 when John accepted the appointment of superintendent at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. There, Willis DeHuff’s initiative in bringing Kabotie into her home for drawing lessons, and her husband’s allowing this to occur, despite its possible controversy, were the catalysts for the development of an entire new genre of

85. Suzanne Alene Shope, “American Indian Artist Angel De Cora: Aesthetics, Power, and Transcultural Pedagogy in the Progressive Era” (PhD diss., University of Montana, 2009), 1.

86. Kenneth R. Trapp, ed., *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life* (Oakland: Oakland Museum; New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 13.

modern American art: the Santa Fe Style. Since preceding chapters will have established some of the key events leading up to this juncture; this chapter explores the manner in which the relationship between Kabotie and Willis DeHuff developed.

Under Willis DeHuff's supervision, Kabotie worked with watercolor and paper supplied by the school and began creating images of ceremonial dances, Hopi home life and Katsinas that Willis DeHuff and fellow teachers at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School were delighted to collect. Willis DeHuff's enthusiasm for Kabotie's work led her to share it with Hewett and to exhibit it at the Museum of New Mexico, an event that led to Mabel Dodge Luhan's discovery of his work, and the launching of Kabotie's career as a professional artist.

Chapter 7: This chapter examines the connections between Kabotie and Santa Fe's Museum of New Mexico director Edgar Lee Hewett and Hewett's assistant Kenneth Chapman, with the goal of understanding the negotiation of identity, power and art practice between these men and Kabotie, and how the Santa Fe Style benefitted from this discourse. In view of the absence of documentation of their interactions with Kabotie, this study examines their individual backgrounds in an attempt to position and understand possible interchanges between them. This chapter surveys their aesthetic perspectives and cultural landscapes, and the ways they contributed to the artistic development of the Santa Fe Style. Chapter 7 will also offer the first known survey of John Louw Nelson, collector for George Gustav Heye, and his contributions to the development of Kabotie's work. In doing so, it sets the stage for the New Mexico art community's promotion of Kabotie, and the eventual inclusion of his work in the significant New York exhibit, the 1920 *Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*.

Chapter 8: By analyzing a number of Kabotie's fully documented and dated early paintings, this chapter seeks to understand when and how the Santa Fe Style developed as Kabotie's circle of contacts grew. The works analyzed were chosen from over 400 Kabotie paintings located during this study, and narrowed down to twenty-five that could be closely dated and for which images could be obtained. Among the twenty-five, similar images were dismissed, and thus the final ten were chosen to illustrate the shift in methods and style in Kabotie's early work.

The paintings so chosen are:

1918: *Corn Dance*, School for Advanced Research, Museum of New Mexico

1919: *Snake Dance*, whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Plains and Southwest Area*

1920: *Flute Boy*, whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Kabotie and Belknap where cited as owned by American Indian Treasures, Guilderland, NY

1920–21: *Women's Basket Dance*, Museum of Northern Arizona

c. 1920–21: *Young Men's Spring Ceremony*, School for Advanced Research

c. 1925: *Hopi Woman Making Pottery*, School for Advanced Research

1925: *Water Drinking Dance (or Butterfly Drinking Dance)*, Heard Museum

c. 1925: *Ho-Te Dance (or Ho-Ote Dance)*, Amerind Foundation

c. 1928–30: *Zuni Shalako*, School for Advanced Research

1930: *The Delightmakers*, National Museum of the American Indian

Chapter One

Fred Kabotie and Hopi Background before the Development of the Santa Fe Style

Born about 1900 on the Hopi Indian Reservation, Kabotie was as far removed from the western art tradition as anyone in North America could possibly be. How this young man, with such an isolated beginning, became the Hopi ambassador to the American art world is the focus of this chapter, including a response to a concomitant question as to how he became a pivotal figure negotiating Hopi identity, social practices and power in an increasingly Anglicized community. One of the least researched aspects of Kabotie's development is the ensuing colloquy between Kabotie and the Anglo-American world, including a consideration of those who initiated and defined it, and why they chose to do so. This chapter also addresses the iconographic preoccupations of Hopi visual culture and the ways it informed the development of Kabotie's Santa Fe Style. Just what is known and what can be extrapolated and provisionally understood about Kabotie's initial art education and interactions with Willis DeHuff, and how these impacted the direction of his work are some of the questions this chapter begins to answer.

Kabotie and the Hopi Experience

Kabotie was a unique artist in many ways, but his conflation and manipulation of Hopi and Anglo-American ideas into an art form that could support him as a young man is a reflection of his great ability to assimilate diverse traditions even as he managed to reformulate them in his art, making them distinctly his own. From the extant records of Willis DeHuff's personal history, it is evident that she was highly invested in Euro-American ideas of art and education, such as John Dewey proselytized, including their effect on civilizing the man as well as their proprietary relationship to Native American painting.¹ Her conveyance of these ideas to her students at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School is reflected in the stylistic and iconographic preoccupations of Kabotie's oeuvre, which, from the very beginning of his career, featured both isolated Hopi figures as well as more complex groupings.² In either case, the figures in the early Santa Fe Style were

1. For example, in "American Primitives In Art," Willis DeHuff writes:

How do you account for the fact that you Hopi Indians are all artistic?" I teasingly inquired, as I watched his [Kabotie's] carefully filling in from memory the accurate symbolic design of a dance sash, with the finest of paint brushes. For these Indians are racially artistic. The Hopis are weavers of elaborate woolen costumes, fabricators of beautifully designed, durable baskets and molders of intricately decorated ceramics....

Anyone seeing Fred today, so neatly, so meticulously dressed in the most conservative styles, always obliging, always smiling, could never image him as the nude, tousle-haired, soiled-faced lad of Shimopohvi, [sic] or the later barefoot boy with grit beneath his smiles, fighting against parental opposition for an education. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, "American Primitives In Art," n.d., Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 6, folder 3), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

2. There are a few notable exceptions later in his career. In 1932 Kabotie painted murals at the Grand Canyon Bright Angel Lodge that portrayed Hopi village scenes along one side of the bar, and white Grand Canyon tourists on the other. Jessica Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie: Hopi Elements for the Outside World" (Masters Thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2006). In 1976 Kabotie painted a scene entitled *Destruction of San Bartolome Church*

generally situated on unencumbered backgrounds, with rudimentary modeling and a

at *Shungopavi* (figure 1.13). See Jessica Welton and Zena Pearlstone, "Recontextualizing the Art of Fred and Michael Kabotie," *American Indian Art Magazine* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2011), 36–47, which portrayed the burning of the church and hanging of the priest by Hopi men.

Kabotie notes in his autobiography that the more figures he put in a painting, the more he charged for it. Single figure paintings seem to have predominated, probably as they were less expensive to buy and therefore easier to sell. However, museum collections tend to include more complex, multi-image paintings. This is confirmed in a reference about Kitty (Katherine) Harvey, Fred Harvey's daughter, who said:

She [Kitty] was just a teenager when she bought her first drawing from a nine-year-old Hopi boy named Fred Kabotie, whom she met in Santa Fe after wandering away from her mother at an art show. Kitty bought a couple of his paintings with her allowance, and then arranged to send Kabotie paper and brushes if he would make her more, which she agreed to buy at the price of \$1 per figure. She was initially surprised at Kabotie's contention that if so much as a character's finger showed, it should be counted as another figure.

See Stephen Fried, *Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire that Civilized the West* (New York: Bantam Books, 2010), 268; and Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1996), 152. Weigle and Babcock claim Kitty Harvey was "pivotal" to the development of Kabotie, and although this might be an exaggeration, Kitty once congenially said, "If anyone has a better collection, it is Mrs. William Denman of San Francisco. We sometimes fight on the subject." Letter from Katherine Harvey to Mary Cabot Wheelwright, January 7, 1947, Fred Harvey Papers, quoted in Weigle and Babcock, 152.

According to a letter Otis Polelonema wrote to Kitty Harvey on October 12, 1933:

Received your letter of today. I am sorry did not sold the picture. The prices I put I guess is too high account of my works for many days or weeks I work on the picture...

I can tell you Fred Kabotie's painting his single figures cost \$25 can you afford his painting. Mind only \$12.50 single one and more then one figure I put up \$5 a figure.

Well if you like to have the Butterfly dancers I can let you have it for \$45 and the flute dancer at \$25. If you can't do it at this price just send them to Mrs. Denman at the same prices \$65 and \$35 when she returns back.

Cited in Weigle and Babcock, 152, as: Otis Polelonema to Katherine Harvey, October 12, 1933, Katherine Harvey Archives, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff. The author emailed the Museum of Northern Arizona for a copy of the original on March 8, 2014, but the Museum has not been able to locate this letter, per email from Patricia Walker March 11, 2014.

cursory westernized perspective (figures 1.1–1.4), but even early in his career, Kabotie occasionally portrayed figures in clearly delineated spaces (figure 1.5). This chapter begins to untangle Kabotie’s artistic inspirations before meeting Willis DeHuff by looking at Hopi culture and art he experienced as a child, as well as at his earliest known works. An understanding of these sources will help to recognize both the Hopi and Willis DeHuff’s conversations in which Kabotie was able to participate. However, it must be acknowledged that this reconstruction is necessarily hindered by limited records of Kabotie’s childhood exposures to western art and artists, and thus the picture must remain incomplete.

Kabotie’s early childhood was spent in the village of Songòopavi on the Hopi Reservation in a remote Indian community (figure 1.6, map) that was strongly divided between those who were willing to collaborate with whites (the “Friendlies”) and those who steadfastly refused to do so (the “Hostiles”). His family belonged to the “Hostiles” faction, whose members were described by twentieth-century American anthropologist and ethnologist Misha Titiev (1901–1978) as by far “the stronger group in 1883” (just forty-nine years after the Hopis first contact with Anglo-Americans).³ This faction viewed Anglo-Americans as interlopers in their country and their lives.

The Hopi Pueblo peoples’ antagonism toward whites was initiated in 1540 with the arrival of a group of Spanish explorers led by Pedro de Tovar (part of Vasquez de Coronado’s expedition) at the foot of the village of Kawaika-a, in search of the fabled seven cities of Cíbola. “The Spaniards visited seven Hopi villages: Mishongnovi,

3. Titiev, *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1944; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 76. Citations refer to University of New Mexico Press edition.

Shungopovi, Awatovi, Walpi, Sikyatki, Oraibi and Kawaiokuh.”⁴ Perhaps the Hopi had already heard stories of the Spanish, for they sent warriors down to the foot of the mesa who drew a line in the sand and told the Zuni interpreter that the Spanish were not to cross it. When several Spaniards made as if to do so, a Hopi warrior struck one of the horses (which the Hopi had never encountered before) with a club; the horse’s startled response caused an uproar among Hopi and Spanish both. Tovar ordered an attack and several Hopi warriors were killed, at which point the Hopi prudently allowed the Spaniards into their villages and presented them food.⁵

The Hopi were offered some relief, at least in theory, as Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California writes, in his 1920 book *The Spanish Borderlands*, “by the ordinance of 1573, military expeditions among the Indians were forbidden, and as a consequence any new enterprise must go in missionary guise.” Bolton writes that Catholic leaders of a 1581 expedition decided to establish a mission north of Albuquerque, but when the soldiers departed the two friars were killed by the local Natives. Their rescue party, led by Antonio de Espejo (a Mexican merchant who subsequently explored northwest to Jémez and on to Ácoma and Zuni), arrived too late to save the friars, and Espejo chose to continue the search for a fabled lake of gold. He

4. “Hopi History Curriculum: Lesson Plan 5, “Breaking News! Hopi-Spanish Relations,” Chellammal Vaidyanathan and Sheila Lamb, Northern Arizona University Cline Library and Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, accessed June 23, 2013, <http://library.nau.edu/speccoll/exhibits/hopitg/Hopilesson5.html>. This curriculum was developed for grades K through 12, to be used on the Hopi reservation and online.

5. Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 1–2; Charles F. Lummis, *Bullying the Moqui* (Prescott, AZ: Prescott College Press, 1968), 44.

arrived at the Hopi villages, where instead he obtained “four thousand cotton blankets and saw the snake dance performed.”⁶ The Spanish persisted in attempting to conquer the area, but as Ramón A. Gutiérrez writes, “By the mid-1640s it had become clear to many Indians that the Franciscans were no longer the supermen they had once seemed.”⁷ Nevertheless they controlled many pueblo villages and harshly subjugated the people living in them. For instance, in 1655, “Fray Salvador de Guerra discovered that a Hopi [man]...had been worshipping idols.” Guerra whipped the man until he was “bathed in blood” and subsequently, within the church itself, he initiated a second bloody whipping. He then threw burning turpentine on the Hopi man, immolating him. This Catholic father justified his actions to his superiors as being necessary to end idolatry. He further informed the authorities that this was not the only Hopi who had been subjected to this punishment.⁸

The systematic mistreatment of the Hopi provoked them to revolt, first as participants in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, and again in the destruction of the Hopi village of Awatovi in 1700.⁹ In 1921, Professor Herbert E. Bolton writes, perhaps

6. Herbert E. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921), 167–68.

7. Gutiérrez, “Franciscans and the Pueblo Revolt,” in *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*, ed. David J. Weber (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 1999), 41.

8. *Ibid.*, 41–42.

9. Harry C. James, *Pages from Hopi History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 61–64; John G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona, Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona* (London: Sampson Low, 1884). Southwestern author Jake Page notes in his book, *Uprising: The Pueblo Indian s and the First American War for Religious Freedom* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo, 2013), 3, that as the Pueblo people left no written records, we rely mainly on Spanish archives and Pueblo oral history to reconstruct the events. Page offers a comprehensive review of the Rebellion, and also of the Hopi destruction of the village of Awatovi in this book.

somewhat euphemistically, “For eighty years Spaniards and Indians dwelt at peace with each other.” Continuing in this hegemonic tone, Bolton states, “with penances and punishments, they became sullen...they were driven to labor for their conquerors. The secret bitterness flamed up in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680” under the leadership one of the Spaniards victims, Popé, who had been severely whipped for allegedly practicing witchcraft.¹⁰ Bolton notes that by this time there were nearly 3,000 Spaniards in New Mexico, mostly in the upper Rio Grande valley to whom the “Indians paid tribute yearly in cloth and maize.” Dr. Edward P. Dozier,¹¹ a Santa Clara tribal member, anthropologist, and later the father-in-law to Kabotie’s son, Michael, expounds on the logistic complexity of all Pueblo villages joining together in rebellion:

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Pueblos were fully aware of all the aspects of Spanish oppression and were determined to do something to put an end to the terrible suffering.... It became clear that only a united effort in which all the Pueblos were engaged...was likely to be successful. Such unity was foreign to the Pueblos; each Pueblo

10. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 178–80.

11. Edward P. Dozier (1916–1971), Professor of Anthropology, received his BA and MA from the University of New Mexico and his PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles in 1952. He was the second Native American to earn a doctorate in anthropology, and the first since 1909. His father was Tewa-American, his mother a member of the Tewa badger clan. His dissertation research centered on Hano Village, on the First Mesa of the Hopi reservation (a Tewa village).

For more on this remarkable man, see: Marilyn Norcini, *Edward P. Dozier: the Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007); Edward P. Dozier, *Hano, A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); “Edward Dozier (1916–1971),” New Mexico Office of the State Historian, accessed May 21, 2013, <http://www.newmexicohistory.org/filedetails.php?fileID=21286>; Frederik M. Ohles, Shirley M. Ohles, and John G. Ramsay, *Biographical Dictionary of Modern American Educators* (Westport, CT: Greenway Press, 1997), 93; Fred Eggan and Keith Basso, “Edward P. Dozier,” *American Anthropologist* 74, no. 3 (1972): 740–46.

community was an independent political unit and no mechanism had even been developed to unite them.¹²

Dozier continues:

The Revolt of 1680 was the result of careful and elaborate plans; although the Pueblo [peoples] greatly outnumbered the colonists, they were aware of the Spanish garrison's superiority both in organization and in the possession of superior weapons.... Popé [of San Juan Pueblo, and the Pueblo Revolt leader] was able to enlist the aid and cooperation of virtually every [P]ueblo including those of Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi.... The Northern Pueblos, after killing the friars and colonists who had not escaped to Santa Fe, laid siege to the capitol where over a thousand colonists and missionaries had taken refuge.... So fierce were the Tanoan warriors at Santa Fe that after nine days of battle, Don Antonio de Otermin, governor and captain-general of the province, decided to leave the city and join the colonists in Isleta [pueblo, which apparently in fear let the colonists gather there]....

During the revolt, the Pueblos had killed twenty-one missionaries out of a total of thirty-three, and about 380 settlers out of a population of about twenty-five hundred.¹³

Dozier records that the western Pueblos, including Hopi, were mostly left alone after the Pueblo Rebellion. However, several Spanish Catholic forays were made to the Hopi territory with the goal of forcing the return of the Rio Grande Pueblo people who had escaped to First Mesa to New Mexico. In 1707 a renewed attempt was made to bring back these "apostates" as the Spanish termed them. This expedition proved unsuccessful. In 1716 yet another attempt was made, battle ensued, several Indians were killed and many more wounded, but the Hopi remained victorious. The Spanish, in defeat, spent five days below the mesa, where they destroyed crops and "seized people, cattle, flocks,"

12. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 55–63.

13. *Ibid.*, 87–89.

“doing all damage possible to the Apostates of First and Second Mesas.” Once they had destroyed all but a few “insignificant” fields, the Spanish Catholics declared the Pueblo people “sufficiently punished” and returned to New Mexico.¹⁴

According to Dozier, it was not long before the Spanish interest in Hopi refocused, fueled by competition between the Franciscans and Jesuits over jurisdiction. In 1775 there was discussion of building a New Mexico to California overland route, initiating renewed interest in Hopi lands as well as in “returning the Hopi Indians to the fold of the Catholic Church.”¹⁵

The Hopi had other ideas. After the Pueblo Rebellion, the inhabitants of the village of Awatovi, on Antelope Mesa near First Mesa, permitted the Spanish to return and rebuild their mission church. Other Hopi villages were resolutely opposed to the invaders' presence. Michael Lomatuway'ma writes in *Hopi Ruin Legends*:

This resentment against the proselytizing missionaries, and general hatred of everything Spanish, was not limited to the Hopi. The cruel inhumanity of the Spaniards toward the Indians of the Southwest, which included their conscriptions for the performance of slave labor, the abuse of women and the suppression of “idolatrous” practices was prevalent throughout the Southwest.¹⁶

14. Ibid., 87–89.

15. Ibid., 97.

16. Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma and Sidney Namingha, Jr., *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi*, coll., trans., and ed. Ekkehart Malotki (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press for Northern Arizona University, 1993), 277. The chapter “The Destruction of Awat’ovi,” (275–410) is almost one third of this book, covering the ruins of seven Hopi villages. In it Lomatuway'ma thoroughly reviews existing literature on the legends and facts surrounding the destruction of the village.

In an eerie echo of the Pueblo Revolt, one night in the fall of 1700, Hopi men from several villages gathered and destroyed Awatovi, burning the men of the village in the kivas where they had gathered, and dispersing the surviving women and children among the conquering Hopi villages.¹⁷ The Spanish never again gained a stronghold in the Hopi lands. To this day, many Hopi speak only reluctantly of Awatovi, and to be of Awatovi descent is perceived by some as an undesirable characteristic.¹⁸

The scars of this internecine conflict and the schism between Hopi villages were exacerbated when the Anglo-Americans arrived in 1834. Although they arrived centuries after the Spanish, the Anglo-Americans quickly managed to mortally offend the Hopi,¹⁹ as Titiev writes:

The first of their [the Hopis] contacts with Americans which took place in 1834 was of such a nature that it could not have failed to antagonize them. Several trappers who had wantonly plundered some Hopi gardens fired

17. James, *Pages from Hopi History*, 62. Lomatuway'ma, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, 397–403.

18. The treatment of the Hopi and other Pueblo people by the Spanish is well documented in both Spanish and English chronicles. From rape to beatings, enslavement and murder, the Spanish were merciless in their treatment of the Natives. For a Puebloan point of view, see Dozier, *Pueblo Indians*. A peculiarly interesting book, *The Savage Hits Back*, was published in 1937 (New Haven: Yale University Press). The author, Julius Lips, was a writer, censored by the Third Reich, whose own student assistant was sent to confiscate his manuscript before publication. Lips found the need to write from the point of view of the savage so often studied by the Europeans. Lips writes (xix–xxv, 1):

I was amazed at the countless times the white man had felt impelled to write his thoughts about the world of coloured peoples, and his own subjective appreciation and criticism of so-called primitive civilizations. There seemed to be no portion of the lives of these tribes that had not been investigated by a white explorer.

19. Frank Waters, in *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1963), 278–79, writes, “The deeply rooted racial prejudice of the Anglo-white Americans against the Red Indians, virtually a national psychosis, is one of the strangest and most terrifying phenomena in all history. It has no parallel throughout the Western Hemisphere.”

into a crowd of natives that had gathered in protest and killed about 15 or 20 of them.²⁰

The trappers' actions that day inflamed Hopi anger toward outsiders and led to a vast schism in the tribe between the “Friendlies” and the “Hostiles; this polarized geography of power has colored interactions between the two cultures ever since.

The United State government’s actions did little to improve the situation. The first Indian agent assigned to the Hopi tribe was James S. Calhoun, but he never visited the Hopi pueblos. In 1869 Captain A. D. Palmer was appointed as Hopi agent, but he was situated at Fort Wingate. In 1871 the Hopi agency moved closer, to Fort Defiance, and in 1873 to Keams Canyon.²¹ J. H. Fleming, “who established himself in a small cabin at Pakeova (Trout Sprint), about fifty miles north of Oraibi,”²² was the first Indian agent who actually visited Hopi, in 1881. “With a wagon and mules he followed a very “difficult and circuitous route and finally reached Oraibi.”²³ At this point, the Hopi had more interactions and mostly better relationships with the traders than with the

20. Titiev, *Old Oraibi*, 71.

21. In 1849 James S. Calhoun arrived in New Mexico as Indian agent for the (soon-to-be-named) Territory of New Mexico, of which Arizona was a part. He was made aware of the Moqui Indians by the people of Jemez pueblo, but never made an attempt to visit them, as it was determined to be “unsafe.” In 1850 the Moqui sent a delegation to Calhoun, and another in 1851. These men came to ask for help in fighting off the invading Navajo, a recurrent request. James, *Hopi History*, 78–82.

22. Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 286–87; Leonard Dinnerstein and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds., *American Vistas: 1877 to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 286.

23. David Wallace Adams says this occurred in 1882. Adams, “Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887–1917,” in *American Vistas*, eds. Dinnerstein and Jackson, 29.

government. In 1874 Thomas Varker Keam,²⁴ who had worked with the Navajo for years, bought a second trading post at Poongo-sikia, now called Keams Canyon. According to author Frank Waters, both Fleming and Keam were “well-liked” by the Hopi people as they attempted to stop the Navajos pillaging.²⁵ The closest military establishment at Fort Wingate, near Gallup, New Mexico could do little to intercede. The United States government proposed a reservation in order to protect the Hopi from Navajo incursions.²⁶

24. Thomas Keam was born in Truro, Ireland and came to San Francisco working on a ship. There he joined the Union Army, and his division marched to New Mexico. They spent more time fighting Apaches than Confederates.

Laura Graves writes of Keam’s importance to Hopi-Anglo relations:

In 1880, Thomas Keam’s canyon post was the only trading post between Ganado, forty-five miles to the east, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad, fifty-five miles to the south, Tuba city, ninety miles to the west and Lee’s Ferry, over one-hundred miles to the northwest...[making] Keams...the only educated, reliable source of information in the region. His knowledge brought the anthropologists from the Bureau of American ethnology and the Smithsonian Institution and bureaucrats from the Office of Indian Affairs to ...[his]...trading post in Keams canyon. The scientists needed Keam’s access to Indian consultants who could be relied upon to impart their histories and lineages and who would sell their material manufactures to the anthropologists for their museums. The bureaucrats needed and wanted Keam’s advice and assistance to implement their programs designed to civilize the Hopi. Laura Graves, *Thomas Varker Keam: Indian Trader* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 7–8.

25. Frank Waters is an American novelist recognized for his books based on the Southwest, and especially on the legends of Native people: Frank Waters, *Masked Gods: Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonialism* (Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1984); Frank Waters and Oswald White Bear Fredericks, *Book of the Hopi* (New York: Viking Press, 1963); Frank Waters, *Pumpkin Seed Point* (Chicago: Sage Books, 1969). The Hopi were, and still are, of mixed feelings about Waters writings.

26. Graves notes the constant turnover of Hopi Indian agents, eight between 1869 and 1882, agents who frequently chose to live at Fort Defiance instead of among the Hopi people. From 1882 until 1897 the Hopi had no Indian agent at all. Keam, however, was involved in Hopi events from 1880 until 1902, “including the establishment of a school for the Hopis [at Keams Canyon]; the successful negotiations preventing the outbreak of hostilities when the Hopis declared war on the United States Army in 1891; and the exclusion of the Hopis from the allotment of land in severalty provided for in the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887.” He also aided “most of the first generation of American anthropologists working in the American Southwest after 1879 and he secured large collections of precontact and contemporary Indian crafts for the museums”; Graves, *Keam*, 5.

Educating America's Native peoples in western-style schools was complicated by religious and cultural differences and was often initiated to control and "civilize" the Natives, not to truly educate them (not that they necessarily wanted this either). The earliest attempts were made in 1529, when Spanish colonists in Mexico opened the first schools, to teach Christianity and instill discipline in people the Spanish found overly independent. In 1611 Jesuit schools opened in Illinois, Maine, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Wisconsin, where students were tutored in reading, writing and religion. These schools all failed due to cultural clashes.

Harvard University's original 1650 charter specified the education of "English and Indian youths of this country in knowledge and godliness," but by the end of the seventeenth century only eight Native students had attended the college, one of whom graduated. Among the earliest East Coast institutions for Native Americans was the

Frederick Jackson Turner, in his doctoral dissertation, referred to traders as "the farmer's pathfinder," who opened up the west for civilization. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891), 70, accessed January 3, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/characterindian00turnrich>. Turner states, "The Indian trade pioneered the way for civilization...the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads." Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 20; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: H. Holt, 1921), 14–15.

Keam tried and tried again to be appointed Indian agent to the Navajo (Keam had married a Navajo woman in a Navajo ceremony and they had two sons). This was the main reason that Presbyterian missionaries in the area repeatedly campaigned to keep him from being assigned as Indian agent—along with the fact that he refused to marry the woman in a Christian service. His close ties to the Navajo may have also been an issue, raising the question of his loyalties. After being turned down to open a trading post on the Navajo reservation in 1871, he opened his one just south of the Navajo reservation, away from the jurisdiction of the Office of Indian Affairs; Graves, *Keam*, 59–118. In 1875 Keam bought out H. W. Dodd's short-lived trading post. In 1880 Keam's brother William, who operated his second trading post in what is now Keams Canyon, died, and Keam moved there to supervise. The move proved to be permanent. *Ibid.*, 110.

26. Waters, *Book of the Hopi*, 287.

Brafferton Indian School, mandated by the 1693 Royal Charter of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, which was opened in 1723. Native boys eight years old and up attended the school to learn English, “vulgar Arithmetick” and Christianity. Funding was from an Englishman’s estate, and was cut off with the onset of the American Revolutionary War.²⁷ The Reverent Hugh Jones, a William and Mary faculty member, stressed the importance of converting Indians, since he discerned an “intelligence and artistry in Indians that could be cultivated.” According to historian Craig Steven Wilder, the Brafferton Fund²⁸ paid for Indian educations at William and Mary and Harvard Universities. The administrators of these universities encouraged the gathering of students from both friendly and hostile tribes, by any means, including bribery and kidnapping. The presidents of these institutions directly supervised the Indian students; the goal was to indoctrinate the students into Christianity and send them back to their respective tribal communities to proselytize and convert their peers. Many of the students were children of tribal leaders, essentially held hostage to ensure for their parents’ good behavior.²⁹

Yale University, upon its founding in 1701, also showed great interest in converting the Natives to Christianity, but understandably the Natives steadfastly

27. “The Brafferton: ‘A Good House and Apartments for the Indian Master and Scholars,’” College of William & Mary, accessed June 2, 2014, <http://www.wm.edu/about/history/historiccampus/brafferton/>.

28. The College of William and Mary was the recipient of monies from the estate of British scientist Robert Boyle, with which it established the Brafferton Fund. This enabled the college to open a school to educate young Indian men in 1697, four years after the college’s founding. The American Revolution ended this in 1776, and the school closed.

29. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 43-44.

declined that privilege. Dartmouth College was chartered in 1769 to educate Indian youths in reading, writing and the liberal arts. In 1779 the federal government subsidized the education of Delaware Indian students at Princeton.³⁰ By the early 1900s there were day schools and boarding schools on many of the reservations, and in 1879 the first all-Indian off-reservation school, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was opened.

In 1882, three years after the opening of Carlisle Boarding School, the boundaries of the Hopi Reservation were established, an act which enabled the United States government to become even more involved in the Hopis' daily life, and "rekindled efforts to force Hopi children to attend day schools."³¹ The Keams Canyon Boarding School was constructed in 1887,³² and thus Thomas Keam was influential in this forming of the Hopi reservation and the education of Hopi children, but even more so as the nearest trader to the Hopi:

Because of his permanence, proximity, knowledge, and familiarity, [Keam] was in a unique position to explain Americans to the Hopi and Navajo customers. Because there was an element of trust between the trader and his native customers, his explanations often carried more weight than those of the agents, who never stayed in office very long, or

30 Frederick E. Hoxie, *The Encyclopedia of the American Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 171–74; and "American Indian Resource Center," College of William & Mary, accessed December 5, 2008, <http://web.wm.edu/airc/>. For a more detailed description of these early schools and Indian education in America, see chapter 4, footnote 67. For more information on the Carlisle Boarding School, and the earlier Indian boarding schools in America, see chapter 3.

31. Forcing Native children to go to school was a relatively new concept; schooling Natives to assimilate them was not. The Commonwealth of Virginia was initiated in 1607 by the Virginia Colony, and in 1618 the Virginia Council advised its governor to build a college "for the training up of the children of those infidels in true religion, moral virtue and civility, and for other godliness... where both English and Virginias might be taught together." Elsie W. Clews, *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 349.

32. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, xx.

the missionary-teachers, who rarely took the opportunity to get to know the people they came to teach.³³

Keam had previously established a Navajo trading post, married a Navajo woman in a Navajo ceremony,³⁴ and learned the Navajo language. In the process, he became a trusted colleague to the Navajo people. When Keam relocated to Hopi, he found a much poorer people. By contrast, in 1887 the Navajo were in possession of some 700,000 sheep and 300,000 goats, selling three-quarters of same and using the remainder to weave 2,700 blankets that ranged in price from \$1 to \$100.³⁵ The Hopi raised but a few sheep and kept the wool for their own weavings. In light of this disparity, Keam was faced with finding something the Hopi could trade, and consequently became a promoter of Hopi pottery, basketry and Katsina “dolls.”³⁶

When Thomas Keam opened the door to his trading post in 1875 and invited Hopi and Navajo customers in to shop³⁷...Hopi potters and basketmakers had not begun to make their wares for anyone’s use other than their own, and rarely did these have any commercial value. Kachina dolls were carved only for ceremonial gift-giving, and the sale of the special items was of questionable morality. However, by the time Thomas Keam closed the door of his trading post in 1902, all of these things, and many others besides had become valuable and sought-after commodities...across the United States and Europe.³⁸

33. Graves, *Keam*, 129.

34. His repeated failure to be appointed the government agent has been directly attributed to the fact that he refused to marry her in the Christian church.

35. Graves, *Keam*, 133–34.

36. *Ibid.*, 135.

37. Other places she states 1874.

38. Graves, *Keam*, 137–38.

Keam was in the perfect position to become advisor to the anthropologists and ethnologists who began to flock to the Hopi mesas in 1879. Among the earliest of these was a group headed by James Stevenson and accompanied by Frank Hamilton Cushing, under the auspices the Smithsonian Institution and its Bureau of Ethnology (created by John Wesley Powell who had, in turn, visited Hopi in 1872).³⁹ With the help of Keam, Stevenson gathered more than 3,000 Hopi pieces, including baskets and pots.⁴⁰ Subsequently, in 1881, Keam met Captain John Gregory Bourke and the artist Peter Moran⁴¹ at Fort Wingate, and escorted them to Keams Canyon en route to Walpi to see the already famous Snake Dance. On this trip the group also visited the Hopi ruins at Awatovi, where they collected pottery shards and “other artifacts.” (Murals were not excavated there until the 1930s (figures 1.7 and 1.8).) While exploring the area of Antelope Mesa they encountered Keam’s fellow trader, Lorenzo Hubbell, who joined their party.⁴² The Hopi Snake Dance was heavily promoted by Keam, who was commonly relied on, and presumably paid, to find accommodations and translators for the ever-increasing number of tourists. In 1895 Adam Clark Vroman saw and photographed his first Snake Dance and noted that there were about forty tourists, including “artists of note. Authors, sculptors, newspaper correspondents from a half dozen papers, and some dozen or more ladies,” camping below Walpi village. Two years

39. Walter Hough, “Revival of Ancient Hopi Pottery Art,” *American Anthropologist* 19 (1917): 322–23.

40. Graves, *Keam*, 140–46.

41. Brother of Hudson River painter, Thomas Moran, and marine artist, Edward Moran.

42. Graves, *Keam*, 146.

later, at the next Snake Dance, Vroman recorded “some two hundred white tourists, as well as large numbers of Navajos and other Indians.”⁴³

Keam and his housemate, Alexander McGregor Stephen,⁴⁴ became indispensable to the early anthropologists; by 1890 Keam “regularly entertained some of the most influential American scientists at his canyon post, and he was, in turn, entertained by them and their friends in their homes in Washington, D.C., New York City, Boston and

43. William Webb and Robert A. Weinsten, *Dwellers at the Source: Southwest Indian Photographs of A. C. Vroman, 1895–1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 85–86. Vroman kept extensive notes on his visits, but Theodore Roosevelt also wrote about his Snake Dance experience. At one point he relates that he didn’t run across any Mormons there, “but every other class of Americans was represented, tourists, traders, cattlemen, farmers, Government officials, politicians, cowboys, scientists, philanthropists.” In the same article, Roosevelt details being invited, with Hubbell, into the kivas; his notes comprised one of the most interesting and thorough descriptions of the priest preparations available. He also visited Nampeyo’s home, characterizing the grandmother of the house as a pottery-maker who had “developed the art of pottery-making to a very unusual degree; it was really very beautiful pottery.” Theodore Roosevelt, “The Hopi Snake Dance,” *The Outlook*, October 18, 1913, 363–65. Natalie Curtis, in her parallel article, “Theodore Roosevelt in Hopiland: Another Personal Reminiscence” confirms that this woman was Nampeyo; *The Outlook*, September 17, 1919, 87–88.

Before photography was banned, the Snake Dance was filmed by a Santa Fe railway executive, William Kopplin, in 1912. The film can be found in Special Collections of the Library of the American Museum of Natural History. Outtakes can be seen in T. C. McLuhan, *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian 1890–1930: With Photographs from the William E. Kopplin Collection* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985), 131–43. There is also a film, *Hopi Indians Dance for Theodore Roosevelt at [Walpi, Ariz.] 1913* in the Library of Congress, available on the Library of Congress’s YouTube channel, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfmPGcyV71M> (accessed January 3, 2014.)

44. Stephen (c. 1845–1894) was born in Dundee, Scotland, and came to America and enlisted in the Union Army. In 1866 he was discharged, and some fourteen years later he appeared in Keams Canyon. He and Keam became good friends, and Stephen spent the next years cataloging and classifying Keam’s collection. Apparently he additionally helped the Hopi find materials for their pottery, and treated them medically. He became the first postmaster at Keams Canyon, and remained so until 1888. Stephen moved to the top of First Mesa in 1890, and was apparently accepted into Hopi clan life. His daily journal includes descriptions of Nampeyo; Elsie Clew Parsons, ed., *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 130, 1020–22. Fewkes arranged for Stephen to receive a stipend from the Hemenway expedition from 1891 until he died in 1894 in gratitude for Stephen’s many contributions. He married a Hopi woman, Talahinsi, of Walpi village’s Bear Clan; Mary Ellen Blair and Laurence Blair, *The Legacy of a Master Potter: Nampeyo and Her Descendants* (Tucson, AZ: Treasure Chest Books, 1999), 29–31.

Philadelphia.” He became a trusted advisor to government officials,⁴⁵ and his trading post flourished. In 1885 Keam provided Hopi garments and specimens of basketry, pottery, and even the mummified body of a child Keam had excavated himself, to the Smithsonian Institution for the New Orleans World’s Industrial and Cotton Exposition.⁴⁶

Even though the 3,863 square-mile Hopi reservation had been officially formed by Executive Order in 1882, the government failed to fulfill its promised role as protector of the Hopi people, and Keam frequently found himself involved in aiding them. In 1887, with his support, the first day school was established at Keams Canyon—but only three students attended. The children “who came to the boarding school directly from the village received a most abrupt introduction to white society. In the first few days, they were subjected to a process, which ... must be called de-Indianization.” These children faced an “attack on their personal appearance and tribal identity. They were forced to abandon traditional dress for a school uniform...[and were] subjected to a haircut.”⁴⁷

In an effort to encourage the enrollment of more children, Keam suggested that Hopi leaders be sent to Washington, DC, to experience the benefits of western society for themselves. Five chiefs were included on a trip in 1890 to the American capital: Keam accompanied Loloma (leader of Oraibi’s Bear Clan and the de facto leader), Tom Polacca (Hopi trader from Hano village, and brother to the renowned potter Nampeyo), Anawita

45. Graves, *Keam*, 140.

46. *Catalogue of the Exhibits of the United States Geological Survey and the Bureau of Ethnology at the New Orleans Exposition*, Smithsonian Institution, NAA, LR, 1879–1888; Cosmos Mindeleff, "Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona," in *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report*, vol. 16 (1894–1895), 100–101.

47. Adams, “Schooling the Hopi,” 33.

(of Sichomovi village), Semo/Simo (of Walpi, and father of Nampeyo's husband, Lesou) and Honani (from Songóopavi) to meet with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Jefferson Morgan.⁴⁸ On the trip, Loloma agreed to cooperate with the white government under assurances from the political leaders that they would protect the Hopi from all trespassers on their reservation. Back home in Oraibi, he sent both his son and his nephew to the school. This action engendered renewed tensions between the Hostiles and the Friendlies. The leaders of the Hostiles, especially Chief Youkioma of Oraibi, grew more determined in their opposition to Loloma.⁴⁹

By the turn of the century, virtually every Hostile family refused to send children to government schools, and antagonisms were exacerbated by yet another major communications failure that occurred in approximately 1888. The village of Songòopavi was then holding its initiation ceremonies, the *Wuwutsim*, in which all the young men of Songòopavi and neighboring Shipaulovi were to participate. Religious preparations for this event traditionally take a year; during this period participants were not available to attend school. But possibly not knowing this, the federal agency sent two Hopi as well as three Navajo policemen to bring the young men in to the day school.⁵⁰ The Hopi chief, a Hostile, refused to release the young male initiates from the kivas⁵¹ until the ceremonies

48. Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 40.

49. Which was to be expected as they were of rival clans (Spider and Fire, respectively).

50. Ironically, the Navajo are traditionally the Hopis' enemy; as a migratory tribe, they were ancient raiders of the sedentary Hopi villages. The people of Hano, First Mesa are of Tewa descent, a group the author has been told was originally brought in to defend the Hopi against the Navajo invasions.

51. The best explanation of the kiva the author has seen is as follows:

were complete. When the policemen began to drag away the chief, the local missionary tried to intervene. Despite his efforts, an outraged chief vowed he would never again send village children to the schools.⁵²

After this episode, tensions accelerated between the local government agency and the Hopi. United States Army soldiers began to raid the villages daily to find reluctant students and force them to attend school. Helen Sekaquaptewa, a contemporary of Kabotie, wrote in her autobiography that some of the children enjoyed this “rather desperate game of hide-and-seek,”⁵³ but the adults hid the children with determined seriousness because they recognized it as a battle over power, social practices and cultural identity. On the other side, the American Indian agent took the struggle so seriously that on one occasion he asked Fort Wingate soldiers not simply to fire on the Hostiles at Oraibi, but to destroy at least part of the village as a “lesson.”⁵⁴ As early as 1891, the United States Army employed machine guns after the Hopi people pulled up the stakes placed to mark allotments of land under the Dawes Act (a clause exempting the

The word “kiva” can be found in English dictionaries; the one at hand defines it as “a large chamber often wholly or partly underground, in a Pueblo Indian village, used for religious ceremonies and other purposes (*Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 1967) In the Hopi language “house” is *kiihu*, and *kiva* simply means a “house below,” rather like “basement,” or perhaps “underworld house” with another layer of meaning. Kelley Hayes-Gilpin, *Painting the Cosmos: Metaphor and Worldview in Images from the Southwest Pueblos and Mexico* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 2010), 9.

52. Edmund Nequatewa, *Truth of a Hopi: Stories Relating to the Origin, Myths, and Clan Histories of the Hopi* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1967), 50–51.

53. Sekaquaptewa and Louise Udall, *Me and Mine: The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 8.

54. Jon Allan Reyhner and Jeanne M. Dyawin Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 172.

Pueblo people was later enacted). A detachment, sent to arrest the Hostile leaders, encountered a barricaded group of armed resistors and called in the cavalry with two Hotchkiss guns (which fire forty-three rounds per minute). The army then arrested the war chief and ten others.⁵⁵ Unable to understand the situation from the Hopi position, United States government officials “blamed the Hopis’ noncompliant attitude on a misguided perception that Indian people could not think rationally without the enlightening influences of a western education.”⁵⁶

As one of the instigators, Loloma was jailed in Fort Wingate along with several other Hopi men. When he was released, the Hostile leaders, in an effort to prove to Loloma the error he made in trusting the white men, challenged him to dress his beloved nephew in finery, including silver and turquoise jewelry, and have him travel on a trading journey to Talestima, or Blue Canyon, on the newly established and supposedly protected Hopi reservation. As predicted by the Hostiles, Loloma’s nephew was killed and robbed by a Navajo, and also as predicted, the United States government did nothing about it; even after the murderer was captured, he somehow mysteriously escaped from jail overnight.⁵⁷

55. Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 41.

56. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 11. Eventually fifteen of the hostiles, including Youkeoma were sent to Florence Penitentiary and another eleven sent to the Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, including Kabotie’s uncle Andrew Humiquoptiwa. Edmund Nequatewa, “Chapter XIV: Youkioma” in *Native American Ways: Four Paths to Enlightenment*, by James Mooney, George Bird Grinnell, Edmund Nequatewa, and Washington Matthews (Radford, VA: A & D Publishing, 2007), 425–34.

57. Blair and Blair, *Nampeyo*, 287–90.

Despite this, Loloma continued to accommodate the white men. He allowed Mennonites to build a church in Oraibi (but according to Waters, not the Mormons, for they were polygamists, as were the Navajo).⁵⁸ In 1893 Russian-born Heinrich Richard Voth (1855–1931) and his wife arrived to run the new Mennonite church. Voth was a zealot who was determined to convert the savage Hopi to Christianity and his church. In the process, he frequently interjected himself into Hopi ceremonies, much to the villagers' distress.⁵⁹ Voth is remembered with animosity by the Hopi to this day for, among other things, his unparalleled insensitivity in forcing his way into kivas during ceremonies. Even after being bodily removed, he would repeat the intrusion.⁶⁰ He apparently recorded everything he saw, down to measuring the dimensions of sacred altars and sand paintings.⁶¹

58. *Ibid.*, 290.

59. *Ibid.*, 291.

60. The Hopi stories of Voth bring to mind Marcus Aurelius's *Meditation Number 13*, "Nothing is more wretched than the man who travels about everywhere, and pries into things beneath the earth, as the poet says, and strives to conjecture the thoughts of his neighbors, without perceiving that it is sufficient to attend to the divinity within him and to reverence it sincerely." Marcus Aurelius, "Meditations," in *Marcus Aurelius and His Times: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Roslyn, New York: Walter J. Black, 1945), 23.

61. The Field Columbian Museum of Chicago published Voth's papers in its Anthropological Series, Vols. 3, 6 and 11: *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony*, 3, no. 2 (1901): 64–158; *The Oraibi Summer Snake Ceremony*, 3, no. 4 (1903): 263–358; *The Oraibi Oaqöl Ceremony*, 6, no. 1 (1903): 1–46; *Oraibi Natal Customs and Ceremonies*, 6, no. 2 (1905): 47–61; *The Oraibi Marau Ceremony*, 11, no. 1 (1912): 1–81; *Brief Miscellaneous Hopi Papers*, 11, no. 2 (1912): 89–149. Together with George A. Dorsey: *The Oraibi Soyal Ceremony*, 3, no. 1 (1901), and *The Mishongnovi Ceremonies of the Snake and Antelope Fraternities*, 3, no. 3 (1901). His papers can be found at the Mennonite Bethel College, in Kansas. See also Fred Eggan, "H. R. Voth, Ethnologist" essay in *Hopi Material Culture. Artifacts Gathered by H. R. Voth in the Fred Harvey Collection*, by Barton Wright (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979), 1–7.

With more positive results, Loloma allowed Lorenzo Hubbell to open a trading post at Kykotsmovi (New Oraibi), an area occupied by Hopi families more acclimated to white culture. Still, Hostile families continued to resist sending their children to the government schools, and one New Oraibi schoolteacher took matters into his own hands, chasing recalcitrant children through the streets of Oraibi while firing his pistol into the air to stop them from running away. The teacher was not alone in his efforts: African-American troops were also sent into the villages to capture children and force them to school.⁶² The Hostiles remained resistant. Illustrating the strength of feeling involved, in 1894, the acting Indian agent, Captain Constant Williams, reported after a meeting in Oraibi, that the Hostiles:

Do not want to follow the Washington path; that they do not want their children to go to school; that they do not want to wear white man's clothes; that they do not want to eat white man's food; that they do want the white man to let them alone and allow them to follow the Oraibi path; and they totally denounced the Friendlies for departing from the Oraibi path.⁶³

The alienation between Hostiles and Friendlies, as well as between Hopis and whites, continued to escalate in 1899 and 1900 after twenty-seven-year-old school Superintendent Charles E. Burton was assigned to be the first government agent on the Hopi Reservation. His polemic nature and abuse of the Hopi people (by ordering all men

While Voth was imposing himself on the people of Oraibi, Alexander Stephen was doing the same in the villages of First Mesa, but without creating enmity among the Hopi peoples. See Parsons, *Hopi Journal*.

62. James, *Hopi History*, 117–22.

63. Peter M. Whitely, *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 86.

to have their hair cut, forcibly if necessary; compelling all Hopi people to be vaccinated against smallpox, again, forcibly and against their will; and by trying to shut down all Hopi dances, as “revolting and immoral and heathenish” events,⁶⁴) was brought to the public’s attention when a young day school teacher, Belle Axtell Kolp, resigned after just seven weeks on the job.⁶⁵ Kolp was the niece of the late governor and chief justice of the state of New Mexico, Samuel B. Axtell, and commanded respect when she complained about Burton’s extremely harsh treatment of the Hopi. In 1903 she testified to the Sequoia League (founded by newspaper reporter Charles Lummis to defend Native American rights) that “[w]henever a punishment was threatened or carried out, it was represented to the Hopi that it was by “Washington’s” orders.”⁶⁶ By 1900, when Kolp met him, the Sequoia League members included ethnographer George A. Dorsey of the Field Columbian Museum, naturalist C. Hart Merriam (son of the United States congressman, Clinton Levi Merriam), F. W. Putnam (the first director of the Peabody Museum of Salem), and many other Anglo authorities on American Indians.⁶⁷

64. Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 171–72.

65. According to Kolp, in “Affidavit of a Teacher” (published in *Out West*, XIX, no. 1 [July 1903]: 47–56, a magazine edited by Lummis), she arrived on the job on December 31, 1902 and resigned on February 5, 1903. She writes, “When I began work at Oraibi the daily attendance at the school was about 125 children. When I left there were 174 children in the school... The school age is 5 to 18.” She continues, “There were, when I left, about a dozen little ones in school who were not more than four years of age. They were not strong enough to walk the mile [to the school].” She left Oraibi on February 17, 1903.

66. Lummis, *Bullying the Moqui*, 43.

67. James, *Hopi History*, 123–25.

Back home in California, Kolp protested further to Lummis about what she had seen and experienced.⁶⁸ With his help she published *Affidavit of a Teacher*, signed by her on June 2, 1903 and notarized by Robert S. Page in Los Angeles County. Already sympathetic to the Natives' plight, Lummis had visited several pueblos in what he called a "tramp across the country" in 1884 and 1885, and spent three days in Hopi in August 1891-- two in Keams Canyon, probably at Thomas Keam's trading post, and one at Walpi--where he attended the Snake Dance (figures 1.9 and 1.10). Along with his essays in *Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest*, Lummis included illustrations of the Hopi Snake Dance as seen on his trip⁶⁹ (figure 1.11).

Lummis also had friends in high places who could influence government policy on Indians, including his old college comrade, Theodore Roosevelt. According to Harry C. James, founder of the American Indian League and the National Association to Help the Indian, Lummis was largely responsible for Roosevelt's "interest in trying to get a

68. Lummis, *Bullying the Moqui*, 42–61.

69. Charles F. Lummis, *A Tramp Across the Continent*. (1909; reprint 2012, New York: Forgotten Books, Scribner's Sons), accessed January 3, 2014, http://www.forgottenbooks.org/info/A_Tramp_Across_the_Continent_1000550286.php; Charles F. Lummis, *Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: Century, 1892); and Patrick T. Houlihan and Betsy E. Houlihan, *Lummis in the Pueblos* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1986), 93–96.

By 1902 the village of Oraibi had already consigned photographers at the Snake Dance to one area, and photography was soon completely banned at all ceremonies and in many villages. The tourists had become so aggressive that they barged into religious chambers uninvited, and often over the protest of the Hopi people. They were known to break into fistfights over the best location from which to take their pictures, and were just generally ignorant of Hopi customs and values. In 1917 all photography was banned. To this day, many Hopi villages bar white visitors, and none allow photography without permission. Alternately, it was still uncommon for tourists to travel west of the Mississippi, as evidenced in Julian Street's popular 1917 travel book, *American Adventures: A Second Trip Abroad At Home*, in which his adventures only go as far west as New Orleans (New York: Century, 1917).

decent deal for the Indian.”⁷⁰ Beginning in 1879 a series of widely publicized incidents created public sympathies for American Indians, including the arrest of a group of Poncas trying to escape Oklahoma Indian Territory where they had been forcibly relocated; and another where a group of White River Utes killed the Indian agent who had used military force to try to change their farming methods. Author Helen Hunt Jackson, known for two strongly pro-Native rights books *A Century of Dishonor: The Classic Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans* (1881) and *Ramona* (1884), took a stance against these continuing tragedies.⁷¹ In the former she advocates for changes in government policies, through a review of the American government’s inexplicable mistreatment of seven Indian tribes. When this logical approach failed to initiate the response she desired, Jackson addressed Native American issues through the more emotional *Ramona*, a story set in California about a mixed race girl and her struggles with discrimination.⁷²

In April 1903, in his own periodical, *Out West*, Lummis wrote a lead article about the harsh treatment of the Hopi by the government. This essay was the beginning of a year-long effort by Lummis and his friends to help improve conditions for Indians; in his

70. James, *Hopi History*, 124.

71. Siobhan Senier, *Voices of American Indian Assimilation and Resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca, and Victoria Howard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 4.

72. Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor: The Classic Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1881; Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003, and Jackson, *Ramona: A Story* (NEED PLACE: Roberts Brothers, 1884; Boston: Little, Brown, 1939).

essay Lummis refers to Burton as “the pinhead official...the oppressor...Czar over the lives of 1800 Hopi...that bully.”⁷³

Lummis quotes Kolp’s affidavit in which she objected to government interference in Indian dances and ceremonies.⁷⁴ Kolp found in these rituals none of the immorality or harm that government officials had claimed when banning them.

I witnessed more of ‘Man’s inhumanity to man’ than I ever saw before.... Mrs. Ballinger told me, ‘Mr. Burton was going to get United States soldiers to come on to the Reservation to put a stop to the Indians’ dances. By permission of Mr. Burton I attended one of these dances. I saw nothing immoral or improper. Most of these dances are religious ceremonies, which have been carried on for hundreds of years. They are as sacred and as solemn to these people as religious ceremonies in our churches are to us.’⁷⁵

In this same affidavit, Kolp describes a raid on Hopi villages on February 3, 1903, in which government soldiers snatched young children naked from their beds, and forced

73. James, *Hopi History*, 124.

74. *Ibid.*; Kolp, “Affadavit,” 47–56.

75. James, *Hopi History*, 124–25; Kolp, “Affadavit,” 47–56.

Kolp also writes:

...a raid...was planned...About 10 o’clock on the night of Feb. 2, 1903, the raiding party...arrived at the school grounds...The snow thickly covered the ground and was still falling. Those children who could be found ...were sent down to the school under guard. ...this time the raiders made a “clean sweep.” This took place in the early morning of February 5th. Men, women and children were dragged almost naked from their beds and houses. Under the eyes and the guns of the invaders they were allowed to put on a few articles of clothing, and then – many of them barefooted and without any breakfast, the parents and grandparents were forced to take upon their back such children as were unable to walk the distance (some of the little ones entirely nude).

them to leave their families and then walk to the boarding school in the snow, often without shoes. She describes the government's authoritarian mistreatment of the Hopi people as perhaps stemming from a desire not to share too much mainstream culture information with them:

In my room...I had many pictures – paintings and photographs – which the school children took great delight in looking at and asking questions about...Mr. Ballinger said to me, “Don’t you know that you are breaking school rules by allowing the school children to visit you in your room?” ...I asked him if he objected to their visits to me and if so, why, since they were learning of things outside their little world. His reply was, “we do not want them to know too much...” And he gave those orders to the children, with threats of whipping if they disobeyed...they did not come any more, except to look in the doorway, smile and shake their heads.⁷⁶

Kolp's report offers insight into the paternalistic stance of some Indian day school administrators. Kabotie's statement in his autobiography that his first day-school teacher, Mr. Moran, was mean, collaborates her point. He writes, “Jessie, a blonde Hopi albino from Shipaulovi, was a Christian who worked at the school. She was as mean as Mr. Moran,” and Mr. Buchanan, his second day-school teacher, was “the meanest teacher we ever had.”⁷⁷ Kabotie continues, “I couldn't see that we were learning anything. We had books—I remember that they were blue—but we couldn't read.”⁷⁸ He tells of his first day, having his hair cut, “we felt terrible but what could we do?”⁷⁹

76. James, *Hopi History*, 127–28.

77. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 10, 11. Although, as Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva points out, Fred may have been seen as a reluctant student. Conversation with the author, November 9, 2012.

78. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 11.

His future wife, Alice recalls a range of experiences, some pleasurable and others frightening.⁸⁰

We had one classroom...the teacher would have a long stick and she would point at the words. Of course, she would tell us what the words were, and we would read: "The cat ran. The cat jumped over the fence. The cow is in the pasture." We just memorized it and would say it as she pointed to the words.

...we ...would sing this song: "Chick-a-dee, chick-a-dee, happy and gay. Chick-a-dee, chick-a-dee fly away." Then we would all fly away and flap our arms....

Our teacher, that Mr. Buchannon, was really mean.

Oh, he could whip you with a small cottonwood branch. He could really hit you around the legs and ankles where it hurts the most...I remember one of the older girls named Sybil...every time he was going to hit, she would jump up. She just kept jumping and I thought it was so funny, but she was crying at the same time.

...we did not know how to talk English until we got down to Phoenix. That was where I learned my English...⁸¹

In an interview for his autobiography with Bill Belknap, Kabotie says the children were often hungry and did not like the oatmeal provided. He states, "that's the way we acquired our education. Whipping and so forth. ... at that time [I thought that] the cooks

79. Fred Kabotie and Alice Kabotie, interview session 1 by Bill Belknap and Frances Belknap, transcript of tape recording, December 5–7, 1975, Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, NAU.OH.70, Folder 2, 44.

80. Alice's father was Humiyamptewa, although she used Talayounuma as her "maiden" name. (Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva, email to author, August 6, 2014)

81. Alice Kabotie and Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva, interviews with Dwight Lomayesva, transcript of tape recordings April 22, 1884 and October 15, 1983, bound in one volume as "Recollections of Two Hopi Women," (O.H. 1742 and 1743), 11–18. California State University, Fullerton Center for Oral and Public History.

[didn't] knew how to bake bread.”⁸² Kabotie was not solitary in his feelings. Many Indian school students felt the education system failed them in myriad ways. Archuleta, Child and Lomawaima write, in *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000*, “Indian boarding schools were key components in the process of cultural genocide against Native culture, and were designed to physically, idealistically and emotionally remove Indian children from their families, homes, and tribal affiliation.”⁸³ After a year Kabotie moved from Toreva Day School to the newly built Songdopavi Day School, where he liked his teacher, Mr. Chipper, “he was a fine fellow and while he was there, we ate well.”⁸⁴

The Hopi children’s sense of humor is evident in Kabotie’s tale of singing Christian songs. They all sounded alike to the students, and the words were unintelligible, so they made up their own. They would sing in Hopi, “Geeaweepa brings the burros in,” and the teacher would believe they were singing, “Jesus loves me.” He continues, “We’d sing just about anything that came to us, that sounded right, even some Navajo words fitted on the end of it. ...And then we had those pictures up there, you know, about so big, Jesus and Christ.”⁸⁵

82. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 2, 48.

83. Margaret Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000* (Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 2000), 15–16, 19; Sekaquaptewa and Udall, *Me and Mine*; Polingaysi Qöyawayma, *No Turning Back: A True Account of a Hopi Indian Girl's Struggle to Bridge the Gap Between the World of Her People and the World of the White Man* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964); Luther Standing Bear, *My Indian Boyhood* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988).

84. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 2, 48–49.

85. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 2, 51.

Willis DeHuff later had to overcome Kabotie's skeptical attitude toward any Anglicized normative institutional values, and according to Kabotie, she did this with ease and grace.

When the DeHuffs came they changed everything, the whole attitude of the school toward the pupils. They were world travelers, and came to Santa Fe from a school in the Philippines. And they were understanding people with a deep interest in our Indian culture.⁸⁶

The DeHuff's attitudes were not universal. Despite government investigations following Lummis's articles, Burton was officially reprimanded but remained in his position. Meanwhile, the United States government increasingly inserted itself into daily Hopi life, and the gulf between the Hostile and Friendly factions grew even wider. In his essay, "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887–1917," David Wallace Adams cites the following statement by William A. Jones, Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "As a separate entity he [the American Indian] cannot exist encysted, as it were, in the body politic of this nation." Adams continues, "The Indian had to chose, then, between civilization or extinction."⁸⁷

A smallpox epidemic in 1899, which killed 197 of the some 600 Hopi of First and Second Mesas, furthered the animosities. Chief Youkeoma,⁸⁸ a Hostile, used this horrific episode to increase resistance to changes in traditional Hopi life. Alternatively, Loloma,

86. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 27.

87. Adams, "Schooling the Hopi," 18.

88. Fred and Alice's daughter, Hattie, later married Youkeoma's great-grandson Dwight Lomayesva (Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Email to author, November 19, 2013).

the *Kikmongwi* (chosen leader among the various village clan *Mongwi*, or leaders), denied that smallpox was a result of divergences from the Hopi traditions. The situation remained tense, but continued at a standstill until Loloma's death in 1904.

Tawaquaptewa, his nephew who became the next *Kikmongwi*, was no match for the more experienced Youkeoma. The situation grew so dire that Commissioner Leupp came and interviewed the two men separately, with no successful resolution.

Youkeoma's hostility was understandable. Just one day after the Hopi people named him chief, a teacher at Oraibi Day School, Herman Kampmeir, forced his way into Youkeoma's home and demanded he send his children to school. Youkeoma declined; Kampmeir dragged him out of the house and threw him down to the second level of the pueblo. Following this aggression, "Henrich Voth, A. H. Viets of the Oraibi Day School, and Navajo police held Youkeoma down while Kampmeir cut his hair." Next Youkeoma was sent to Keams Canyon, along with several other men, to repair roads for three months. When he returned to Songòpavi and continued his refusal to send his children to school, Navajo police came to his village, forced him out of a kiva, and then proceeded to club him unconscious. After this episode, Youkeoma returned to Oraibi and redoubled his efforts.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, one early spring morning in 1906, additional trouble erupted between the men of Songòpavi and soldiers sent there to locate and capture students. A group of Hopi men carrying planting sticks were on their way down the mesa trail to work the fields below. When they saw several cavalry soldiers coming toward them to round up

89. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 60.

school-age children they let out a war whoop in semi-jest. To their astonishment (and initial amusement), the soldiers beat a hasty retreat. But the Hopi's enjoyment quickly faded when a larger army contingent returned. In his autobiography Kabotie recalls waking up that morning to find his parents having an urgent discussion. His father had a bleeding cut on his chin; apparently soldiers sent from the Keams Canyon government agency had attacked him and several other Hopi men in order to disrupt preparations for the Buffalo dance and prevent it from occurring.⁹⁰ The schism between Hopi factions became utterly unbridgeable on that day. The Friendlies exiled the Hostiles from their Hopi homes in Songdopavi, and the group of about thirty men and women moved to the Third Mesa village of Oraibi eight miles west⁹¹ (figure 1.6). Their arrival in Oraibi once more pitted Tawaquaptewa against Youkeoma, and the people of Oraibi forcibly evicted the new arrivals.⁹² In her biography Helen Sekaquaptewa, who was roughly the same age as Kabotie at the time and also a member of a Hostile family, remembers:

After evicting the Hostile men, the Friendlies went into each home and forcibly ejected each family, driving them out to join their menfolk on the other side of The Line [a line drawn in the dirt that separated the rival groups in a tug-of-war used to decide which group went and which stayed].⁹³

She then notes:

90. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 1. There is a delightful irony in Fred Kabotie's painting scenes of the Buffalo dance in murals at the Painted Desert years later. See Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie."

91. Homes are clan owned, and as such the clan controls who may, or may not, live in each.

92. Nequatewa, *Truth of a Hopi*, 57.

93. Sekaquaptewa and Udall, *Me and Mine*, 75; and conversations with the author, 1978.

Miss Stanley, Miss Keith, and the Reverend Epp and Mrs. Gates convinced the two groups to agree to arbitration, but apparently nothing came of it. The Anglos advised the Friendlies to give the Hostiles their belongings and demand they move on to the Hotevilla spring until the government came up with a plan.⁹⁴

The Hostiles repacked their belongings and moved to a site by a spring six miles away in what is now the village of Hotevilla. There, they built shelters and settled in for a long, cold winter. Denied food from Oraibi, the group relied on aid from the other villages, which provided what they could. The continuing conflicts prompted the Keams Canyon government agent to send in the cavalry to arrest the men (including both Kabotie's father and his uncle Andrew Humiquaptewa (figure 1.12).

The agent from Keams Canyon subsequently decided to force the remaining Hostiles to move back to Songòopavi; a few days after the men were captured, soldiers rode into the village to "escort" the women and children. The women carried everything

94. Sekaquaptewa and Udall, *Me and Mine*, 72. An author's note on page 84 states that:

Information given...has been supplemented and augmented and verified by the authors from records in the Indian Section of the National Archive in Washington, DC. Soon after September 7, 1906, the Indian Commissioner requested that the government employees, teachers, missionaries, and other observers write their own accounts of the affair in detail. Original letters dated not more than two weeks later form a voluminous file (#75) in the National Archives; the writers include the Reverend J.P. Epp of the Mennonite mission; Mrs. Gertrude Gates, an interested observer of Hopi Culture who spent months camping outside Oraibi but apparently staying at the mission at the time; Ed Gannet of the mission; Miss Elizabeth Stanley, in charge of the schools at Oraibi; and Miss Miltona Keith, field matron.

Another source of information is US Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior-1906* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906).

they could manage, from children to household goods, the entire fourteen miles. Only two frail and elderly men accompanied them (one was Kabotie's grandfather).

When the exhausted group stopped to rest at Bahana Wash,⁹⁵ they found the other male captives already camped there, and learned that the men were to be sent away, but no one told them where or for how long.⁹⁶

Helen Sekaquaptewa reports that a few of the men made promises to cooperate with the government and were permitted to stay with their families. Others refused, and seventy-five⁹⁷ were arrested and taken to the Keams Canyon jail by the army troops. There, they were sentenced to ninety days of hard labor—longer if they “remained obstinate.”⁹⁸ Edmund Nekakwaptewa writes that Youkeoma, Chief Tewahonganewa of Shipaulovi, and fifteen others were sent to Fort Wingate, and from there on to Florence Penitentiary. Eleven married men were sent to Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, including Andrew Humiquoptiwa.⁹⁹ In his autobiography Kabotie recalls awakening in Songdopavi the next morning to discover that Lorenzo Hubbell, owner of the trading post in Old Oraibi, had brought food and help.¹⁰⁰ “He must have felt sorry for us and came along to

95. *Bahana* means *White Man* in Hopi.

96. Kabotie's family was never told how long his father would be away, it was not until the day he returned that they found out. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 6.

97. Matthew Sakiestewa Gilbert, in *Education beyond the Mesas*, (67) writes that on November 4, 1906 soldiers captured 82 children and took them to the Keams Canyon School; they arrested 53 men.

98. Sekaquaptewa and Udall, *Me and Mine*, 86.

99. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 2–7; James, *Hopi History*, 135–45.

100. In 1902, when Lorenzo Hubbell was nineteen his father, J. L. Hubbell, bought Thomas Keam's trading post for him to run (Keam was ill and retired). It was Lorenzo's first store, and

help the women and children,” Kabotie writes. This establishes Kabotie’s early awareness of Hubbell, who was a successful dealer in Hopi arts and crafts.¹⁰¹ In his autobiography, Kabotie does not explain why the Hostile women were willing to accept Hubbell’s largesse, except that they were tired and hungry after their long ordeal; presumably they

preceded his Oraibi post. Anthropologist Edward T. Hall tells a charming story that reveals why Lorenzo Hubbell was effective with whites and Indians alike:

[Superintendent] Lemmon was the seventh disaster in human form, representing the United States Government, to descend on the Hopis between the years 1889 and 1904. The policies of kidnapping children and sending them away to the white man’s schools, imprisoning Hopi leaders at Alcatraz, forcing the allotment of lands, and disrupting ceremonial life were indignities that all six of the superintendents of that period happily carried out. Lemmon was no different...except that he may have been a somewhat less competent administrator...

Lemmon showed absolutely no concern for his obligation to pay the Indians what he owed them...

[one night, demanding Hubbell’s attendance]... In a voice dripping with honey, Lemmon said, “Mr. Hubbell, do come in.... I’m in terrible trouble. The whole agency is in trouble and I don’t know what to do, or what they will do to me when they find out...

Through mismanagement or God knows what tomfoolery, Lemmon had managed to expend the entire annual budget of the agency in less than six months. The agency was broke. There were no funds—no salaries for the schoolteachers or the clerks, no money to run the dormitories, pay the cooks, or buy food for the schoolchildren. As far as Lorenzo was concerned, there was only one thing to do. In the Hubbell tradition, he underwrote the entire operation for the rest of the year. I assume he didn’t pay Lemmon’s salary, but it is not impossible. He never told me how or if he was repaid.

Lorenzo Hubbell, in the tradition of Thomas Keam was frequently host to visiting dignitaries, including John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior.

Hall, *West of the Thirties: Discoveries Among the Navajo and Hopi* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 37–39.

101. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 7.

were more interested in feeding their children than in refusing help from a white man.¹⁰² And, perhaps, it was simply the interference of the government they opposed. In Belknap's interview transcripts, Kabotie recalls carrying his little blanket he had made with him.¹⁰³ He also says that Hubbell was with them from the Bahana Wash, and he was there when Kabotie woke up in the morning, "later on I found out that that was Lorenzo Hubbell. So Lorenzo Hubbell must be very sympathetic, that he came over to help...I began to think, you know, ...that fellow is a storekeeper...he must have contributed some food."¹⁰⁴

Government Superintendent Lemmon wrote from his Keams Canyon office on November 8, 1906:

The ninety days [the initial jail term set for the arrested men] are up and many would not promise to obey. Five finally did, after much persuasion, and were sent home, which only made the others more stubborn. After a few more weeks the rest were sent home in time to help with the spring planting and the building of houses.¹⁰⁵

Of course, not all the men were sent home -- over a dozen of the most recalcitrant from Hotevilla were sent to Carlisle Indian School for five years. Presumably Pratt's success reforming the Fort Marion warriors made the government believe that the Indian boarding schools, which were based on military schools, would be a good place to

102. Ibid.

103. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 2, 31.

104. Ibid., folder 2, 42.

105. Sekaquaptewa and Udall, *Me and Mine*, 86–87.

civilize intractable Natives. Although all the men were eventually released, the village of Oraibi never recovered. Lasting effects include the loss of specific ceremonies and traditions because the men who knew them were gone, and the two Hopi factions were never reconciled.¹⁰⁶ Youkeoma was sent to prison at Fort Huachuca along with sixteen others, and held there until October 1907. Tawaquaptewa was sent to the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, along with a large group of Hopi youths; he continued in his role of leader and encouraged the students to work hard there.¹⁰⁷

These events left an enduring impression on Kabotie, as seen in his *Preparing for the Buffalo Dance* and much later in his 1976 *Destruction of San Bartolome Church at Shungopavi, Hopi* (figure 1.13). The latter watercolor delineates his concern about the relationship between white men and the Hopi; it is the only known work of his that can be construed to be critical of interactions between the Hopi and the whites. (Although murals he painted in the bar of the Bright Angel Lodge in the Grand Canyon poke fun at Anglo tourists, they were conceived in a gentler, more humorous manner.¹⁰⁸)

Given the acrimonious social landscape of Kabotie's childhood, it is remarkable that he became the cultural diplomat he did, and was able to build lasting and mutually beneficial relationships as well as establish an ongoing conversation between Hopi and Anglo-American cultures. Kabotie made an attempt to negotiate a new Hopi identity through his art, both socially, politically, and, in his later life, by recruiting donors and

106. Ibid., 89–90; conversations with Michael Kabotie, 1970–2008.

107. Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*, 67.

108. Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie," 95–101.

fundraisers among prominent American leaders, including René d'Harnoncourt (Director of the Museum of Modern Art), Harold Le Clair Ickes (later Secretary of the Interior) and Henry Allen Moe (first director of the National Endowment for the Arts), to help build the reservation's infrastructure, including a water tower in Songòopavi and a cultural center and museum on Second Mesa.¹⁰⁹

From Kabotie to Fred Kabotie: the Maturing Artist

As a child, Kabotie liked to draw with charcoal on the walls of abandoned pueblo walls and in mud. He writes of making his first images when he was about six or seven years old, scratching Katsina figures onto the rock outcroppings near cornfields and on the walls of abandoned Hopi homes.¹¹⁰ He and a friend would amuse themselves gathering hard earth colors and drawing Katsinas, especially their heads, on the walls of abandoned houses, as well as carving them into the rocks below the village.¹¹¹ Later, when the government compelled him to attend day school in the nearby village of Toreva, a mile and a half north of Songòopavi, he made “funny sketches” to pass the time and

109. In 2008, the Kabotie family graciously allowed the author full access to Fred Kabotie's files stored at his home in Songòopavi, Second Mesa. In these files are several letters between Kabotie and d'Harnoncourt and Moe. See also the Henry Allen Moe Papers, American Philosophical Society, Fred Kabotie folder (Mss.B.M722).

110. Something frowned upon in other Pueblo communities.

111. Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 242; Fred Kabotie, interview session 2 by Bill Belknap, transcript of tape recording, April 17–19, 1976, Northern Arizona University, Cline Library, NAU.OH.70, folder 14, 470.

amuse his fellow students (figure 1.14, pictographs and petroglyphs found near Songòopavi).¹¹²

Kabotie records in his autobiography that he loved to draw, but he proved to be skilled in other artistic areas as well. He writes of weaving a traditional red-and-black on white blanket before he was ten years old; to do so he must have been aware of Hopi weaving designs, either consciously or unconsciously. This blanket was for his personal use, but other early artistic endeavors earned Kabotie his first income, long before he left Hopi. Kabotie recounts that when his uncle, Andrew, returned from enforced attendance at the Carlisle school, he was “full of ambition.” To raise the capital needed to invest in cattle, Andrew decided to make heishi necklaces for sale.¹¹³ He bought materials from Santo Domingo Pueblo and the Los Cerillos turquoise mine southwest of Santa Fe, some 250 miles from Songòopavi. Kabotie and his uncle cut the seashells and turquoise into small squares, then drilled each piece with a flywheel drill, strung them on wire, and ground the edges smooth.

Finding the work tedious, Kabotie worked out a deal with his friends. Because he was commonly the winner of all their marbles in play, he offered to pay five marbles for a day’s work drilling heishi, a business practice that supplied him and his uncle with free labor while ensuring that Kabotie had future opponents in playing marbles. When

112. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 8. Unfortunately, Kabotie does not tell what these sketches were.

113. Heishi beads are typically very small beads made from shell, all the same size or gently graduating in size and strung on string.

Kabotie and his uncle completed the necklaces, Andrew, apparently somewhat of a miser, gave Kabotie the smallest beads in payment.

Kabotie strung them and wore them proudly to a Navajo healing ceremony near the town of Moencopi. The Navajo men admired his finely crafted necklace and one offered him twenty sheep and a horse, complete with saddle and bridle, in exchange for it. This may have been the most lucrative art sale Kabotie ever made until the sale of his *TayTays Tale* illustrations to Willis DeHuff for \$200 many years later.¹¹⁴ Kabotie accepted, and later wrote of many years of pleasure riding and racing his horse. Surely, for that high price, the necklace made by the young boy must have been extremely well crafted—and one presumes Kabotie must have studied local Native jewelry in the process.

For Kabotie, it was an early lesson in the concept of capitalism, an approach he later adeptly applied to his artistic undertakings. The sale of his necklace to the Navajo was a pivotal personal lesson for Kabotie in the potential of creating arts for money, a relatively recent concept to the Hopi people. From birth, he had been exposed daily to the making of pottery, woven goods, and Katsina figures and paraphernalia for both Hopi use and for trade. Indeed, Hopi arts began to be at the forefront of a market for Indian art that was growing in popularity across America. Kabotie was under no misconception about why he created art, and never shy about charging money for his work. He later employed these lessons carefully, including pricing his work based on how many figures were depicted in a watercolor. Despite his own success as a painter, Kabotie, years later,

114. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 15–16.

repeatedly told his son Michael not to become an artist, because it was too hard to make a living.¹¹⁵

As one measure of the immense appeal of Hopi crafts, tourists braved an arduous (and sometimes treacherous) trip to purchase them. In 1882 the Atlanta and Pacific Railway, a subsidiary of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, along with its partner, the St. Louis and San Francisco Rail, brought the first railroad passengers to Arizona.¹¹⁶ The additional trip from the Winslow train station to the Hopi reservation was a difficult sixty-mile wagon journey across rutted dirt (and frequently, mud) roads. Despite the discomfort, increasing numbers of travelers made the trek to observe the Hopi people and their culture, as well as to purchase Hopi-made mementoes of their trip.

In 1892 stage service was first offered to the nearby Grand Canyon from the Santa Fe Railroad lines, and in 1893 C. A. Higgins “assembled a booklet extolling the beauties of the trip...made three times weekly.¹¹⁷ A notice in the Flagstaff *Coconino Sun* on February 4, 1899, contained the headline, “Railway to Operate ‘Horseless Carriages’ Here to Grand Canyon.” The article refers to “three large automobiles [buses]...now

115. Fred Kabotie and Michael Kabotie, conversation with the author, 1978.

116. The Santa Fe Mainline extended from Chicago to Los Angeles and followed the route of the old Santa Fe Trail. Fred Harvey, an English immigrant, aware of the poor quality of food service, created a company to remedy the problem. The Harvey Company offered food and lodging along the train route and by the early 1900s also operated dining cars. Both the Railway and the Harvey Company heavily marketed the Southwest as a destination. Paul R. Nickens and Kathleen Nickens, *Touring the West With the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (Atglen, PA: Schiffler Publishing, 2009), 5; William Patrick Armstrong, *Fred Harvey: Creator of Western Hospitality* (Bellemont, AZ: Canyonlands Publications, 2000), 8–9.

117. Diane Thomas Darnall, *The Southwestern Indian Detours: The Story of the Fred Harvey/Santa Fe Railway Experiment in Detourism* (Phoenix, AZ: Hunter Publishing, 1978), 14.

under construction...with a seating capacity for eighteen persons, including the driver.”¹¹⁸

Adding to the park’s growth, in 1901 the Santa Fe Railroad gained possession of the Grand Canyon spur line, and on September 18, 1901 the first scheduled train traveled to the Canyon itself, a trip that grew increasingly popular every year. In 1905 the Grand Canyon hotel and resort complex was opened, an event that would later have a major impact on Kabotie’s life and work.¹¹⁹ Arizona had been discovered as a tourist destination, and the Hopi people were among its prime attractions,¹²⁰ their work a trendy and admired souvenir. All this was enabled and catalyzed by the growing American rail system and Americans desire to explore their homeland. Agnes C. Laut¹²¹ asks rhetorically in her 1913 book *Through Our Unknown Southwest: The Wonderland of the United States—Little Known and Unappreciated—The Home of the Cliff Dweller and the Hopi, the Forest Ranger and the Navajo, -- the Lure of the Painted Desert*, “Why go to Europe? See America First,” and then responds, “we keep on going to Europe to see America. Why? For a lot of reasons; and most of them lies.” Laut incorporates photography in this early tourist book, including a picture of a Pueblo potter, captioned, “In the bright Arizona sunshine before their little square adobe houses Indian women are fashioning pottery into curious shapes.”¹²²

118. Ibid., 14.

119. Ibid., 14–15.

120. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 8. Unfortunately, Kabotie does not tell what these sketches were.

121. The flyleaf cites Laut as “*Author of the Conquest of the Great Northwest, Lords of the North and Freebooters of the Wilderness.*”

122. Laut, *Through Our Unknown Southwest: The Wonderland of the United States—Little Known and Unappreciated—The Home of the Cliff Dweller and the Hopi, the Forest Ranger and*

The Grand Canyon was, and continues to be, Arizona's prime tourist attraction. Proclaimed a National Park in 1919, by 1923 it was fully functioning as such. Mule trips into the canyon were offered, and, for the less adventurous, chartered cars, capable of seating six, toured the rim. Both were booked to capacity, and the popularity of the Grand Canyon as a tourist destination grew exponentially.¹²³

Despite the inaccessibility of the Hopi reservation located 130 miles to the east-- or perhaps because of it--by the turn of the century, when Kabotie was born, the Fred Harvey Company¹²⁴ was heavily promoting the sales of Indian (and especially Hopi) arts and crafts. It was also advertising "Indian Detours" and "Harvey Car" trips to the reservations¹²⁵ (figure 1.15), where Native-made souvenirs could be purchased at the

the Navajo, -- the Lure of the Painted Desert (New York: McBride, Nast, 1913), xii, 2. Laut, later in this book, describes Taos as, "The most un-American place in America," saying, "Don't leave the Southwest without seeing Taos." (186).

123. Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest*, 29.

124. The Harvey Company was an organization that had major influences on Southwestern tourism and Native American arts produced for sale. On the back cover of Stephen Fried's *Appetite for America*, is written, "In the Wild West of Bat Masterson and Billy Kidd, when the United States was still uniting and a deal could be made with a simple a handshake, a visionary young immigrant worked his way up from dishwasher to founding father of the nation's service industry." The story of Fred Harvey and the company he created is one personifying the American dream. Fried quotes several prominent Americans at the beginning of his book, including: Elbert Hubbard. In the front matter of *Appetite for America*, is a group of quotes about Harvey by prominent people. In them Elbert Hubbard asks, "Fred Harvey? Do you know the name? If not, then your education has been much neglected... Fred Harvey set a standard of excellence... He has added to the physical, mental and spiritual welfare of millions..." Will Rogers states laconically, "Wild buffalo fed the early traveler in the West... Well, Fred Harvey took up where the buffalo left off. For what he has done for the traveler... he has kept the West in food—and wives." President Harry Truman is quoted as saying, "I just had breakfast, and I always feel fine after having a meal at Fred Harvey's." (frontmatter, n.p.)

125. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff was working as a courier for the Harvey Company Detours by 1926, and after graduating Kabotie sometimes accompanied her. He recalled her giving lectures at the Harvey Company's La Fonda Hotel and occasionally asked Kabotie to guide the guests

railway stops and in the growing number of Harvey gift shops (figures 1.16–1.18).¹²⁶

Hopi pottery, basketry and weaving were all popular among tourists and collectors, and this steadily growing demand increased production of salable goods in the villages (figures 1.19–1.23). The volume of sales grew so much that the Harvey Company developed a separate Indian Department.¹²⁷

At Hopi, the production of arts for secular and religious purposes was apparently carried out both indoors and out, as well as in the kivas during preparation for ceremonies. Kabotie would have encountered these arts in daily domestic life, and in religious paraphernalia, most notably Katsina friends (commonly referred to by non-Hopi as masks), but also in ceremonial accouterments, including rattles and items such as bullroarer noisemakers. He would also have seen Katsinas in dances and ceremonies as well as *tihu* (Katsina figures carved and embellished) that were given by the spirits themselves in the form of Hopi men wearing masks to young girls).

through Santa Fe and Taos. These tourists often bought Kabotie's paintings after the trip; Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 40–41.

126. Anita Abetta of Isleta, in an interview in 1994, when she was 82 years old, recalled:

There was a depot here and the train used to stop ... People would sell fruit, potteries, and whatever souvenirs they had. The men would also try to sell corn, chili, whatever they planted. See, sometimes people would get out and sometimes they wouldn't and so we would go from one box [passenger car] to another selling through the window...It helped the people in the pueblo. Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest*, xiv.

127. Guided by Herman Schweizer, who liked to travel to the Navajo (and one would assume also Hopi?) reservation trading posts at every opportunity. Fried, *Appetite for America*, 183–84. As far as production of these crafts, unlike the Navajo, whose women do the weaving, in the Hopi tradition, weaving and carving is men's work, while pottery and basket making lies in the women's domain.

Although only initiated Hopi are supposedly allowed to witness certain ceremonial practices, a photograph taken at Zia (New Mexico) in the early 1900s by Aby Warburg (titled “The Kiva at Sia”) reveals several men and a small boy of about eight years old sitting against a kiva wall beneath an altar.¹²⁸ Thus there remains the possibility that Kabotie similarly saw kiva murals, ceremonial wands and perhaps altars such as those pictured in John Gregory Bourke’s 1874 book, *The Moquis of Arizona*.¹²⁹ Kabotie's son Michael recalled his father telling a story of seeing ancient ceremonial paintings. Once when Kabotie was a boy walking with his grandmother below the village of Songodpavi, the two came across a collapsed wall. The winds had blown away the sands to reveal an ancient mural of herons. While his grandmother hurried away, believing the mural was not for their eyes, Kabotie could not stop looking at it. He told Michael that he always wished he had painted a reproduction of the scene.¹³⁰

Kabotie also reveals that during night dances he saw miniature Katsinas accompanied by adult Katsinas. Seymour writes, “to non-Hopi viewers these may appear to be puppets...but to the Hopi they are small sizes Katsinas.”¹³¹ Another point of reference for what Kabotie might have seen before arriving in Santa Fe is the mural painting in the ruins of one house, later described by Kabotie: “the wall painting was in

128. Aby M. Warburg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*, trans. and ed. Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), 11.

129. Bourke, *Snake-Dance*, xl.

130. Jessica Welton, “The Watchtower Murals: 1930s Paintings by Fred Kabotie,” *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau*, Fall/Winter 2005, 42–59.

131. Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 229.

his [the one-horn chief who once lived in the ruined] house. . . . This was three hundred years ago. That is when they stopped doing the mural painting.” Kabotie noted, “After the Pueblo Rebellion people began to get worried, because if a Spaniard found out, then they would kill you.”¹³² These murals certainly had an impact on Kabotie, since he refers to them in conversations with Seymour, Belknap and his son in later years.

The increased art production created by the rising influx of tourists and their interest in Hopi objects would have made an impression on Kabotie. In addition to tourists, travelers to the reservation included specialists studying Hopi cultures and a range of dignitaries, including President Theodore Roosevelt (figure 1.24).

Some of the photographers who visited spent years in Hopi country.¹³³ Although early photographs from the Hopi reservations are rare and often difficult to decipher,

132. *Ibid.*, 238.

133. In an rudimentary investigation, the author located photographs taken at Hopi by the following artists (admittedly there are many more, but this list makes it clear that photographing the Hopi was very popular and that the young Kabotie must have been familiar with the presence of cameras on the reservation):

Timothy O’Sullivan, 1873

John K. Hillers, 1876, 1879.

Edward S. Curtis, 1887, 1900, 1902, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1911, 1919, 1921.

Cosmos Mindeleff, c. 1889.

Frederick Monson, 1890.

H. R. Voth, 1893

Adam Clark Vroman (Charles Lummis’s friend), 1895, 1897, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1902.

Ben Wittick, 1895, 1889, 1897.

George Wharton James, 1897.

Sumner Matheson, c. 1900.

Charles Carpenter, 1901.

Joseph Mora lived with the Hopi from 1904 through 1906, and visited frequently between 1903 and 1912, painting and photographing the people profusely.

Kate Cory (1861–1958) spent the years 1905–12 on the reservation; she photographed the initial violence at Oraibi in 1906.

H. F. Robinson, 1910, 1913 (Photographed Theodore Roosevelt at the Snake Dance in Walpi).

Bartlett Heard, 1913.

those that exist reveal that at least some Hopi displayed their work in their homes.¹³⁴ The homes in the photographs show art displayed prominently on the walls (figures 1.25–1.29), in the form of pictures, baskets, and, in at least one instance, a painted mural depicting a whitetail deer (figure 1.25). This is collaborated in an article by Major John Wesley Powell, who writes:

The largest room occupied by a [typical Second Mesa Hopi] family is often twenty to twenty-four feet long by twelve or fifteen feet wide, and about eight feet between floor and ceiling. Usually all the rooms are carefully plastered, and sometimes painted with rude devices.¹³⁵

Furthermore, a photograph taken in the mid-1890s by German art historian Aby Warburg and published in 1923, shows the interior of an Oraibi home with *tihu* on the wall and pots on the floor. Another illustrates a young boy, about eight years old, with several men sitting against a kiva wall, beneath an altar.¹³⁶ Although this last photograph

Ansel Adams, 1941, 1942.

134. Hopi tribal members who allowed their homes to be photographed would have been among the “friendlies”—those who were amicable to the presence of the white man. Home of “hostile” families may have been entirely different.

135. Powell, *The Hopi Villages: The Ancient Province of Tusayan* (1875; reprint of the original article from *Scribner's Monthly*, with an introduction by Lollie W. Campbell, Palmer Lake, CO: Filter Press, 1972), 18.

136. Warburg, “Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed., Donald Preziosi (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 177–206. Warburg was apparently not particularly interested in any formal aspects of Amerindian art, but he was, like many of his era, compelled to see and record the life of disappearing indigenous cultures. Similarly, he saw these cultures as holding the key to the man’s cultural origins. Warburg’s images were originally published in 1923. See also: Bernard Smith, *Modernism's History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 277.

was not taken in Hopi, it points to the possibility that Kabotie did see kiva art before moving to Santa Fe.

Ethnologists' drawings and photographs of the kivas (religious chambers) illustrate a wealth of visual culture, including spectacular murals and elaborate altars, sand paintings and puppetry—although it is unclear as to how much of these a younger, uninitiated Hopi boy would have been allowed to see and how he would have perceived what he viewed. As the kivas were utilized for both religious and social occasions, it is possible that Kabotie was exposed to some of the more secular works in the kivas, but in terms of the Hopi inspirations for Kabotie's art during its formative years, he more likely saw some form of kiva imagery in published reproductions well before his initiation in 1929 (figures 1.30–1.33). In work made after his induction in 1929 no substantial shift in style is evident, except, perhaps, that he produced less work. This reduction in production was a possible response to recognizing, after his initiation into the *Wuwutsim* society, the sacred quality of Hopi artistic endeavors. For the traditional Hopi, items Kabotie/Kabotie produced for personal use and sale may well not have been considered art at all, in the Anglo sense, but instead were regarded as sacred and utilitarian items.

Furthermore, the Hopi people were, and are, vigilant in carefully guarding against the uninitiated (Hopi or otherwise) seeing certain imagery, or sharing in confidential knowledge. These proscriptions against children witnessing certain information change as a child matures and undergoes initiation, making it impossible even for a contemporary Hopi to pinpoint what Kabotie might have seen. One might well wonder, before becoming a member of the *Wuwutsim* society, what Anglo publications and information might have been available to Kabotie on the reservation? Were the ethnographer Jesse

Walter Fewkes's *Bureau of Ethnology Annual Report* images readily available for perusal by the Hopi people? Perhaps there were copies at Keams Canyon government offices or the various trading posts?¹³⁷ Who had access to or who had copies of ethnographic journals? Would they have been shared with a young Hopi boy? After he left Hopi to attend the Santa Fe Boarding School as a fifteen-year-old,¹³⁸ what images would he have found available there, and what might the DeHuffs have had in their home for students to view? Earlier, Kolp, the young teacher, had described her Hopi students' fascination with the belongings in her room; perhaps Kabotie found the DeHuffs' possessions similarly fascinating.

Other Hopi works Kabotie saw might have included the first known Hopi paintings on paper, which were commissioned by Fewkes for publication in the 1899/1900 *Bureau of Ethnology Annual Report* (figures 1.34–1.37). Fewkes paid four Hopi men (Kutcahonauû/White Bear, Homovi, Winuta and an unnamed young man) to

137. Kabotie did state, in an interview with Belknap, that he never met Fewkes. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 5, 158.

138. Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie," 8. This transition, from reservation school to Indian boarding school, was no easy one. One [unnamed] Hopi records the following regarding his transfer to Sherman in 1914:

When I entered school it was just like entering school for Army or soldiering. Every morning we were rolled out of bed and the biggest part of the time we would have to line up and put guns in our hands... When a man gave a command, we had to stand at attention, another command grab our guns, and then march off at another command. David Wallace Adams, "Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887–1917," *Pacific Historical Review* 48, no. 3 (1979): 347.

In his interviews with Belknap, Kabotie states that he was promised if he went to boarding school he could come home after one to three years. It was this promise that convinced him it was a good idea to leave his family and end the "game" of hiding from the government. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 3, 74.

create over 250 drawings of Hopi Katsinas,¹³⁹ stipulating that the published work be uninfluenced by the arts of whites. Fewkes refused the unnamed artist's paintings because he perceived them as stylistically "tainted" by his student days at Haskell Indian School.

Fewkes writes, in *Hopi Kachinas Drawn by Native Artists*:

A boy who had attended a Government school in Lawrence, Kansas, also made a few paintings, but as they show the influence of instruction in this school they are not valuable for the purpose had in mind in publishing this collection, and they have not been reproduced here.¹⁴⁰

Whether Kabotie became aware of these paintings before he traveled to Santa Fe, he surely encountered them in reproductions printed in publications when he worked at the Museum of New Mexico print shop, beginning about 1925.¹⁴¹ Although other publications may have had an impact on Kabotie's art before attending Santa Fe Boarding School, once he began work for Hewett at the Museum of New Mexico, he was exposed to many more. Among his jobs at the museum was binding volumes of *National Geographic*,¹⁴² and one can imagine him spending a considerable amount of time

139. Over 250 figures are reproduced in Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas, Drawn by Native Artists," in *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1899-1900* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), 3-126, accessed January 3, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu21smit>.

140. Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas Drawn by Native Artists," 14.

141. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 35.

142. A review of these early *National Geographic* magazines reveals close to 100 articles mentioning American Indians, with dozens focused on the Southwest, and several major articles relating to the Hopi people themselves. These include: Edward Curtis, "North American Indians," 18 (July, 1907) 469-84; Marion L. Oliver, "The Snake Dance," 22 (February, 1911): 107-137; Gilbert H. Grosvenor, "The Land of the Best," 29 (April 1916,): 327-430; "New National Geographic Expedition: Ruins of Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, Nature-Made Treasure-Chest of Aboriginal American History, to be Excavated and Studied; Work Begins This Month," and "Scenes from America's Southwest." 39 (June, 1921): 637-43 and 651-64; "Scenes in Many Lands," which includes a photograph by Franklin Price Knott of Nampeyo, entitled, "The

studying this publication in the process, especially articles such as the July 1907 “North American Indians,” featuring photography by Edward S. Curtis; the February 1911 “The Snake Dance,” by Marion L. Oliver with photography by “A. C. Vroman of Pasadena, California;” and the January 1915 “From the War-Path to the Plow” written by Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior.¹⁴³ Kabotie also set type for the museum journal, *El Palacio*, furthering his opportunities to closely study popular imagery. No doubt, he found time to look at the many books and artworks in the museum’s growing collections. Probably earlier, but at the very latest by 1932, when he painted murals and created an altar at the Grand Canyon Watchtower, Kabotie was acquainted with John Bourke’s book *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona*, with its reproductions of Hopi altars, which Kabotie replicated in his *Germinator* image¹⁴⁴ (figures 1.38 and 1.39).

Adding to these powerful images were carefully crafted everyday utensils. Powell describes Hopi women as having “great skill” in ceramic art and emphasizes, “In every house vessels of stone and pottery are found in great abundance.”¹⁴⁵ And so one can conclude that Kabotie was immersed in Hopi arts from birth to age fifteen when he left

Greatest Artist of Her Tribe,” 30 (September 1916): 245; Earl H. Morris, “Exploring in the Canyon of Death,” 47 (September 1925): 263–300; and Neil M. Judd, “Everyday Life in Pueblo Bonito,” 47 (September 1925): 227–62.

143. Curtis, Vol. 18, 469–84; Oliver, Vol. 22, 107–137; Lane, Vol. 27, 73–87.

144. Welton, “Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie,” 19.

145. Powell, *Hopi Villages*, 20.

the reservation for Santa Fe; whether or not he considered these elements as art, souvenirs, utensils or sacred objects, their stylistic elements would have informed any development of the Santa Fe Style, which he developed during his decade living in Santa Fe from 1915 to 1925. When he was asked, at age twenty-two--after commencement from the Santa Fe High School, and after a time when he was grounded in the Hopi visual culture with which he had come in contact and the aspects of the dominant white culture he had accrued through mainstream schooling and extracurricular art activities--if he planned to return to Hopi, his response (according to Elizabeth Willis DeHuff) was, “What good would all of these years of education do me if I returned to an Indian pueblo?”¹⁴⁶

146. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, “A Hopi Indian Artist (Internationally Known at the Age of 22 Years,” n.d., Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 6, folder 29), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. This manuscript was probably written circa 1924, as Willis DeHuff discloses, “For six years now he [Fred Kabotie] has come in and out of my house almost daily as a member of the family.” Although in a letter to Kabotie written years later in 1976, she claims:

You might remember that although you drew every picture to illustrate TAYTAY’S TALES, except one that Otis Polelonima drew, I included that one drawing so that his name could appear in the book, I purposely did that so that Otis could not return to Shingopavy and make trouble for you with the old men or councilors. A younger boy, named something Crispin, from Santo Domingo painted a small picture and I sold it for him for \$1.50. Another Santo Domingo boy went home and told on him. The Old Men came and took him home for a week-end with some excuse to Mr. DeHuff. When Crispin returned he had been badly treated and he was afraid to come near me not to paint another picture. I did not want anything unpleasant to happen to you.

This letter clarifies Willis DeHuff’s awareness that Kabotie might well return to Hopi. It also suggests that once Kabotie returned to the reservation, he would have been most careful about what he painted for sale. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff to Fred Kabotie, February 28, 1976, carbon copy in Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Nampeyo (“Snake that does not Bite”)

Perhaps the first Native American individual renowned for her artistic production was Nampeyo (c. 1860–1942) (figure 1.40), who advanced a Hopi pottery style in which she chose to incorporate and develop abstract designs based on pots and potsherds commonly scattered about the ruins of the ancient Hopi villages, beginning in the 1890s and continuing to the end of her life in 1942.¹⁴⁷ Mary-Russell and Harold Colton, founders of the Museum of Northern Arizona, conclude, “Nampeyo’s fame as a potter is founded on the fact that she was the first Indian to initiate an art movement among her own people.”¹⁴⁸

Kabotie grew up amid multiple styles of Hopi pottery, but more significantly, he knew the immensely successful Nampeyo,¹⁴⁹ who was born sometime between 1856 and 1860 in the First Mesa village of Hano.¹⁵⁰ Hano is the only non-Hopi village on the Hopi reservation; it was settled by a group of Tewa people seeking asylum from Spanish reprisals after the Pueblo Revolt and is located adjacent to and northeast of the village of Walpi on First Mesa; Hopi legend says they were granted this asylum in exchange for protecting the Hopi from the Spanish as well (figure 1.6, map).

147. An excellent article on Nampeyo, published just a two weeks before the submission of this dissertation, is David S. Schramm, “The Pots That Launched a Revolution (or at Least a Revival),” *American Indian Art*, Winter 2014, 56-69. Schramm’s discussion and conclusions parallel this author’s, while offering more complete detail than allowed herein.

148. Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton and Harold S. Colton, “An Appreciation of the Art of Nampeyo and Her Influence on Hopi Pottery,” *Plateau* 15, no. 3 (1943): 43–45.

149. In Anglo-American terms of sales.

150. Collins, *Nampeyo*, 8. Edmund Nequatewa dates her birth between 1859 and 1860 in his article, “Nampeyo, Famous Hopi Potter” *Plateau* 15, no. 3 (1943): 40–42.

First Mesa was considered the epicenter of Hopi pottery, Second Mesa of coiled basket making and Third Mesa of wicker plaques. Hano was recognized for producing “the best water jars, cook pots and storage jars among the Hopi, [but] the few decorated vessels that they made, were of a very inferior grade.” The First Mesa village of Walpi, on the other hand, was known for its better-decorated pottery.¹⁵¹

What this dissertation will call the Hopi Revival Style of pottery¹⁵² originated when Nampeyo, who was of both Hopi and Tewa descent,¹⁵³ moved beyond traditional local styles and created pots based on her own reinterpretation of ancient potsherd designs she encountered littering the ground of the ruins of Sikyatki (abandoned in approximately 1500¹⁵⁴ and lying just below her First Mesa home) as well as other Hopi ruins¹⁵⁵ (figures 1.41 and 1.42). Being of partially Tewa descent, Nampeyo was possibly

151. The Coltons do not explain what they mean by “inferior grade.” Colton and Colton, “Art of Nampeyo,” 43.

152. Although it is commonly referred to as Sikyatki Style, Joseph Traugott firmly establishes that Nampeyo carefully studied other ancient pots and potsherds as well, especially those found at Songóopavi. He more strikingly ascertains that Nampeyo pulled more from the designs of ancient Songóopavi than from Sikyatki. Joseph Traugott, “Fewkes and Nampeyo: Clarifying a Myth-Understanding,” in *Native American Art*, ed. Rushing, 7–19.

153. Her father was a Hopi from Walpi and a member of the Snake Clan, while her mother was a Tewa of Hano.

154. Lomatuway’ma, Lomatuway’ma, and Namingha, *Hopi Ruin Legends*, 119.

155. As explained by the Museum of Northern Arizona staff on the museum’s website in “Ceramics Field Identification Manual for Sikyatki Polychrome,” accessed July 23, 2013, <http://www.musnaz.org/cfim/JedditoYellowWare/SikyatkiPoly/SPbackground.shtml>:

Early Sikyatki is composed of the addition of red paint to black on yellow designs... In the early style, “designs are geometric, and the red paint is used to outline black solid areas” while the later style makes use of life forms and asymmetrical designs and the “red is used in solid areas outlined by black” (Hays 1991:26). The late style can in turn be divided into several chronologically distinct phases, but we do not include post-1400 styles here...

freed her from stringent Hopi restrictions about reproducing ancient designs.

Consequently by the act of adapting those designs for her own work, she inadvertently initiated a pan-Hopi renaissance predicated on reinterpretations of precontact Hopi schemas in which Kabotie would subsequently participate via several murals and at least one painting. Apparently, later, he looked particularly carefully at Fewkes's publications, particularly the Bureau of Ethnology Annual Reports, as evidenced in murals painted in 1949 at the Painted Desert.¹⁵⁶ Kabotie's interest in ancient pottery designs is further

Colton (1956) proposed a beginning date of 1400 for Sikyatki Polychrome. At the Homol'ovi sites, Sikyatki appears to date from 1375, containing primarily early styles of the type before the sites were abandoned around 1400 (Adams 2004; Hays 1991). Benitez (1998:31), on the other hand argues for a "best" date around 1350 for the early style and 1400 for the late variety. His dating of the type was based on both a "tree-ring ranking method" (based on tree ring association with pottery and the context of both) and a "cross dating ranking method" (based on context of JYW association with other pottery types strength of a post 1325 date) (Benitez 1998:30). Hays-Gilpin (telephone conversation with the author, 2005) suggests that because Sikyatki Polychrome was apparently absent at Puerco Ruin, which was probably occupied past 1350, and at Homol'ovi III, which likely was used seasonally after 1350, the type probably did not begin that early. Based on the occupation span of the Western Mound at Awatovi, Smith (1971) suggests a possible 1375 date for early Sikyatki Polychrome, based on its virtual non-presence in the ceramic assemblage of the Western Mound.

Thus, early style Sikyatki Polychrome probably dates to A.D. 1375 or just before (Hays 1991; Smith 1971); while mid-style Sikyatki Polychrome developed by, or just before, A.D. 1400 (Hays 1991); late style Sikyatki Polychrome further developed around the middle of the 15th century (Hays 1991); and the type Awatovi Polychrome (essentially late style Sikyatki Polychrome with the addition of engraving through painted designs) developed likely in the last half of the 15th century. Colton and Hargrave 1937; Hays, personal communication, 2005.

156. Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie," 60–84, 95–101.

evidenced in his 1945 publication supported by a Guggenheim fellowship, *Mimbres: With a Hopi Interpretation*.¹⁵⁷

In 1871, when Major John Wesley Powell traveled through Hopi, First Mesa villages and Oraibi were the only ones he cited as making pottery, but he said it was of inferior quality (without explaining what this meant to him).¹⁵⁸ As understood by Indian art collector John E. Collins, Nampeyo learned the art of pottery making from her grandmother in the First Mesa village of Walpi, although it should be noted that Barbara Kramer contradicts this, stating that this is a fallacy and that, in fact, Nampeyo learned pottery making from her Corn clan mother in 1892.¹⁵⁹ Collins also asserts that:

They say that in the time of Nampeyo's girlhood the best pottery was made at Walpi and the style of design in use at that time contained many Zuñi elements, and the motif called the "rain bird."¹⁶⁰

Alexander M. Stephen collaborates Powell in his journal, saying that, "The Walpi women... alone understand the art of pottery and its decoration. Hano women do make some pottery and decorate it, but it is not beautiful. I called their attention to Nampeyo,

157. Fred Kabotie, *Designs from the Ancient Mimbres: With a Hopi Interpretation* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1982).

158. Hough, "Ancient Hopi Pottery Art," 322–23. Unfortunately Hough does not give us a source for this claim. Powell does not make this statement in his 1875 *The Hopi Villages: The Ancient Province of Tusayan*.

159. Collins, *Nampeyo*, 9; Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 13, 14, 189.

160. Wright, *Hopi Material Culture*, 9.

but they said she was the exception and had learned her art from the Hopi [Walpi] women.”¹⁶¹

Nampeyo may have been the first nationally and internationally celebrated Hopi artist,¹⁶² but she was not the sole artist to adapt ancient Sikyatki designs to modern pottery, and she may not even have been the first. Stephen, who also lived among the Tewa people in Hano village, notes that as early as 1893 several local women were creating revival pottery. He writes in his daily journal of this, commenting on one potter, “She does not approach Nümpe’yo, the distinguished Tewa potter in artistic skill...like Nümpe’yo she tells me she makes her designs after some she has seen on ancient ware, but knows nothing of their significance.”¹⁶³ Although nothing is known of her earliest pottery,¹⁶⁴ by 1890 Nampeyo was recognized as being an exemplary potter. By the time trading posts were established in the area, she was consistently producing a better class of

161. Parsons, *Alexander M. Stephen*, 1020–1022.

162. *The New York Times* special correspondent E. A. Barber’s reports discuss her and her work, and she was photographed repeatedly by his traveling companion, photographer William Henry Jackson; William Henry Jackson, *The Pioneer Photographer: Rocky Mountain Adventures with a Camera* (Yonkers-On-Hudson, New York: World Book, 1929), 256. See also Bob Blair, ed., *William Henry Jackson’s: “The Pioneer Photographer”* (Santa Fe: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 156.

163. Parsons, *Alexander M. Stephen*, 130.

164. According to David H. Snow, Curator of Archeology at the Museum of New Mexico, Laboratory of Anthropology, pottery-making for sale to Anglos was a relatively new occupation, although trading goods was not a new concept to the Southwestern Natives. As production for sales to Anglos increased, pottery made for barter to Native Americans decreased. “By 1900, increasing demand by tourists for souvenirs and increasingly stiff competition from mass-produced stoneware... rendered most Indian pottery unserviceable and had reduced it to the status of bric-a-brac.” David H. Snow, “Some Economic Considerations of Historic Rio Grande Pueblo Pottery,” in *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians: A Historic Perspective*, ed. Albert H. Schroeder (Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1973), 57–58.

earthenware that commanded higher prices, perhaps initially utilizing the designs that she had learned from her grandmother (her work with Sikyatki and other ancient iconography apparently came later).¹⁶⁵ However, few outside of Hopi were aware of her work--until the arrival of Jesse Walter Fewkes. Under the sponsorship of a wealthy Boston woman, Mary Hemenway, Fewkes first traveled to Hopi in 1891 as the new leader of the Hemenway Expedition.¹⁶⁶ Soon after his arrival at First Mesa he met Stephen, and “enlisted Stephen to record details of the ceremonies for him. As a consequence of Stephen’s cooperation, Fewkes wrote authoritative reports.”¹⁶⁷

Fewkes also had a major impact on the marketing of Hopi works. He returned to Boston, whereupon he described Thomas Keam’s collection of Hopi works to Hemenway, and she then determined to purchase the entire group. In a sale brokered by Fewkes when he returned to Hopi in 1892, Hemenway paid Keam \$10,000 for his collection, an enormous sum at the time; the group of work became known as the *Thomas V. Keam Collection of Material Culture*. It was subsequently shown at the Columbian

165. Nequatewa, “Nampeyo,” 40.

166. Historian and author, Laura Graves relates, in *Thomas Varker Keam: Indian Trader*:

The Hemenway Expedition began in 1886 with Frank Cushing as director. Cushing...proposed to excavate several significant ruins in central and southern Arizona... It comprised a staff of scientists...[including] Professor Adolph Bandelier, a historian; F.W. Hodge, the expedition’s secretary....Cushing’s health...forced him to abandon his position as head of the expedition....In 1888 a new director was named to head the expedition. The board chose Dr. Jesse Walter Fewkes, a man with no anthropological training or experience but who was a former Harvard classmate of [Mary Tileston Hemenway’s son] Augustus Hemenway. Presumably Bourke, Matthews, Cushing, and Baxter opposed the nomination, but they must have realized that the Ivy League network was more formidable; (158–59).

167. Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 45.

Historical Exposition in Madrid (where Fewkes oversaw its installation), and eventually was given to the Peabody Museum at Harvard University.¹⁶⁸

In 1895 Fewkes returned to Hopi, this time on assignment for the Bureau of American Ethnology, with instructions to assemble a representative collection of Puebloan objects. Disappointed in his initial findings in the Rio Verde valley, he moved to Antelope Mesa where he hired a Hopi labor crew, which included Nampeyo's husband, Lesou.¹⁶⁹ Subsequently, Fewkes avowed that Nampeyo began her revival of precontact Sikyatki-style polychrome in the mid-90's after Lesou brought home shards from the excavation site where he worked for Fewkes.¹⁷⁰

Contradicting this, Stephen and most scholars agree that Nampeyo studied the ancient pieces she found herself, and was already developing her own pottery paintings based on abstract designs she saw on shards from Sikyatki and other ruins. For instance, Columbia anthropology professor Ruth Bunzel quotes Nampeyo as saying, "When I first began to paint, I used to go to the ancient village and pick up pieces of pottery and copy

168. Kramer, *Nampeyo*, 46–52.

169. *Ibid.*, 61. See also Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Archeological Expedition into Arizona in 1895" Part 2 of *Seventeenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution: 1895-1896* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 592, accessed January 6, 2014, <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org>.

170. Fewkes and his crew excavated pre-Columbian Sikyatki Polychrome, a yellow ware decorated with black designs and sometimes enhanced with reds, which is the same pottery Nampeyo based her designs on. The following year, in 1896, Fewkes excavated at the base of the village of Songòpavi, at a site littered with pottery fragments, "the finest old Tusayan [Hopi] ware, cream and red being the predominating colors" and Kramer reports that Nampeyo copied designs from Fewkes' work at Songòpavi; *Nampeyo*, 61.

the designs.”¹⁷¹ Collins, among others, puts forward the idea that Nampeyo and her husband, Lesou,¹⁷² gathered precontact pottery fragments for graphic inspiration.¹⁷³ Wright correspondingly cites a report to photographer William H. Jackson in 1891 by “Navajo Jake” that “Num-pa-yu” was esteemed as the greatest pottery-maker among the Moqui.¹⁷⁴ According to independent scholar Barbara Kramer, Nampeyo was gathering potsherds from nearby ruins and adapting designs from them before Fewkes arrived in Arizona. This assertion is reasonable for another reason: among Pueblo potters, ground fragments of old pots are commonly incorporated into new pots, to enable the clay to fire without cracking.¹⁷⁵ Surely the interest of anthropologists and other outsiders would have catalyzed the close examination of these ancient shards. It is only makes sense to envision the potters at a certain point studying these fragments while trying to mentally reconstruct the design of the whole.

Adding another facet to this narrative, Hopi Edmund Nequatewa ascribes a large share of the credit for Nampeyo’s design divergence to Lesou: “When Dr. Fewkes came to the Hopi Reservation in 1895 to excavate the Sikyatki Ruin, he asked the Hopi for

171. Ruth L. Bunzel, *The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 56.

172. Alternate spellings include Lesso and Lessou; Edmund Nequatewa (“Nampeyo,” 40–42), uses Lesou, so this dissertation will as well.

173. Collins, *Nampeyo*, n.p.

174. Wright, *Hopi Material Culture*, 9.

175. When the author took a pottery making class from Delores Lewis Garcia and Emma Lewis Mitchel, daughters of Acoma pottery matriarch Lucy Lewis, they related that this practice of grinding old shards and pieces of broken ceramics incorporates the spirits of the old pot into the new as well.

help, to work on this job, and Lesou...was among the group of Hopi men that came.”¹⁷⁶

While helping with excavation, Lesou became very much interested in the designs, and also in the types of pottery that were being excavated.

He thought that his wife surely would be interested too, so he saved some potsherds, or pieces of broken pottery, with some attractive designs on them and took them home to show her; sure enough his wife was very much interested, and she copied and used these designs on her pottery. This new type of design, of course, appealed to the traders very much. However, the designs would not do so well on the old forms of pottery that she was making at that time, so she started making the Sikyatki forms.... Lesou thought that if his wife used a different design on each jar that she made she might get more money for her pottery, so he used to go to Awatovi looking for more different kinds of designs, and he also made some trips to Tsu-ku-vi, Pa-yup-ki and to many other ruins on the reservation.... When Nampeyo’s eyes had gone bad, her husband Lesou used to paint the designs on her pots, and he really was good as his wife in decorating pottery, so that he should be rightly given credit for helping.¹⁷⁷

Fewkes’s efforts helped to make these pots a topic worthy of national discussion and Nampeyo continued to sell pottery to Fewkes over the ensuing years, as well as to other Euro-American scholars. Certainly Fewkes returned on numerous occasions and maintained relationships with several families, while he continued to publish articles on Hopi .

176. Alexander E. Anthony, Jr, owner of Adobe Gallery in Santa Fe, relates in the catalog *Nampeyo of Hano and Five Generations of her Descendants* (Albuquerque, NM: Adobe Gallery, 1984) n.p., that Lesou brought her pot sherds back from the excavations at Sikyatki and she began to make pieces based on those designs that were an immediate success. He also relates that she discovered the old Sikyatki clay beds and began using that clay to give her pots a golden yellow color. Anthony posits that her “painted designs returned to more traditional Hopi elements, but the compositions were entirely Nampeyo’s creation.” He continues, “However, rather than considering Nampeyo’s art to be simply a revival, it is more useful to think of the concepts that she rejected and the obstacles she overcame.”

177. Nequatewa, “Nampeyo,” 40–42.

At the same time she was revisiting ancient Hopi styles, Nampeyo's work correlated with the American Arts and Crafts ethos; (figures 1.43–1.47, circa 1907). Her pots were sold extensively in local trading posts, possibly including the First Mesa trading post owned and operated by her brother, Thomas Polacca,¹⁷⁸ and definitely in that of her neighbor Thomas Keam (whose post, as mentioned earlier, was purchased by members of the Hubbell family in May 1902 to expand their chain of trading posts¹⁷⁹). Other eager markets included the Harvey Company stores along the Santa Fe Railroad line, which heavily promoted her by name in their travel publications.

Nampeyo's work was even more highly sought after by tourists after the release of publications such as George A. Dorsey's 1903 *Indians of the Southwest*, published by the Passenger Department of the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System. Dorsey included two photographs of Nampeyo, one citing her by name, "Nampeyo of Hano." He editorializes, "Probably the most interesting pottery to be found in the Southwest are the ancient bowls of the so-called yellow ware discovered in such great quantities among the ruins lying along the Little Colorado River and in the ruins of Tusayan proper."

It might be posited that, similarly to New Mexican John Lorenzo Hubbell (1853–1930), who provided local Navajo weavers with preferred designs and colors for rugs to be sold to Euro-Americans visiting his many trading posts,¹⁸⁰ Thomas Keam and the

178. Kramer questions this common assertion that Polacca ran a trading post. *Nampeyo*, 191.

179. Graves, *Keam*, 227; and Thomas Keam to John Lorenzo Hubbell, May 14, 1902; Keam folder, box 47, Hubbell Trading Post Records AZ 375, subgroup 1: correspondence, 1884–1968, series 1, incoming, University of Arizona Special Collections.

180. Hubbell bought his first trading post in 1878, ten years after the Navajo were allowed to return to New Mexico after being exiled for four years in Bosque Redondo, Fort Sumner, New Mexico. According to the National Park Service, "At various times, he and his two sons, together

managers of the Santa Fe Railroad's gift shops provided Nampeyo (and other potters) both guidelines and feedback for shapes, sizes and designs that sold particularly well.¹⁸¹ At the very least, they would have been inclined to go after the pieces they could sell easily and get the highest prices for (thereby maximizing their profits), and their requests would have been honored, even if made indirectly.

Kramer places the peak innovation in Nampeyo's work between 1900 and 1917, by which time Nampeyo was reproducing designs not only from Sikyatki, but also Awatovi, Tsu-ku-vi and Pa-yup-ki and Songdopavi.¹⁸² These years would have been the period when she was able to produce pottery without considerable help from family members in painting her designs. Nampeyo was first treated for the progressive eye disease trachoma in 1901, and had lost most of her eyesight by 1920, as attested to by archaeologist Neil M. Judd,¹⁸³ who recalled that by the time he met her in 1951, "Nampeyo was already nearly blind."¹⁸⁴ She and her work remained popular well after she began to lose her sight, as indicated in 1914 when American ethnologist (and

or separately, owned 24 trading posts, a wholesale house in Winslow, and other business and ranch properties. Beyond question, he was the foremost Navajo trader of his time." "History and Culture: A Brief History of Hubbell Trading Post," National Park Service, accessed June 5, 2013, <http://www.nps.gov/hutr/historyculture/index.htm>.

181. Although it should also be pointed out that Keam did not "help the Navaho weavers of his region develop a pattern or style that might be identified with himself or his trading post" (Frank McNitt, *Indian Traders* [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962], 191), apparently it was not uncommon for traders to provide guidance for their weavers. See Robert Hobbs, "Ganado Style Navajo Rugs and the Arts and Crafts Movement," collection of the author.

182. Colton and Colton, "Art of Nampeyo," n.p.

183. Judd (1887–1976) studied archaeology under Hewett, and became curator of archaeology at the United States National Museum (later part of the Smithsonian).

184. Judd, "Nampeyo: An Additional Note," *Plateau*, 24, no. 2 (1951): 92–93.

Fewkes's assistant) Walter Hough (1859–1935) wrote, “Nampeo is the best potter at Hano and her work shows her to be a worthy descendant of the ancient artists, whose graceful vessels lie with the bones of the dead beneath the sands of the great Southwest.”¹⁸⁵ Hough also claims that everyone who visited Hopi (Tusayan) wanted to bring home a sample of Nampeyo's work. “Fortunately her pottery was in demand from the outset, and during the score of years of its production she has through it made a living, and achieved distinction, having become the best known of the Hopi.”¹⁸⁶

Nampeyo's accomplishments can only be described as remarkable. Hunter College Professor of Ceramics, Susan Peterson, observed:

It was not easy in those days...for a pueblo potter to deviate from the traditional forms and designs that had ceremonial roots...Nampeyo took the basic patterns from the ancient paintings she saw on the shards, used the style ingeniously in her own way, and influenced a whole pueblo.¹⁸⁷

Nampeyo surfaced as an artist at a time of enormous socio-cultural change among the Hopi people, just as they were beginning to interact more fully with the outside world. Her pottery was created out of a need to represent a new set of interactions along with a fresh interpretation by Hopi of the tribes' identity over a much longer period of time. The Hopi Revival Style was instigated, then, by a self-consciously Hopi-Tewa potter who directed her work to a mainstream Anglo-American audience, and she based it on the revival and reinvention of long-dormant artistic forms. This style evolved via

185. Hough, *The Hopi Indians* (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1915), 118.

186. Hough, “Ancient Hopi Pottery Art,” 320–24.

187. Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), 55.

contact with such influential outsiders as trading post owner Thomas Varker Keam and Jesse Walter Fewkes, as well as active commercial motivations that responded to new needs and markets.

It is important to underscore the fact that neither Nampeyo's nor Kabotie's work was made for tribal use (although both artists made personal ceremonial pieces, which were never for sale). Kabotie's emergence as an artist, and his development of the Santa Fe Style, followed Nampeyo's successes, and indubitably he monitored her accomplishments closely—indeed, he is known to have fostered them. Peterson concludes, “Even with her fame from the railroad brochures and the Harvey Company stores, Nampeyo was not known to museum scholars in Santa Fe. Fred Kabotie, the famous Hopi painter, told me how he brought Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe to visit with Nampeyo in 1922.”¹⁸⁸

188. Peterson quotes Kabotie as telling her:

We borrowed cars and bed rolls for going up there. It took four or five days [the distance between First Mesa, Arizona and Santa Fe, New Mexico, is close to 305 miles]. I remember we spent a night at Grants, barely made it so rainy. We went through Gallup, then the third night at Steamboat, over the hill between Window Rock and Ganado. No road but end up in a Navajo Hogan. Most of the time Hewett was walking. The Model T had no power. We would go up a hill backwards with the car. We found Nampeyo. She had some pottery with wonderful painting on it sitting on a stack of corn, some broken. Dr. Hewett had men from Washington (Smithsonian Institution) and New York (Heye Foundation). These men bought all the potteries, even broken. My, my, Hewett thought they were so good he even bought the broken ones. Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women*, 56.

Also found in: Blair and Blair, *Nampeyo*, 174, quoting Susan Peterson, *Master Pueblo Potters* (New York, ACA Galleries, 1980), (exhibition catalog). The Blairs add the caveat that “Any Nampeyo pottery with “wonderful painting” in 1922 probably had design applied by Nampeyo's children;” 247 n10.

Conclusion

The Hopi world from which Kabotie departed in 1915 when he left his home and family to attend the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School had offered him few positive experiences with the encroaching white culture. In Santa Fe he was greeted by a military-style academy run much like the early Hampton and Carlisle schools.¹⁸⁹ Kabotie recalls the noisiness of the school when he arrived, and the fact that it was so cold he had to wear his coat all the time. The dorms were on the second floor, and his was overseen by Mr. Syens, a stern disciplinarian who would shout “Roll Out” in the mornings when the bugles sounded. The children would go to wash up; another bugle sounded and they would line up and march to the dining hall, “boys on one side and the other side, the other section, was for the girls.”¹⁹⁰ The children were roused from sleep at daybreak, forced to march in formation with stick guns, underfed foods alien to them, dressed in clothes they found stiff and uncomfortable, and compelled to speak only the foreign (to them) English language. This must have been formidable enough, but in addition Indian students arriving from traditional homes had tremendous challenges learning the language and the

189. Alice Kabotie was sent to the Phoenix Indian School when she was about eleven years old. She recalls another young Hopi girl being at the school and interpreting for the new arrivals, who, of course, spoke no English.

You told Mona Lee your name and a lot of other things. She would then explain to the lady who was issuing out the clothes to us. After you finished, the next one would come in. Then they took all of us to the shower room and gave us a bath. I don't know what happened to the clothes that we wore from home. They just took them and laundered them, I guess. Later on, we found out that they took them down to the Pima Reservation for the Pimas. I lost all my silver buttons. (Kabotie and Lomayesva, *Interview*, 10)

190. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 3, 79.

practices and beliefs focusing on a western “attitude of science.”¹⁹¹ Former student Tony Reyna recalls, “We had to march to everywhere, march to class, march to dinner, to the dining room, march to church, dress in uniform, then we weren’t allowed to talk in our language.”¹⁹² The clothing was not only uncomfortable, but it was confusing. For example, the boys’ clothes had button flies, but the boys did not know how to button them. “A lot of us did not know how to work the buttons in front, recalled a Navajo boy, “and many just wet themselves.”¹⁹³ Kabotie endured this existence for a year before Elizabeth Willis DeHuff arrived at the school, an event that changed his life and catalyzed the birth of the Santa Fe Style.

191. Vine Deloria, Jr. and Daniel R. Wildcat, *Power and Place: Indian Education in America* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001), 59.

192. Tony Reyna was a student from 1930–1934. McGeough, *Through Their Eyes*, 21.

193. Michael L. Cooper, *Indian School: Teaching the White Man’s Way* (New York: Clarion Books, 1999), 39.

Chapter Two

Teachers College, John Dewey and Pedagogy in the Early 1900s:

How these Ideas Informed Elizabeth Willis

Fred Kabotie's genesis as a professional artist first drew on his interaction with Willis DeHuff, enabling him to develop the Santa Fe Style. Some foundations for Kabotie's artistic training will be revealed by looking at Willis DeHuff's art pedagogy, beginning with its basis in her cultural and educational background. By briefly examining the arts she would have encountered during her Georgia childhood, including her secondary art studies at the Lucy Cobb Institute, and college days in New York, this study develop a means for accessing the far-ranging underpinnings of the Santa Fe Style. This chapter combined with the next four chapters serves as the basis for the dissertation's broader aim of analyzing the formation of Kabotie's art and its development.

Willis graduated from Lucy Cobb in 1905, but because the University of Georgia was not accepting female students in 1907, she attended Columbia University Teachers and Barnard Colleges in New York City (after an undocumented period in Athens, as a teacher at a public school). By the turn of the century, Columbia University's Teachers College was considered the

premier institution of its kind, and the student body of Teachers College had grown from an initial 18 students in 1888 to 845 in 1906.¹

1. Columbia University Teachers College, *Class Book: Teachers College 1906* (New York: Duysters Press, 1906; facsimile repr., Charleston, SC: Nabu Press, 2010), 6. For the early days of Teachers, see also, Grace H. Dodge, *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Teachers College* (1899; repr., New York: Teachers College, 1980).

Teachers College had sixty-two doctoral level students in 1910, (that same year a total of thirteen Ph.Ds. in Education were awarded in the entire nation). There is little question it was, and is, an excellent school; university degree opportunities for women at the turn of the century were scarce; yet despite their university degrees, women rarely obtained jobs in administration or as college level faculty. Indeed, Willis, as a graduate of Teachers College, would never have the opportunities of her future husband, and traveling to the Philippines, as a teacher may well have been her best job opportunity.

Elizabeth Willis: Formative Years in Athens, Georgia

In investigating Elizabeth Willis's (c. 1886–1983) youth and cultural background, one can deduce the sorts of art forms to which she might have been exposed in her early years. In light of gaps in actual biographical data, in a Foucauldian process this section of the dissertation by necessity extrapolates information from comparative examples, but will always note when doing so.

In order to assess Willis's early exposure to art pedagogies, it is first necessary to review the historical period in which she lived and developed her ideas about art. During her childhood her hometown of Athens, Georgia was still recovering from the effects of the Civil War (1861–1865). She grew up in a middle class home, which, if typical of the average American home of the day, would have displayed on its walls perhaps a family portrait or two, possibly along with reproductions of landscapes and other current art (figures 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3).

Paintings in the homes of post-Civil War Southern America often served as chronicles of specific historical time.² This is of importance as this dissertation looks at the manner of work Kabotie produced under Willis DeHuff's guidance; particularly since his early watercolor paintings are clearly narrative in scope, telling stories of life in the Hopi homeland. This dissertation establishes that interactions between Kabotie and Willis DeHuff in fact did impact his choice of subject matter.³ Indeed, she would have introduced Kabotie to an entire new world. As Native American painter George Morrison told Margot Fortunato Galt:

2. William Underwood Eiland, "Picture This: Observations on Storytelling in the South," in *Tales from the Easel: American Narrative Paintings from Southeastern Museums, circa 1800–1950*, ed. Charles C. Eldredge (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 1–2.

3. Many have claimed, over the years, that Kabotie and other early painters worked without influences from their white patrons. Instead of looking at influences, which would make Kabotie a passive recipient of ideas formulated by others, this dissertation has sought to manifest Kabotie's empowerment by looking at the discourses in which he actively contributed. For instance, in his 1931 article, "American Indian

When I was going into high school...I was pretty green about a lot of things. I didn't know what art was all about, even though I knew how to draw. You don't realize the vastness of art until you begin to experience your own life, and then stories that relate to your life, and what other artists and authors are doing in regard to their work, writing about their own times and their own experience.⁴

Similarly, Kabotie arrived at the Santa Fe Boarding School with little or no concept of western art, and it was by Willis DeHuff that he was taught his first lessons on the subject. Willis was born and reared in Athens, Georgia,⁵ where, in turn, her early childhood exposure to arts would have been confined to familial and educational experiences, as there were no fine art museums readily available.⁶

Water Colors," C. Norris Millington says, "Amazing as it is true, a group of American Indian artists from several tribes have adopted this foreign medium of expression and yet do not show the slightest trace of foreign or white influence in subject, technic or treatment." C. Norris Millington, "American Indian Water Colors," *American Magazine of Art* (August 1932): 83–92. The formalization of this idea was so complete that by 1932, Aqua Pi won a first place prize in a competition because the painting was "uninfluenced by American painting." Ross S. Berry, "American Inter Tribal Art," *Art and Archaeology* (1932): 159. J. J. Brody put this idea to rest in his *Indian Painters and White Patrons*.

4. Morrison as told to Galt, *Turning the Feather Around: My Life in Art* (St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998), 43.

5. The Center for Southwest Research's online biography states, "Although her birth date is sometimes given as 1892, the best evidence suggests that she was born in 1886 to John Turner and Ann Boyd Wilson Willis of Augusta, Georgia. The five Willis children—Ralph, Elizabeth, John, Nanette, and Francis—grew up in Augusta and also spent time at the family property on Beech Island, South Carolina." "Inventory of the Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Pictorial Collection, 1899–1945," University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research, accessed October 12, 2010, <http://rmoa.unm.edu/docviewer.php?docId=nmu1pict000-099.xml>.

Upon investigation, the author found Elizabeth Mary Willis, daughter of John Turner Willis and Ann Boyd Wilson, was born 27 September, 1886 in Augusta, Georgia. Her birthdate listed on GenWeb, a genealogy website on which apparently Willis DeHuff frequently posted information to after her retirement in Georgia, does seem a most reasonable date, as this would have made her 21 years of age when she went to school in New York City. GenWeb, accessed May 10, 2011, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~ssidealexandersetal/GedPages/fam/fam02111.html>.

6. According to their various home pages, The Atlanta Art Association (subsequently the High Museum) was founded in Atlanta in 1905, but the museum had no home until 1926. Since Atlanta is almost seventy miles from Athens, most likely the Willis family had little awareness of the Associations' existence. The Georgia Museum of Art, part of the University of Georgia in Athens, did not open until 1948. One of the oldest museums in the state, the Emory College Museum (now the University's Michael C. Carlos

Also directly relevant to this study is Willis's education at an elite secondary school, the Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens, Georgia,⁷ a private school which provided multiple classes in fine and decorative art. Jennie Smith (1863–1946), both a Lucy Cobb Institute graduate and popular art instructor there from 1880 to 1930 (figure 2.4), taught drawing and painting from live models (including an occasional boy from the University of Georgia, a highly unorthodox practice which delighted her female students).⁸

Museum of Art), was accessible, as it opened in 1876, with a general collection of objects (seashells, biological samples and artifacts) at the campus in Oxford some sixty miles from Athens. Also available at the time was the oldest public art museum in the South, the Telfair Museum of Art, founded in 1883 and opened in 1886 (the year Willis DeHuff was probably born), but it was located in Savannah, some 225 miles from Athens. This section also relies on e-mail correspondence with Emily Hermans, Coordinator of School Programs, The High Museum of Art, November 15, 2010; and the museum's website, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://www.high.org/main.taf?p=8,2>; the Georgia Museum of Art website, accessed November 15, 2010, <http://www.uga.edu/gamuseum/info/history.html>; and the Telfair Museum of Art website, accessed November 16, 2010; <http://telfair.org/about/history/>.

7. Phinizy Spalding, ed. and comp., *Higher Education for Women in the South: A History of Lucy Cobb Institute, 1858–1994* (Athens: Georgia Southern Press, 1994). This volume informs us that the Lucy Cobb Institute was founded in 1859 by pro-slavery author Thomas R. R. Cobb. From 1880 until 1928 his niece, Mildred Lewis Rutherford, served as headmistress. Rutherford was an active member of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, where her work made her “one of the best known women in Georgia of her day.” As of September 25, 2012, the New Georgia Encyclopedia, “Lucy Cobb Institute” (<http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/lucy-cobb-institute>) states, “Most Lucy Cobb students came from wealthy and well-established families.” Nineteenth-century schools for elite young women emphasized subjects that would enhance their gentility, including art, music, and French, and Lucy Cobb was no exception. Yet, even in its early days, the school offered a more academically serious curriculum than the stereotypical finishing school. Under the leadership of Rutherford and her sister Mary Ann Lipscomb, the curriculum became even more rigorous.

Mildred Lewis Rutherford students, or “Lucies,” as they were called, enrolled in the college preparatory track studied the sciences (including chemistry and physics), higher mathematics (algebra, geometry, trigonometry), logic, rhetoric, languages, history and literature. After 1918 the University of Georgia (UGA) accepted female students, and graduates of Lucy Cobb's collegiate program began to enroll there. In a 1916 study on women's education in the South, Elizabeth Avery Colton of the Southern Association of College Women cited the Lucy Cobb Academy to be one of the top academic institutions in Georgia. The school's alumnae became clubwomen, librarians, teachers, authors and businesswomen; one graduate, Caroline Goodwin O'Day, served in the US Congress (1935–1943). According to Paul Hicks, author of “Caroline O'Day: The Gentlewoman from New York,” (*New York History* 88 [2007], 287–305), Goodwin graduated from Lucy Cobb in 1886 and went to New York City to study at Cooper Union. Next she moved to Paris to continue her studies where she was a student of, among others, James McNeil Whistler. Goodwin showed at the 1899 and 1900 Paris Salons, a major accomplishment for any artist of the day. Whistler himself showed interest in American Natives (see his *Sketches on the Coast Survey Plate, 1854-1855*, at the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC).

Willis's art education at the Institute is reflected in her memorabilia at the Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections, housed at the University of New Mexico (figures 2.5 and 2.6), and it demonstrates that her own art works were typical of a schoolgirl. They display a charming humor, alongside a certain self-confidence, but no exceptional abilities. Although she appears to have drawn on her early art lessons at the academy, the roots of her labor strongly reflect the approach to art she was taught.

Elizabeth Willis Attends Columbia Teachers College in New York City

Teachers College was founded in 1888, chartered by New York State in 1889, and became a part of Columbia University in 1898.⁹ In that year Teachers had 169 students, and twelve years later (in 1900), 454, mostly from New York City and the immediate area. Betty Weneck, in "Social and Cultural Stratification to Women's Higher Education: Barnard College and Teachers College, 1898–1912," notes that as "early as 1892, Teachers College was attracting students from areas across the United States."¹⁰ Teachers College offered a two-year program, equivalent to the junior and senior years in college, so accepted students were required to have completed their secondary education.

Barnard was a traditional liberal arts facility for women under the jurisdiction of the then all-male Columbia University,¹¹ while Teachers offered a "professional and practical" education

8. Bessie Mell Lane, "Miss Jennie Smith and Lucy Cobb," in *Higher Education*, ed. Spalding, 273.

9. Columbia University Teachers College, *Class Book 1906*.

10. Weneck, "Social and Cultural Stratification," 1–25.

11. Barnard was established as a female liberal arts college under the all-male Columbia University in 1889 and its first class counted 26 students. The student body grew to 238 by 1896. Courses included Greek, Latin, history and math, along with sciences, physics and chemistry. The students at Barnard were

for both male and female teachers. Because of this, a social and cultural divide grew between the two institutions. Despite this rivalry, the two women's schools retained reciprocity. Apparently many Teachers students came unprepared for the rigor of the coursework, and were offered a rudimentary collegiate course as well as the opportunity to take some basic college classes at Barnard. Not as many Barnard students took advantage of the classes at Teachers, which is interesting in light of the fact that between 54 and 74 percent of female liberal arts college graduates (in eastern colleges) went on to become teachers.¹²

Willis arrived in New York in 1907, and took classes in mathematics and English at Barnard in 1907 and 1908, ostensibly to prepare for the more advanced coursework at Teachers.¹³ The same years she was on track for a Bachelor of Science degree at Teachers, taking classes in algebra, geometry, trigonometry and calculus; however, there is no record of her ever earning a degree. Despite her future accomplishments, according to a representative of the Office of the Registrar, Willis took no art classes at either school, which meant that she could not have worked with the renowned artist and teacher, Arthur Wesley Dow, who was already firmly established on the faculty of Teachers.¹⁴ If Willis had studied art with Dow, Kabotie's oeuvre might have been very different.

Teachers College had an experimental elementary school developed as an adjunct: the Horace Mann Elementary School, founded in 1887. The school offered classes in arithmetic,

also allowed to take classes in Columbia's Political Science and Philosophy departments and they could attend certain other lectures, from botany to astronomy.

12. *Ibid.*, 3, n. 11.

13. Office of the Registrar, Columbia University Teachers College, telephone conversation with author, May 10, 2010.

14. Columbia University Teachers College, *Class Book 1906*, 9.

geography, history (including history of New York), music, English, nature and physical education, as well as industrial and fine arts. The fine arts were designed to bring out the child's love of beauty. Students worked in clay, watercolors, crayon, cut paper and illustration. Pottery designs based on Southwest pottery were specifically introduced in the second grade curriculum. Art subjects included: "Fall flowers, fall fruits, arrangement of fruits for tiles; Indians in action, Indian village with wigwams, Indian costume design, Indian bowl design; Dutch figures, landscape with Dutch figures; action poses from life; winter landscape with a snow man; printing of letters; spring flowers."¹⁵

As part of his job at Teachers, Dow helped with student publications: the yearbooks (called *Class Books*), and the Arts and Crafts Club's *Art and Industry in Education: A Book Illustrative of the Principles and Problems of the Courses in the Fine and Industrial Arts at Teachers College, 1913* (which was the second issue, the date of the first is unknown). The 1906 *Class Book* (the year before Willis arrived) begins with a photograph of Dow and is dedicated to him, saying "To Professor Arthur Wesley Dow whose help and encouragement made this book possible." On page five it reads:

The College affords opportunity for the professional training, both theoretical and practical, of teachers of both sexes for secondary, grammar, and primary schools, and kindergartens; of special teachers of such technical subjects as Domestic Art, Domestic Science, Fine Arts, Manual Training, Music, Nature Study and Physical Education.¹⁶

So while attending the coeducational Teachers College in the art connoisseurs' metropolis of New York City, Willis spent four formative years of her life--a time that must have exposed

15. Columbia University Teachers College, Horace Mann Elementary School, *The Curriculum of the Horace Mann Elementary School* (New York: Teachers College, Columbian University, 1917), 133.

16. Columbia University Teachers College, *Class Book 1906*, 5.

her to a wealth of new cultural and educational ideas--but apparently she took no art classes. Despite this, as will become apparent through a study of the earlier education of Angel De Cora, Teachers College played an important, if indirect, role in the development of the Santa Fe Style.

Another significant professor at Columbia University, but one that unfortunately this dissertation does not have adequate space to investigate in relationship to the Santa Fe Style, was Franz Boas (1858–1942). At Columbia he created America’s first doctoral program in anthropology. He played a key role in the American Anthropological Association and has been called the father of American anthropology. His ideas were dispersed by his students, including Margaret Mead, Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Bunzel, Robert Lowie, Paul Radin, Alfred Kroeber, Edward Sapir and William Jones (a member of the Fox nation and one of the first Native American anthropologists), as well as by his followers, who included Claude Lévi-Strauss. In addition, Boas’ seminal 1911 book *The Mind of Primitive Man* was surely read with great interest by his fellow professional, Edgar Lee Hewett.¹⁷

17. Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man: A Course of Lectures Delivered before the Lowell Institute*, Boston, Mass., and the National University of Mexico, 1910-1911 (New York: Macmillan, 1911), and Sally Cole, review of *Elsie Clews Parsons: Inventing Modern Life*, by Desley Deacon, *Anthropologies* 39, no. 1/2 (1997).

Boas was a strong opponent of the concept of scientific racism, the understanding of each race having specific biological characteristics and intelligence levels. He pursued numerous studies countering concepts of phrenology, and he introduced culture and childhood learning as the factors that determined differences in behavior among groups. Boas was born in Westphalia, and his initial interest in America’s indigenous people was fostered by visits to the Royal Ethnological Museum in Berlin. He traveled (with his footman!) to northern Canada and the Pacific Northwest for firsthand studies of the Native people of the area, and subsequently immigrated to America in 1887. His first jobs were as a curator at the Smithsonian, the editor of *Science*, and as a docent, then head of the new anthropology department, at Clark University. He worked as chief assistant of anthropology for the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition and served as the curator of anthropology at the Field (Columbian) Museum in Chicago. Next Boas was employed by the Museum of Natural History in New York before accepting a position as lecturer at Columbia University in 1896. He was named full professor in 1899, and taught there until he retired in 1936.

(For further reading, see: Franz Boas, *Primitive Art* (New York: Dover, 1955); Ruth Benedict, “Boas, Foucault, and the ‘Native Anthropologist,’” *American Association for the Advancement of Science* 97 (January 15, 1943): 60–62; Norman F. Boas, *Franz Boas 1858–1942: An Illustrated Biography* (Mystic,

CT: Seaport Autographs Press, 2004); and Arnold Krupat, *Ethno-Criticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).)

Boas characterized Native Americans as a group that would, by necessity, fall victim to modernization, and interpreted this as a driving force behind anthropological research. “The preservation of Native-American cultural knowledge through anthropological intervention was for the benefit of “civilization, since the people themselves were bound to perish.” (Charles L. Briggs and Richard Bauman, ""The Foundation of All Future Researches": Franz Boas, Native American Texts, and the Construction of Modernity," *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (September 1999): 515, doi:10.1353/aq.1999.0036.)

Aldona Jonaitis, Director of the University of Alaska Museum of the North, states in *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art*, that while Northwest Coast art was equated with the art of “advance” cultures, this very act displayed an inherent prejudice. And, as Virginia Commonwealth University Professor of American History Gregory D. Smithers writes, “cultural anthropology did not end the educational focus on producing good American citizens (“100% Americanism,” as it was called), but it did open a space for what later became known as “multiculturalism.” (Email to author, October 24, 2014; and Aldona Jonaitis, “Introduction.” *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 3-36. See also Roseanne Hoefel, ""Different by Degree": Ella Cara Deloria, Zora Neale Hurston, and Franz Boas Contend with Race and Ethnicity," *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 183.)

Boas clearly believed western civilization to be more advanced than Native American, and in his *Mind of Primitive Man* writes:

What, then, is the difference between the civilization of the Old World and that of the New World? It is essentially a difference in time. The one reached a certain stage three thousand or four thousand years sooner than the other. (Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man: A Course of Lectures Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass., and the National University of Mexico, 1910-1911* (New York: Macmillan, 1911), 8.)

He posited that white settlers displacement of Native Americans from ancestral lands into foreign environments not only impeded the Indians ability to flourish, but was also disruptive of their habitual customs, which had “preserved their original physical types.” (Janine Hitchens, "Critical Implications of Franz Boas' Theory and Methodology," *Dialectical Anthropology* 19, no. 2/3 (November 1994): 239–40.) And while Boas documents an equal ability to be socialized in “people of color,” he views this in the context of socialization into the dominant culture. Despite this perhaps self-serving position, Boas laid the groundwork for the “environmental model of race and culture” as early as 1910, a model utilized to this day. A key component of its foundation was his eventually successful work to shift anthropologists (and others) away from widely accepted and well-established theories of social evolutionism toward his own relativistic historical particularism. (Aldona Jonaitis, “Introduction,” *Primitive Art*, in Franz Boas (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2010), xi.)

Boas’s work was reflected in the American settlement house social movement, which originated in Great Britain in 1884 with the opening of Toynbee Hall. Toynbee was designed to offer social services and education to the poor of London. New York City was home to some of America’s first settlement houses, and by 1890 there were over 400 across the nation. American Houses aimed to help new immigrants become “Americanized.” Their stated goal was to speed the assimilation of immigrants by teaching them American middle-class values, including lessons in history, art and literature. For instance the British model, Toynbee Hall, had a yearly art exhibit and a permanent art gallery (Robert C. Reinders, "Toynbee Hall and the American Settlement Movement," *Social Service Review* 56, no. 1 (1982): 39–54, doi:10.1086/643979.) Daycare centers, public kitchens, and baths and shelters for the homeless were often features. African American churches built settlement houses by and for African Americans. Many of

Education and Art Education Theory at Teachers College

Teachers College was fortunate to have on its staff philosopher and educator John Dewey¹⁸ (1859–1952) and anthropologist Franz Boas, as well as the aforementioned artist and

the American settlement houses were run and staffed by middle-class, largely college-educated women. Some were operated by universities, and offered fellowships to students.

Settlement houses, and Americans in general, tended to classify many groups as non-white, including Irish, Jewish and Italian immigrants. They worked to create a viable working environment between these men and women and the mainstream culture, and frequently were situated in the center of immigrant neighborhoods. Much like Native Americans, these immigrants were sometimes projected as lower in the civilization hierarchy, but at the same time offering new untamed energies to their over-civilized neighbors. (Shannon Sullivan, "Reciprocal Relations between Races: Jane Addams Ambiguous Legacy," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 43–60.)

Native American experiences at settlement houses were more isolated incidences, and Native Americans appear to have been positioned somewhat higher than African Americans in the civilization hierarchy, but beneath the European immigrants. ("The University Settlement Society turned to the ease of the Indian, "The Indian, whose sole purpose is to get his daily bread, never rose in the scale of civilization." And "Often ... club members put on performances of primitivism and savagery... [including one entitled] *Buck and Wing Dancing*." D. E. Bender, "Perils of Degeneration: Reform, the Savage Immigrant, and the Survival of the Unfit," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 5–29.) However, the houses were willing to accept Indians, when other organizations were not. Henry Standing Bear lived at Chicago's Hull-House for six months after running away from boarding school. (Erik Schneiderhan, "Pragmatism and Empirical Sociology: The Case of Jane Addams and Hull-House, 1889–1895," *Theory and Society* 40, no. 6 (2011): 589–617.) Daniel Bender, of the University of Toronto, writes about the tendency to name new groups entering the settlement houses after Indian tribes:

In 'playing' Indian the club laid claim to civilization—they were not real savages, only disguising themselves—and to the physical strength and raw nobility increasingly associated with the almost extinct Indians. Club members were reflecting an emerging ideal of masculinity that cherished the combination of the moral strength of the civilized with the raw muscularity of the savage. Even as the Eastside House celebrated the progress of the Mohawks towards civilization, they also mounted an exhibit on Indians. (D. E. Bender, "Perils of Degeneration: Reform, the Savage Immigrant, and the Survival of the Unfit," *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 1 (Fall 2008): 16–17.)

Thus one settlement house's goal was to 'Americanize' Indians, much like Indian schools, by converting them into American citizens able to live successful middle-class lives. (Boarding schools became "recreation centers for all ages: they were used as libraries, municipal baths, as people's theatres, and assembly halls." Allen Freeman Davis, *Spearheads for Reform; the Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 80. Ordered 10/31 to confirm quote See also Stephen J. Kunitz, "The Social Philosophy of John Collier," *Ethnohistory* 18, no. 3 (Summer 1971): 213–229, and Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 75.)

18. By the time Elizabeth Willis arrived at Teachers, Dewey had been there two years and was firmly established (he arrived in 1905, she was there from 1907 to 1910). Dewey was already a popular figure in education, and also as a supporter of women's right to vote (see the *New York Times*, which is the source for all references in this footnote: "Men Suffragists Dine Mrs. Snowden: English Woman Leader Tells the

theorist Arthur Wesley Dow (1857–1922), men who formulated progressive teaching philosophies instrumental in changing education theory and practice across the country.

In 1899 Arthur Dow's *Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers*¹⁹ was published, and it continues to be cited frequently as a source for the Arts and Crafts movement in America, as well as becoming the then-most utilized fine arts text in the educational system (figure 2.7).²⁰ (Even the Indian trader at Crystal, New Mexico, J. B.

Guest She Finds America Sympathetic to the Cause: Men Mostly in Favor of It: Dinner Which 600 Attended, Arranged by Dr. Simon Flexner, Prof. John Dewey, and Other Supporters," Dec 14, 1910; "Suffrage Campaign Opens at Columbia: Under Mrs. Mackay's Leadership, a Series of Lectures Will Be Given for Students: Prof. Dewey First Speaker: He Contends that Women Should Share Equally with Men Many Civic Responsibilities," July 27, 1909; "Women at Work for the Right to Vote: Equal Rights Society Aims to Advance Measures for the Extension of the Franchise," February 21, 1909; "Male Suffragettes Now in the Field; The Deeper Notes to Join the Soprano Chorus for Women's Votes," May 21, 1909). Dewey supported Civil Rights as well ("Whites and Blacks Confer as Equals: Plan Civil Equality and Go on Record as Favoring Such a Change: Well-Known People There: Columbia and Cornell Professors Take Part – Booker T. Washington, Seth Low, and Carnegie All Declined," June 1, 1909). Dewey is mentioned in dozens of other articles during this time, from those on increasing his teachers' pay ("Speeches Made to Order: Some Orators at a Present Problems Dinner Refuse to Follow the Text," February 25, 1910), to the giving of summer lectures ("Summer School of Culture," August 19, 1906), and cruises to London ("1,500 in Liner's Cabins to Sail Abroad To-Day: Largest Crowd that has Left in One Day This Year: Six Ships to Carry Them," May 27, 1905). Dewey is also noted as attended a wedding (another guest is "John Sloane;" "Miss Ripley Bride of Count Castel," October 16, 1910). On June 1, 1906, the *New York Times* writes, "500 Teachers Meet: Convention of the At and Manual Training Association Begins," says, "Dr. John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, discussed the relation of the school to art and industry." As well, there are various announcements of books published (such as *New York Times*, January 9, 1909 "New York Book Announcements").

Furthermore, Dewey is mentioned briefly at least 41 times between 1900 and 1921 in the *New York Daily Tribune*. The first, on July 14, 1900, is a notice of the publication of *School and Society*, that states, "It is said to contain some new and striking views on the subject of educational methods."

19. Dow, *Composition; a Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers* (1899; repr. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1913). Ernest A. Batchelder produced a subsequent book on art, *Design in Theory and Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 1927) in which he employs Indian work in several illustrations; he even lifts Nampeyo's pottery designs right out of Bureau of Ethnology Annual Reports and reproduced them, sans the pots they were originally painted on, as representations of good design.

20. Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 110.

Moore, owned a copy and used it to present design ideas to Navajo weavers.²¹) In this book Dow built on methods of teaching mechanical drawing initially developed by Walter Smith, who was known as the originator of art education in America.²² Dow studied Aztec art as early as 1891 in “his search to define indigenous Native American principles of design. He also is known to have employed Native basketry and textiles in teaching.”²³ He studied Indian art in local museums, and found Native American art to be a “useful pedagogical tool” for teaching art.²⁴ He cited it as visually useful for demonstrating color and line, as well as *notan* (a concept utilizing the play and placement of light and dark in a work of art), and he employed Native techniques to master the skills necessary to match material to design (since certain designs work better in particular media, and conversely different media can lead to certain distinct designs).²⁵

Dow utilized Smith’s methods of step-by-step instruction to teach procedures in order to develop skills in fine arts, with great success. Although the belief that drawing was a valuable

21. Ibid.

22. Harry Green, “Walter Smith: The Forgotten Man,” *Art Education* 19, no. 1 (1966), 3–9. Also, Mary Ann Stankiewicz of the University of Maine, writes:

Books imported from England were among the first means of art instruction available to the American people...By the early years of the republic, art instructional books were being printed in the United States. The drawing manuals...offered simple rules of drawing to make are useful in a democracy....

23. Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 42.

24. For a thoughtful discussion on how Indian art has been portrayed in museums historically, see *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Culture* (Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000). “Though the collecting of art object and specimens from nature has a long history among the Chinese and Japanese, public museums of art, natural history, anthropology, and science are a European cultural phenomenon...[O]ur American museums are based on European model[s].” Evan M. Maurer, “Presenting the American Indian: From Europe to America,” in *Changing Presentation of the American Indian*, 15.

25. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 110–12.

ingredient to education can be traced back to the Renaissance, art education was fairly new in American public schools, having been introduced in Boston in the 1890s. At the time both the population and industry were growing rapidly, and industrial Northeasterners, especially, were concerned that America was exporting much less than it was importing; government studies determined that this was due to inferior design processes and not to inferior manufacturing. Feeling pressure to improve industrial design skills, the state of Massachusetts enacted legislation in 1870 authorizing the teaching of drawing in public schools; in fact, the state mandated free drawing classes in all communities over 10,000 people. In 1871 Boston brought Walter Smith (who became the Massachusetts State Director of Education) from England to develop art programs in both public schools for children and free night school classes for adults. Smith's books on the subject, *Industrial Drawing in the Public Schools* (Boston: L. Prang, 1875) and *Teachers Manual of Free-Hand Drawing and Designing* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1873) helped spawn a new generation of students with rudimentary drawing skills. Smith's coursework relied on disparate sources indiscriminately; it included copying Greek moldings and ornaments, while also leaning heavily on England's Arts and Crafts movement. All in all, Smith and his peers considered drawing an aid to developing manual skills, and he was not concerned with the improvement of the student morally or aesthetically.²⁶

Dow's purposes are somewhat different from those of Smith.²⁷ He introduces his volume with the words:

In writing this book my main purpose is to set forth a way of thinking about art.... I hope the reader will see how each chapter can be developed into many sets of lessons. The progressions can be varied, materials changed, lessons amplified and different

26. Frederick M. Logan, *The Growth of Art in American Schools* (New York: Harper, 1955), 2.

27. Stankiewicz, "Drawing Book Wars," *Visual Arts Research* 12, no. 2 (1986), 59–72.

designs chosen, providing there is no sacrifice of essentials.... Composition was chosen as a title because that word expresses the idea upon which the method here presented is founded —the “putting together” of lines, masses and colors to make a harmony.... Composition, building up of harmony, is the fundamental process in all the fine arts. I hold that art should be approached through composition, rather than through imitative drawing.... A natural method [to learn appreciation of good composition] is that of exercises in progressive order, first building up very simple harmonies, then proceeding on to the highest forms of composition.... This approach to art through Structure is absolutely opposed to the time-honored approach through Imitation...of nature and the “historic styles.”²⁸

Dow’s ideas were so prevalent across the nation that in 1922 the Dow Association was formed, a national organization that held its own exhibitions and had its own publication.²⁹

28. Dow, *Composition*, 3.

29. Just a few years after Willis left Teachers College, Dow trained his most famous student, Georgia O’Keeffe (who arrived at Teachers College in 1914). (It is an amusing coincidence that O’Keeffe’s first school art teacher, at Chatham School in Williamsburg, Virginia, was named Elizabeth Willis.)

O’Keeffe taught in west Texas at the State Normal College. A circa 1916–1920 photograph of her classroom there reveals an interest in Native arts even then (figure 2.8). She first visited Santa Fe in 1917, and in 1929 she returned by train with her friend Rebecca Strand, wife of photographer Paul Strand. O’Keeffe became friends with Mabel Dodge Luhan and her husband Tony, and moved to their home, Los Gallos; Barbara Buhler Lynes and Caroly Kastner, *Georgia O’Keeffe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1912), 10–11. She eventually settled in the Santa Fe area, and sometime later (the exact time is unknown) she and Kabotie became good friends, sharing seeds and gardening ideas at the Kabotie kitchen table in Songòopavi; Fred Kabotie and Mike Kabotie conversations with the author, December 1976, and Michael Kabotie, conversation with the author, June 2006. Also see Kabotie, “Interview, Sess.1,” folder 17, 550. Dow himself showed a later interest in the Southwest, traveling to Arizona and painting at the Grand Canyon in 1911–1912 (figure 2.9).

Often her organically flow in lines and forms seem derived from Art Nouveau examples and the Arts and Crafts movement that was in vogue at that time in American design in that time in American design...To permit the full exploration of these forms O’Keeffe eliminated the distraction of color, working exclusively with black charcoal applied to large white sheets of paper, a...She began to create these charcoal drawings only a few months after studying with Alon Bement and Arthur Wesley Dow, whom she affectionately called “Pa Dow” and his influence is strongly felt in her first independent trials. Lisa Mintz Messinger, *Georgia O’Keeffe* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 18.

Willis thus grew up in an era when not all art pedagogy was based on industrial needs, even though young gentlemen and ladies continued to study drawing and painting as social skills required of members of genteel and educated groups. She did avail herself of art classes while at Lucy Cobb, perhaps by choice, perhaps as a requirement. But it is important to note here, as art theorist Arthur D. Efland (among others) has described, that art instruction at the time was dictated by class, gender, and social status.³⁰ In mainstream America, art education for girls in the public schools leaned more heavily on the aesthetics and culture of art, whereas pedagogy for boys relied on the practical and mathematical. This custom would no doubt have affected how

The Georgia O’Keeffe Museum, “Chronology,” accessed February 12, 2011, <http://www.okeeffemuseum.org/chronology.html>, asserts that, unhappy with her experiences at the Chicago Institute, in 1907 Georgia O’Keeffe took a train to New York City, but she left the next year, and worked as a commercial artist in Chicago before returning to her family in Charlottesville, Virginia. There in 1912 she took a summer class at the University of Virginia taught by Alon Bement (1876–1954), a follower of Dow. This, in turn, led her back to New York in 1914 to study with Dow, but by then of course, Willis was gone.

As far as other Dow students, Ethel Mars, later a Provincetown woodcut artist of some note, also employed Dow’s methods, including the multiblock, to teach English/Jamaican illustrator Pamela Colman Smith, who studied with Dow at Pratt from 1896 to 1897 before returning to England in 1899 to continue her career. She was the only woman, as well as the only non-photographer, to exhibit at Alfred Stieglitz’s Gallery 291. The director of the Indianapolis public schools art program, Wilhelmina Seegmiller, graduated in 1899 from Pratt, where she studied under Dow. She also authored several textbooks on teaching art, largely based on Dow’s principles. In Los Angeles, California public schools, two of the three Gearhart sisters teaching art were Dow students; one of them, May, became supervisor of art for 1903 through 1939. Pedro de Lemos—who taught art in Berkeley, became the head of the art museum at Stanford University, and published frequently on the subject of art education—studied with Dow. Chicago’s Mary Scovel developed a curriculum at the Art Institute about 1900 that was based on Dow’s theories. Isabelle Percy West studied with Dow at Teachers, and when she helped found the California School of Arts and Crafts in 1907, she utilized his design principles. The Laguna Beach Art Association founder and president of the California Art Club was a Dow student. And, as Nancy Green, chief curator of the Johnson Museum of Art establishes, “Even in the South, where there were fewer art schools, Dow’s teachings were popular;” Nancy E. Green and Jessie Poesch, *Arthur Wesley Dow and American Arts and Crafts* (New York: The American Federation of the Arts, 1999), 66–69, 74–75, 76. These are only a handful of the many students he had an impact on.

Dow’s ideas increasingly dominated art instruction across America, and his students included prominent artists who spread his methods across the continent, including, most notably, Georgia O’Keeffe. Dow also began offering photography classes at Columbia in 1907, hiring Clarence H. White to teach. White went on to establish, with Max Weber, the White School of Photography in 1914. Students included Margaret Bourke-White, Laura Gilpin and Dorothea Lange.” *Ibid.*, 79.

30. Arthur D. Efland, *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1989), 45–48, 73–76, 142–47.

Willis and her future husband approached teaching children from ethnic backgrounds.³¹ At the same time there were increasing numbers of advocates of art appreciation and fine arts education, especially among educators who employed the kindergarten concepts of self-directed study developed by Friedrich Fröbel, and consequently emphasized learning through play and working with the hands for young children.³² On the other hand, the Arts and Crafts ethos concerning the refining qualities of the arts was also in play at this time. For instance, Dewey and his contemporary Horace Mann both supported art education as a catalyst for the appreciation of beauty.³³ Perhaps it is germane to this study, as Efland posits, that as more young women became teachers they redirected the essential mission of art education from class differentiation to a general appreciation of beauty, much as Willis later did.³⁴

Because Willis had not taken art classes at Columbia, it is difficult to determine whether she was familiar enough with Dow's philosophies of art to be able to take part in them. Dow's theory that art should be taught through composition and structure may not have been taught directly to Willis, but it would have been to his student Howard Pyle, who in turn taught and

31. A heavy reliance on mechanical drawing and rendering for boys continued in the industrial North well into the 1960s. In fact, in 1969, when the author took mechanical drawing at Upper Darby High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, she was the first female allowed in the class. Upon enrolling in the class, she was informed that she would not be allowed to join the all-male domain unless she could enlist two other females to sign up as well, which she did.

32. Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782–1852) established kindergartens across Europe in the mid-eighteen hundreds. He was a student of Pestalozzi, who is considered to be the father of modern education. Pestalozzi positioned children as individuals, each with his or her own learning styles. Fröbel built on Pestalozzi's ideas, and created the kindergarten and in it the use of educational toys (Fröbel "gifts"). These educational toys were designed by Fröbel to encourage free play by children, in self-directed activities. See *Friedrich Fröbel's Pedagogics of the Kindergarten* (New York: D. Appleton, 1895), and Frederick M. Logan, "Kindergarten and Bauhaus," *College Art Journal* 10, no. 1 (Autumn, 1950): 36–43.

33. Logan, *Growth of Art*, 2–3.

34. Efland, *History of Art Education*, 146.

mentored Angel De Cora. It is possible some of his ideas reached Willis through her contacts with De Cora at the Carlisle School, by way of her husband—for surely as Assistant Director of Education at the school he had some awareness of De Cora’s teaching methods. As important as Dow was to the development of American art instruction, Willis might have utilized them as they were synthesized and reinterpreted via De Cora, who *was* familiar with Dow.³⁵

From correspondence reviewed in the Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers at the University of New Mexico’s Center for Southwest Research, Willis did appear generally to subscribe to the then-commonly accepted belief that western races were more civilized, and therefore more highly evolved, than aboriginal peoples. However, she clearly believed this was a matter of education, not ability. Like many cutting-edge contemporary artists in Europe and the United States, and more importantly Santa Fe, she delighted in Native art forms, perceiving them as less artificial than the industrial art of the Western world. Willis DeHuff expresses these views in an interview with Kaboutie in which she asks:

“How do you account for the fact that you Hopi Indians are all artistic?” I teasingly inquired, as I watched him carefully filling in from memory the accurate symbolic design of a dance sash, with the finest of paint brushes. For these Indians are racially artistic. The Hopis are weavers of elaborate woolen costumes, fabricators of beautifully designed, durable baskets and molders of [intricately?] decorated ceramics.

“When the Hopis wake up in the mornings,” Fred quickly replied without stopping his work, “they go to their doors to watch the sun rise and before them stretches miles and miles of the most beautiful scenery in the world. As far as the eye can see on all sides nature discloses her wonders. It makes the Indians happy and worshipful. It also teaches them to love pretty things. But when a White man gets up he sees nothing but his neighbors’ brick walls

35. According to Stuart Macdonald, author of *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (London: University of London, 1970), 348, Dow “attacked the contemporary emphasis on learning to draw, which he termed ‘the academic method,’ and recommended an emphasis on composition.” That Dow was interested in America’s southwest is evident in a photograph of him at the Grand Canyon in 1911, as well as in his paintings of the area (figure 2.9).

and a dusty street in front of his home. That teaches him to ignore the beautiful and to love sordid, convenient things. That is why all Hopi Indians are artistic and White men are materialistic!" This clever version greatly tickled my fancy.³⁶

Thus Willis DeHuff seems to have subscribed, and Kabotie paid lip service to, a prevalent perception of Indian art as containing a basic universal language contributing to the developing concept of art as a language transcending time and culture, one teachers might utilize in activities designed to teach children of multiple backgrounds in the Fröbel manner.

Whether or not Willis DeHuff employed Fröbel techniques in her meetings with Kabotie, she did incorporate, either directly or indirectly, some of Dewey's revolutionary educational concepts. Dewey was trained at Johns Hopkins University, and split his teaching time between Teachers College and Columbia from 1904 through 1930. He believed that education should utilize both experience and learning, emphasize the child over the subject, the learning process over what was learned, and especially encourage curiosity among students. His good friend, the noted art collector and inventor Albert C. Barnes, later described Dewey's pedagogical approach in the following manner:

John Dewey's philosophy of education rests on the axiom that the indispensable elements of the democratic way of life—scientific method as intelligence in operation, art, education—are all bound together in a single organic whole. To put the matter in other terms, all genuine experience is intelligent experience, experience guided by insight derived from science, illuminated by art, and made a common possession through education.¹

36. Willis DeHuff, "Hopi Indian Artist."

Dewey's presence and ideology were almost omnipotent at Teachers College, and this is the intellectual environment Willis would have absorbed while there. Lawrence Cremin, David Shannon and Mary Townsend position Dewey's impact from 1900–1910 on Teachers College in their book, *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University*:

The whole College was subject to the ideas of educational reform widely in circulation...John Dewey...served directly to focus these ideas into very definite channels so that they left an indelible and inestimable impression upon the institution."³⁷

Dewey's books were immensely popular, and he co-authored a small volume published in 1895 that focused on arithmetic. This volume surely was at least occasionally discussed at Teachers while Willis was a mathematics student, as it offers insights not solely on the topic of arithmetic. In the introduction W. T. Harris writes, "There is no subject taught that is more dangerous to the pupil in the way of deadening his mind and arresting its [sic] development, if bad methods are used." The authors add, "the primary aim of education is the training of the powers of intelligence and will... education is a science, the science of the formation of character."³⁸

In the three years Willis attended Teachers, Dewey also published *Moral Principles in Education* (1909), *How We Think* (1910) and *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy: and Other Essays in Contemporary Thought* (1910).³⁹ These books build on Dewey's ideas that all students

37. Lawrence Arthur Cremin, David A. Shannon and Mary Evelyn Townsend, *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 46.

38. J. A. McLellan and John Dewey, *The Psychology of Number: And Its Applications to Methods of Teaching Arithmetic* (New York: D. Appleton and, 1895), V, 4.

39. Dewey, *Moral Principles in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909); Dewey, *How We Think, a Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1910); Dewey, *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy, and Other Essays in Contemporary Thought* (New York: Henry Holt, 1910).

should be guided in developing the ability to make intelligent choices and decisions, that children educated in a genuinely liberating environment will act in a socially responsible ways, and that we should treat those with whom we disagree, even if it is a profound disagreement, as people from whom we can learn, and therefore they should be treated as friends, not enemies.

Dewey theorized that children learn by doing, an educational philosophy with clear antecedents in the empirical theories of John Locke (1632–1704) and idealist approach of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), whose inspiration he openly acknowledged. Locke argued that education (for the upper classes) was designed to enlighten and develop individuals' characters as well as to increase the prosperity of the nation. In his writing *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* Locke concludes, "The well educating of their children is so much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and prosperity of the nation so much depends on it."⁴⁰ Whereas Locke believed in education as a national investment, Hegel contended that educational enlightenment led to the individual's freedom, and that universal freedom was the collective goal. Dewey appropriated both ideas. Hegel famously said:

Education to independence demands that young people should be accustomed early to consult their own sense of propriety and their own reason, [and]...to regard study as mere receptivity and memory work is to have a most incomplete view of what instruction means. On the other hand, to concentrate attention on the pupil's own original reflections and reasoning is equally one-sided and should be still more carefully guarded against.⁴¹

40. Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1902; repr. Kindle edition), dedication. Locke also recommended that a gentleman learn to draw, saying "When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient not only to continue the Exercise of his Hand in Writing, but also to improve the Use of it farther in *Drawing*; a Thing very useful to a Gentleman in several Occasions; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole Sheet of Paper in Writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible." Ibid., 136–37.

41. Hettie M. Mackenzie, *Hegel's Educational Theory and Practice* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1909), 75, 167.

Dewey's educational approach drew heavily on both traditions, as did his belief in the value of participatory and active learning. His views on education shifted after moving to Teachers College. Following his departure from the Chicago Laboratory School⁴² Dewey focused more deliberately on the philosophical issues of education and publishing. For Dewey, America was the ideal place to build a future based on Locke's and Smith's ideas. Educational enlightenment allowed not just individual freedom, but also promoted individual awareness of one's position in society, two concepts he emphasized in multiple publications, notably with the 1897 "My Pedagogic Creed," print edition and also lectures given in April 1899 at the University Elementary School, Chicago. In this creed, Dewey asserts:

I Believe that

--all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race....Through this unconscious education the individual gradually comes to share in the intellectual and moral resources which humanity has succeeded in getting together....

For Kabotie specifically, and the Native American student in general, this could be interpreted as a belief that all students, regardless of race or class, have the opportunity to contribute aspects of their own different, but equal, unconscious education to the overall resources of all humanity. Dewey theorized that each individual should be offered the opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group to which he or she had been born and to come to an intellectual contact with a broader border. Dewey reviews how the student grows to see him or her self as a member of a collective group:

42. Dewey established the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago to implement and study his ideas in real time/real life situations.

--the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situations in which he finds himself. Through these demands he is stimulated to act as a member of a unity...to conceive of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group to which he belongs....

As students begin to identify with a collective group, teachers must be aware of each person's individuality and uniqueness, and utilize these to inspire each pupil. Otherwise, if all students are treated alike, individuals will be uninspired to learn. For Kabotie, a member of the Hopi tribe, this "conceiving of himself from the standpoint of the welfare of the group," would have been entirely natural.

I believe that the individual who is to be educated is a social individual, and that society is an organic union of individuals. If we eliminate the social factor from the child we are left only with an abstraction; if we eliminate the individual factor from society, we are left only with an inert and lifeless mass. Education, therefore, must begin with a psychological insight into the child's capacities, interests, and habits.⁴³

This creed would have been key in Willis DeHuff's teaching of non-Western students such as Kabotie. Additionally Dewey's ideas were based on his belief that the world was changing rapidly, and political boundaries were shifting while populations increasingly moved to cities. Everyday habits were changing daily to cope with the changes, while moral and religious ideas were profoundly affected. Dewey concluded that this revolution would affect education in a profound fashion."⁴⁴ He understood that home life was changing dramatically as well. While

43. Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, ed. John J. McDermott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 442–45. Originally published in *School Journal*, LIV (January 1897), 77–80. See also Marvin Lazerson, "If All the World Were Chicago: American Education in the Twentieth Century," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (1984): 165–79.

44. Dewey, *The School and Society: Being Three Lectures* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1913), 22. (First published in November 1899.)

previously children had learned the art of living from their parents, in Dewey's modern world this type of instruction was fragmented, and so the school needed to step in and build the child's character through the process of teaching manual and industrial arts.⁴⁵

Dewey was unusually liberal in regards to issues of racism in education. He considered both African American and Native Americans intellectual equals to whites, but he measured them as inferior in cultural and social development. Because Dewey subscribed to prevailing ideas of both linear development and genetic psychology, which perceived so-called primitive peoples as lower on the evolutionary ladder than westerners, he viewed Native Americans as being in an earlier stage of cultural development than people of European descent. For Dewey "indigenous, native, and aboriginal societies represented not merely different or alternative forms of living but earlier forms, which modern, civilized culture had moved beyond."⁴⁶ In *School and Society* he equates a child playing Indian, creating bows and arrows from sticks, to the child's primitive nature; Dewey construes this as an important form of role playing to be adapted in the classroom, with students discussing and experimenting with ideas generated spontaneously.⁴⁷

45. "The household was practically the center in which were carried on...all the typical forms of industrial occupation. The clothing worn was for the most part not only made in the house, but the members of the household were usually familiar with the shearing of the sheep, the carding and spinning of the wool, and the plying of the loom." Dewey continues with the process of creating light, flour, lumber, foods, etc., which he sees it as character-building. He utilized manual arts in the schools to keep children engaged "for life," and to "bring home to the child some of the primal necessities of community life, through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons." School should offer, "A spirit of free communication, of interchange of ideas, suggestions, results, both successes and failures of previous experiences, becomes the dominating note." Dewey, *School and Society*, 22–23, 26–30.

46. Thomas D. Fallace, "Was John Dewey Ethnocentric? Reevaluating the Philosopher's Early Views on Culture and Race," *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (2010): 471–77, accessed August 12, 2013, <http://edr.sagepub.com>.

47. Dewey, *School and Society*, 62.

Augmenting Dewey's philosophical approach to American Indians is the observation of Laura Runyen, a Dewey School teacher, who wrote, "In getting land from the Indians the same methods were used that have prevailed through the ages when a people with superior weapons and brains, in sufficient number, meet an inferior people."⁴⁸ Dewey himself speculated:

The psychical attitudes and traits of the savage are more than stages through which [the colonizer's] mind has passed, leaving them behind. They are outgrowths, which have entered decisively into further evolution, and as such form an integral part of the framework of present mental organization. Such positive significance is commonly attributed, in theory at least, to animal mind; but the mental structure of the savage, which presumably has an even greater relevancy for genetic psychology, is strangely neglected.⁴⁹

Despite such an historical view of different ethnic capabilities, Dewey espoused ideas concerning democracy in education as part of the overall fabric of America. Jason Kosnoski, Assistant Professor of the University of Michigan, Flint, posits that most current interpreters associate Dewey's vision of democracy with Tocqueville's America, a democracy with face-to-face participation and unrestricted associations where individuals learned necessary political skills to contribute with a true sense of community and tolerance.⁵⁰

Dewey himself theorized democracy as a dynamic process affecting all member of a given culture, a process made possible by the process of education. He specifically cites the necessity of offering tools to get at truth "in detail," with all participants valued, with the purpose

48. Laura L. Runyen, *The Teaching of Elementary History in the "Dewey" School* (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1906), 55.

49. Dewey, "Interpretation of Savage Mind," *Psychological Review* 9 (1902): 217–30.

50. Kosnoski, "John Dewey's Social Aesthetics," *Polity* 37, no. 2 (2005): 193–215.

of “ordering of life in response to the needs of the moment in accordance with the ascertained truth of the moment.”⁵¹

Dewey and other educators described education as “preparing youth for citizenship” and “bringing the economic workers....to their highest possible state.”⁵² As told in “John Dewey: Philosophy and Education: 1858–1952; The University of Chicago Faculty: A Centennial View,” Dewey’s experiments in education had by 1910 captured the attention of teachers at each and every level of the teaching system. His innovative teaching practices characterized a turning point for formal education and perhaps more importantly, for larger views of childhood learning.⁵³

Although Dewey did not write extensively about art education until later in his career, his first book, *Psychology and Social Practice* (1901), included a chapter focusing on aesthetic “feeling.” He reviewed Bernard Bosanquet’s 1904 book, *A History of Aesthetics*, while he was still strongly persuaded by neo-Hegelianism. He made recommendations for the Chicago Lab School based on aesthetic principals as well as an 1897 article “The Aesthetic Element in Education,” and he contributed an encyclopedia article entitled “Art in Education.”⁵⁴ Dewey did

51. Dewey, “The Experience of Knowing,” in *The Philosophy of John Dewey* vol. 1, ed. John J. McDermott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 173. First published as Dewey, *Psychology and Philosophic Method: The Annual Public Address Before the Union, May 15, 1899* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1899). Also published in Dewey, *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy: And Other Essays on Contemporary Thought* (New York: Henry Holt, 1910), 242–70. Copyright 1938 by John Dewey.

52. Quotes from William E. Chancellor, *A Theory of Motives, Ideals, and Values in Education* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907) and Jesse D. Burks, “Need for a Comprehensive Restatement of Educational Theory,” *The School Review* 17, no. 4 (1909): 244–54.

53. “John Dewey: Philosophy and Education: 1858–1952; The University of Chicago Faculty: A Centennial View,” The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues, accessed April 28, 2013, http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/projects/centcat/centcats/fac/facch08_01.html.

54. Jay Martin, *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 400–401.

not only write about the visual fine arts, but he also addressed the subject of dance in relationship to the Australian aborigine in his 1902 “Interpretation of Savage Mind.” In the following statement he attempts to discern the unique power of Australian Aboriginal art, “First take art. The art of the Australian is not constructive, not architectonic, not graphic, but dramatic and mimetic.”⁵⁵ In *The School and Society* he speculates that “genuine” art is generated by the artisan, the art of the Renaissance was great because it grew out of the manual arts, and the ideal art might be considered to originate in “shops, passed through the alembic of library and museum into action again.” Dewey describes the ideal school as one with:

A complete industrial museum, giving samples of materials in various stages of manufacture, and the implements, from the simplest to the most complex, used in dealing with them; then a collection of photographs and pictures illustrating the landscapes and the scenes from which the materials come, their native homes, and their places of manufacture. Such a collection would be a vivid and continual lesson in the synthesis of art, science, and industry.”⁵⁶

He continues that he knows of no work in the school “that better develops the power of attention, the habit of observation and of consecutiveness, of seeing parts in relation to a whole. [than music and art].”⁵⁷

Philip W. Jackson, in *John Dewey and the Lessons of Art*, explains Dewey’s perception of the arts as having the three following major functions: (1) consummatory involvements with no rivals in intensity and significance; (2) occurrences capable of expanding our horizons,

55. Dewey, “Savage Mind,” 217–30.

56. Dewey, *School and Society*, 103–5.

57. *Ibid.*, 125.

contributing meaning and value to understanding; and (3) offering direct perspectives on the experiences of others.⁵⁸

The final concept Dewey espoused, which is germane to this discussion of Willis's understanding of art, is the role of democracy and citizenship in education. Dewey, a follower of fellow humanist, American poet Walt Whitman, believed, "democratic social arrangements promote a better quality of human experience, one which is more widely accessible and enjoyed."⁵⁹ These theories implied that Native students could learn the concepts of democracy and citizenship not only through words but also through living them; theories that must have seemed somewhat ironic in light of the militaristic approach of Pratt and others toward the Hopi.

Willis's decision to attend Columbia University attests to her extraordinary initiative and intelligence. As late as 1893, only 56 percent of New England's high school teachers held college degrees of any kind, probably because most teachers after the Civil War were women, and women generally were not admitted to universities.⁶⁰ By the late nineteenth century, colleges equipped to prepare graduates for teaching began to emerge in America as a way to establish professionalism in a previously unregulated field, and Willis was among the first young women to take advantage of this. By the time she arrived at Teachers College, Dewey's ideas were pervasive throughout the school. These included the concept that education was a democratic process in itself, and that students should incorporate their own experiences into the learning

58. Jackson, *John Dewey and the Lessons of Art* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 33–34.

59. Dewey, "Criteria of Experience," in *Experience and Education* (1938; repr., New York: Macmillan, 1964), 23–52. See also Steven A. Rockefeller, "John Dewey, Spiritual Democracy, and the Human Future," in *Revisioning Philosophy*, ed. James Ogilvy (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

60. Arthur G. Powell, "University Schools of Education in the Twentieth Century," *Peabody Journal of Education* 54, no. 1 (1976): 3–20.

process. Dewey determined Native Americans to be intellectually equal to white Americans but inferior in cultural and social development, which informed his idea that individual students should be given the opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group of their birth and develop into productive members of a democratic American society. In conclusion, Willis not only was exceptional in attending university, she attended an exceptional university where she was exposed to the ideas of men in the forefront of educational and art educational pedagogy.

New York City 1907–1910

Before following Willis's career to the Philippines, her experiences in New York should be considered. New York City, with a 1910 population of 4,766,883,⁶¹ was a vital cultural and artistic center when Willis attended school there. It was an art mecca, with the Metropolitan Museum (founded in 1870) and the American Museum of Natural History (founded in 1869) both already well established.⁶² The Beaux-Arts masterpiece Penn Station was completed in 1910, and modern artists were becoming more and more talked about. Among popular images by these artists were William Glackens' *The Green Car in Washington Square* (figure 2.10), and Alfred Stieglitz's photograph *Old and New New York* (figure 2.11). Adding to this artistic

61. By 1910, Manhattan's population was 2,331,542. US Census Bureau, "Total Population, Population Change, and Population Ranking for the Ten Largest Cities in the United States: 1900 to 2000," *Decennial Census of Population, 1900 to 2000*. Quoted in Priam Saywack, "New York City Demographics," Fordham University, accessed April 27, 2013, http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_s/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_l/sp ecial_programs/honors_program/hudsonfulton_celebra/homepage/the_basics_of_nyc/.

62. The New York Armory show and the introduction of Modernism were still several years off when Willis left the city in 1910, and the Heye Museum of American Indian Art did not open until 1912. See chapter 3 for more on the Heye Collection. Contemporaneous essays present various points of view on the new modern art; several, including Theodore Roosevelt's, are reprinted in Kenyon Cox et al., *Documents of the 1913 Armory Show: The Electrifying Moment of Modern Art's American Debut* (Tucson, AZ: HolArt Books, 2009). John White Alexander, the president of the National Academy of Design, presented an essay, "Is Our Art Distinctively American?" *Century* 89, no. 6 (1914): 827; and Walter Pach wrote, "The Point of View of the Moderns," *Century* 89, no. 6, (1914): 851–64.

vibrancy, in these years prior to World War One New York City was experiencing a peak period of immigration of people representing a wealth of different ethnicities; in 1910 the city's foreign-born population was nearly 2 million, approximately 40 percent of the citizenry.⁶³ At the same time, industrialization was rampant and congestion in the city increased daily.⁶⁴ It was this chaos that numerous modern artists hoped to leave behind.

As an impact on Willis, the most that can be definitively said is that New York City provided a model of the United States as an ongoing amalgam of different voices and perspectives, engaged in the United States need to blend together in one grand “melting pot.” There she was exposed to the ideas of John Dewey at Teachers College, as he was a major voice at the school. Coming from a small college town in Georgia, this would have been an enlightening experience for Willis, both culturally and visually. This variety would have provided Willis with a broad introduction to a multicultural world, one immensely foreign to her hometown, Athens, Georgia that led her to further adventures in a truly foreign place, the Asian-Pacific islands of the Philippines.

63. Fordham University's New York City Demographics, accessed June 2013, http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_s/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_l/spacial_programs/honors_program/udsonfulton_celebra/homepage/the_basics_of_nyc/

64. These immigrants came from many countries, “although Eastern European Jews, Italians, Germans, and Irish were the most numerous. During the early twentieth century, Russian Jews and southern Italians flooded into New York City. Edward Ewing Pratt, *Industrial Congestion in New York City* (New York: Columbia University, 1911), 13, quoted in Saywack, “New York City Demographics.”

Benjamin C. Marsh, “Causes of Congestion of Population,” *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion, Rochester, New York, May 2–4, 1910* (Boston: National Conference on City Planning, 1910), 35–39, quoted in Saywack, “New York City Demographics.”

Chapter Three

The Philippines and Carlisle Indian Boarding School: Elizabeth Willis's Initial Experiences as an Educator Form Underpinnings for the Santa Fe Style

Elizabeth Willis left Teachers College without graduating and traveled to the Philippines to teach mathematics. There she encountered pedagogies aimed at assimilating the children of a non-western, conquered culture, and developed her own initial ideas of teaching. Her experiences in the Philippines no doubt informed her later approach to teaching Kibotie. Upon her arrival at Manila, she also met her future husband, fellow mathematics teacher and school administrator John David DeHuff (1872–1945).

To the Philippines

After leaving Teachers College in 1908, Willis taught in Augusta, Georgia's Tubman High School for two years.¹ In yet another radical move for a woman of her genteel upbringing and age (approximately 24 years old, if born in 1886), Willis accepted a position teaching in the Philippines.² She set sail on the *Manchuria* from San Francisco, California on Tuesday, July 12, 1910 and arrived in Manila on August 12, 1910, where both her diary and that of John DeHuff indicate that they first met.³

The Philippine Islands were in transition from being a Spanish colony since 1565 to becoming a United States protectorate --a process begun in the 1896 Philippine revolution against Spain, and continued through the three-month long 1898 Spanish American War, at the end of which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States.⁴

1. A letter from Tubman High School principal T. H. Garrett states that although records had been lost in a fire, Willis taught Algebra and Physical Geography at Tubman during the years 1908–9 and 1909–10. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 1, scrapbook 1), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

2. In 1910 she was paid 2,400 pesos, as a “teacher class 9.” In 1911, again as a “teacher class 9”, she earned 2,600 pesos, and in 1912, as a “teacher class 8”, 2,800 pesos. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 1, scrapbook 2), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

3. Elizabeth Willis Travel Diary 1910–1913, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 5, diary 12) Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. Willis and DeHuff each left extensive diaries, which are located at the Center for Southwest Research. The diaries are fascinating, and to the author's knowledge have never previously been cited--probably because they are sporadic in nature and the handwriting is often difficult to read. For this dissertation, only the periods that cover the couples' time in the Philippines through their Santa Fe Indian Boarding School days have been read, due to time constraints.

4. The Philippine Islands extend 1,152 miles from north to south, 682 from east to west, and lie 600 miles southeast from the mainland of Asia. There are 7,083 islands; most inhabitants lived on only eleven of these islands in 1916. The largest is Luzon, about the size of Ohio. The totality of

Subsequently, in 1899 the Philippine-American War began with the Battle of Manila Bay and continued until 1902. Although the war was over, sporadic battles against the Moro peoples (the Spanish term for the Muslim natives of the Southern Philippines, about five percent of the population) continued well into 1911.⁵ More than a million people died in this conflict, which conclusively ended in 1913 (some three years after Willis arrived) when the Philippines became a Commonwealth under United States protection.

While under Spanish control, only the most elite Filipinos were well educated. The United States Philippine Commission, headed by William Howard Taft, suggested the United States try a different approach than that of the Spanish. In step with current thinking, Taft believed universal education was the best method to prepare the Philippine nation for self-government (a very Deweyesque sentiment).⁶ According to Taft:

islands is a bit larger than the state of Arizona. In 1919 the population was 10,956,730, about “one-tenth of this number belongs to the wild tribes;” 6,391 Americans, 55,212 Chinese, 12636 Japanese, 4,290 Spaniards, 1,202 British, and all others 2,893, plus American military troops not counted. John Charles Muerman, *Philippine Schools Under the Americans* (master’s thesis, Washington University, 1916), 1.

5. “In 1901 at least five hundred teachers (365 males and 165 females) arrived from the U.S. aboard the USS Thomas [sic]. The name Thomasite was adopted for these teachers, who firmly established education as one of America’s major contributions to the Philippines.... Twenty-seven of the original Thomasites either died of tropical diseases or were murdered by Filipino rebels during their first 20 months of residence. Despite the hardships, the Thomasites persisted, teaching and building learning institutions that prepared students for their chosen professions or trades. They opened the Philippine Normal School (now Philippine Normal University) and the Philippine School of Arts and Trades (PSAT) in 1901 and reopened the Philippine Nautical School, established in 1839 by the Board of Commerce of Manila under Spain. By the end of 1904, primary courses were mostly taught by Filipinos under American supervision. “Thomasites: An Army Like No Other,” October 12, 2003, Official Website of the Republic of the Philippines, archived from the original on April 29, 2008, <http://archive.is/6HbZJ>.

Over 65 percent of the Thomasites were graduates of normal schools, colleges and universities. Of these, one-fifth had no experience, and one-fifth had over seven years teaching experience.¹⁵⁰ held A B degrees, 41 BS degrees, twenty-one Master’s degrees, and three had doctorates. Muerman, *Philippine Schools*, 32.

6. Amparo S. Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education* (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1991), 3.

Civilian teachers who took the place of the soldier-teachers began their work in a country composed of a heterogeneous race, whose numerous ethnic groups differed in language, religion, manners, and customs. Floods, typhoons, poor roads, and lack of transportation facilities kept the teachers from the company of other Americans. They had to get used to different kinds of food, sleep on hard beds, and suffer from inconveniences and discomforts...[as well as] cholera...[and] smallpox.⁷

One-thousand schools were opened by September 1900, and English was the principal subject taught; others included “arithmetic, geography, commercial accounts, typewriting and stenography.”⁸ According to his diary,⁹ John DeHuff, one of the Thomasites, left his hometown in Indiana, traveled by train across the United States to San Francisco where he boarded the USAT *Thomas*, which departed on July 23, 1901 and arrived in Manila in August of 1901, with about 500 other fresh recruits. Historian Stanley Karnow notes, “More than a thousand young Americans volunteered to teach Filipino children and to train native instructors. ... As an inducement they were offered as much as \$125 a month, substantially more than teachers earned at home.”¹⁰ Perhaps it is

7. Lardizabal, *Pioneer American Teachers*, 3.

8. *Ibid.*, 42.

9. Rewritten and edited to “take out the rough parts” by Elizabeth Willis DeHuff. John David DeHuff kept these diaries while in the Philippines, from July 7, 1901 to April 30, 1907. “John David DeHuff Diary,” Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 5, diary 1), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. PDF of the original, MSS 99 DEHUFF DIARIE BOOK.pdf, available for download at University of New Mexico Digital Collections, <http://econtent.unm.edu/>.

10. Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines* (New York: Random House, 1988), 202.

germane to this study that President McKinley arranged for them to report to the educational division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

By 1901, when DeHuff was first in Manila, the American government had established public schools, from primary to secondary grades, in an effort to “Americanize” Filipino children.”¹¹ However, there were no published guidelines for the teachers until 1904, and arts were not included in the curricula, except for high schools, until 1907.¹² In 1911 classes in drawing were added for grades four through seven.¹³ The first director of the Bureau of Public Instruction was a Harvard graduate, Fred Atkinson. He recruited the aforementioned 1,000 teachers for the new school system, men and women whose attitudes were not always admirable.¹⁴ One teacher named Blaine Moore described his students as “squirming, talking barbarians” and “brown half-savages.”¹⁵

11. Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila, “The Philippines,” *International Review of Education* 42, no. 1 (1996): 109–29.

12. “Revised Course of Study for Primary Grades,” Circular 51, s. 1907, June 10, 1907 (Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Record Group 350, file 2618, enclosure 30; National Archives, College Park, MD) notes that the Primary Curriculum Prescribed on June 10, 1907 included:

Grade 1 (4 hours) Language, Numbers, Handiwork (40 minutes), Opening Exercises and Music, Physical exercises and Recess

Grade 2 (4 hours) Language, Arithmetic, Handiwork (40 minutes), Opening Exercises and Music, Physical exercises and Recess, Drawing and Writing (20 minutes)

Grade 3 (5 hours) English, Arithmetic, Industrial work (60 minutes), Opening Exercises and Music, Physical exercises and Recess, Drawing and Writing (20 minutes), Geography

Grade 4 (5 hours) English, Arithmetic, Industrial work (60 minutes), Opening Exercises and Music, Physical exercises and Recess, Nature study and civics (25 minutes), Geography.

13. Muerman, *Philippine Schools*, 56–63.

14. Alfred W. McCoy, review of *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900–1913*, by Glenn Anthony May, *Journal of Southeast Studies* 14, no. 1 (1983): 201–4.

15. Glenn Anthony May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900–1913* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980), 89, 95.

Despite the sometimes inadequate teachers, and the tremendous numbers of students they oversaw (in the 1908–9 school year, 434,735 students were enrolled¹⁶), the government pursued its Dewey-inspired goal of education to “prepare the Filipinos for citizenship in a democracy.”¹⁷

John DeHuff was initially assigned to teach in the town of Janiuay, Iloilo¹⁸ in the central Philippine provinces, which cover an area roughly the size of Great Britain and comprised a population speaking over thirty languages and dialects in the 1800s¹⁹. Janiuay was a town with a population of just under 20,000.²⁰ DeHuff moved up the

16. “Revised Course of Study for Primary Grades,” 108.

17. Antonio Isidro, “Problems and Promise of Secondary Education in the Philippines,” *Clearing House* 31, no. 9 (1957): 527–30.

18. Muerman, *Philippine Schools*, 46. John DeHuff’s diary states, on July 10, 1907:

Because of neglect and pressure of work, no entries have been made herein since April 30, 1907. Shortly after the preceding entry, when in Manila, I was informed of my transfer from Div. Supt. of Bobol to Act Dir. Supt of Iloilo. Took over at Iloilo May 13, 1907. There went to Bobol and turned over that division to N. SC Ubscott, after which went back to Iloilo and stayed until June, 1908, when I turned over to the regular Supt C. H. Magee. Then went back to Bobol for one more year’s work. Took over Bobol on June 25, 1908. Yesterday afternoon finished turning over the division of Bobol...and last evening embarked to Manila.... Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 5, diary 2), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

19. Robert Lawrence Packard, “Education in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines,” in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897–1898*, ed. United States Bureau of Education (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 968.

20. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1900*, Parts 1–2, United States Philippine Commission (1899–1900) 636; Part 3 (1900–1916) 184–195 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907).

educational administrative hierarchy, and by 1912 was appointed Superintendent of the school system, not a small accomplishment in an administration overseeing some 3,000 schools.²¹ He wrote an article, “The Philippine School of Commerce,” in which he describes the goal of the commerce school as to prepare Filipino men and women to work jobs in government and local business offices.²²

The United States government continued aggressively to seek teachers to move to the Philippines, but only the most intrepid persons, such as Elizabeth Willis, were willing to undertake travel there. At the behest of her uncle, Fred Wilson, who was a friend of John David DeHuff, DeHuff met Willis when her ship arrived in 1910. Apparently he was instantly smitten with her intelligence, and so perhaps was instrumental in her receiving the highly sought after assignment of teaching mathematics and geography at Manila High School, which she would do for the next three years.²³

21. Philippines Bureau of Education, *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education January 1, 1914, to December 31, 1914* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915), 9. “After the death of Mr. Frank Russell White in August 1913...Mr. John David DeHuff [was appointed Second Assistant Director].

22. In his byline he is listed as Superintendent of Schools, Manila, 1912. DeHuff, “The Philippine School of Commerce,” in Pecson and Racelis, *Tales of the American Teachers*, 215.

23. DeHuff wrote in his diary on Friday August 12, 1910:

An old...friend Fred Wilson...Two or three days ago, just as he was leaving for the southern islands, he gave me a card of introduction to his niece Miss Elizabeth Willis, due to arrive today from the states and asked me to meet her at the boat and show her around to the Bureau of Education, as she is to be a teacher. I went down this morning and offered my services, if there were any way in which I might help her. After she got located, I took her to the Bureau of Education and introduced her to the Director. Unusually brilliant girl, and although not strikingly good looking still her good qualities more than make up for that. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC,

Fellow teacher Mary H. Fee drew on her Philippines experience in “A Woman’s Impression of the Philippines.” Fee asserts that Manila was the city of choice, and she emphasizes how much most teachers wanted to be posted there. She refers to one woman, with an MA in mathematics from the University of California, who was distraught when she was assigned to work in a remote area.²⁴ Fee’s experience in the Philippines is especially relevant for understanding Willis’s challenges since this was Fee’s (and subsequently Willis’s) first experience teaching non-white students. In 1910 United States President William Howard Taft stated that he wanted teachers in the Philippines to focus

box 5, diary 2), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Willis wrote in a letter to her parents, on August 13, 1910:

There is an opening and I can teach this year without standing and examination until next May. The only difference between teachers who have passed examinations and those who have not is the great fact that the former may be dropped at any time and received[sic] no vacation pay.

Mr. DeHuff, Uncle Fred’s friend, has invited me to drive with him. He must have thought me a little nice yesterday...[He] is very pleasant. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 10, folder 12), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

DeHuff had been in the Philippines nine years when Willis arrived, and apparently he was already fairly high up in the educational ranks. Records from his home state of Indiana, before he left for the Philippines, list him as such at Roann High School. Although the dates cited are ambiguous, this report of his professional activities would have been sometime between 1893 and 1904. During this time, he provides some math questions which were included in *The Indiana School Journal* 38 (1893): 69, 142. See online version of the 1904 book *Education in Indiana: an Outline of the Growth of the Common School System* by F. A. Cotton (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford), 421; one of the referenced pages has J. D. DeHuff listed under “Principals and Assistants” at Roann High School; accessed October 15, 2010, <http://books.google.com/>. By the time he left the Philippines, DeHuff was Second Assistant Director.

24. Fee, “A Woman’s Impression of the Philippines,” in *Tales of the American Teachers in the Philippines*, ed. Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1959, 47–74.

on “teaching the people enough in learning and in the practice of popular government to enable them to take over a Government and maintain it permanently. Meantime [the United States]... had to suppress an insurrection in order to initiate such a policy.”²⁵

The historian Kenton J. Clymer characterizes the early teachers in the Philippines in the following manner:

They came to educate, to convert, to uplift the “native” (insofar as they believed this was possible), to reform Philippine society along Western lines—in sum, they were there to shoulder the White Man’s Burden.²⁶

The American government’s patriarchal and hegemonic approach to Filipinos is notably similar to that displayed toward American Indians. And just as representatives of the US government met with resistance from many American Indians, so, too, they met with resistance from numerous Filipino people. A 1906 *New York Times* article examining the particular challenges faced by American teachers in the Philippines noted that they were often isolated: Filipinos did not speak English, did not trust Americans, and were resistant to any interference from foreign governments. This is corroborated in stories written by the teachers themselves. When the Thomasites arrived, there were no schools, no books and not many willing students. They taught in *bodegas* (shops) with paper for blackboards, and even if books were available, the students did not know the language in which they were written, nor the objects pictured in them. In addition, the Philippines had

25. “Taft on the Philippines: Says Our Policy Is In Accord with the Declaration of Independence,” *New York Times*, July 5, 1910.

26. Clymer, “Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man’s Burden in the Philippines,” *Pacific Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (1976): 495–517.

a long tradition of being wary of western colonial forces.²⁷ Several years later Willis DeHuff would have encountered similar issues when teaching American Indians.²⁸

By the time Willis arrived, educators in the Philippines were instructed to teach household arts, including sewing and crocheting, mechanical drawing and freehand drawing. The foreword to a 1913 Philippine Bureau of Education report entitled *Philippine Mats* states, “The Bureau of Education has for some years past been endeavoring to improve the designs used as well as the workmanship of Philippine mats, in order that the article produced shall be typical of the country, artistic in design, and of real commercial value.”²⁹ This may, or may not, have affected Willis, who had been trained to be a mathematics teacher, but she would have been aware of it, and perhaps incorporated it with her younger students.

27. “If [the American teacher in the Philippines] be stationed in the capital of a province, in comfortable surroundings, with congenial associates, it is not unpleasant; but the work of a division superintendent is pursued under quite different condition. He usually lives in a town separated from other Americans—is often the only American there...he must lay out, each week, the work of the corps, numbering six to thirty, of native teachers; must organize new schools often in hamlets and barrios distant from the town center, and where the population is densely ignorant if not lawless.” George R. Bishop, “The Philippines at Close Range; Experiences of an American Teacher in the Islands -- A Narrative of Work and Travel,” review of *The Philippine Experiences of an American Teacher: A Narrative of Work and Travel in the Philippine Islands*, by William B. Freer, *New York Times*, August 4, 1906, Saturday Review of Books.

28. As described by Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder in *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), and from the Native’s point of view, Gilbert, *Education Beyond the Mesas*.

29. Frank L. Crone, [Acting Director, Manila, February 1, 1913], foreword to *Philippine Mats*, by the Government of the Philippine Islands Department of Public Instruction, Bureau of Education, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913), 4.

The fine art Willis would have encountered while working as an educator in the Philippines included Spanish colonial adaptations of European artistic prototypes,³⁰ along with Native weaving, carving and pottery (figures 3.1–3.3) that the government actively encouraged to be produced alongside the fine art skills of drawing and painting taught in the school system. Willis encountered a similar artistic aesthetic approach to the one she would encounter later in the American Southwest, an aesthetic that sought to preserve Native styles, designs, and forms such as weaving and pottery.

Whatever subject matter Willis and her future husband had studied in college and subsequently taught in the Philippines, the work and living conditions there must have been most difficult and challenging: some twenty-seven teachers died of dysentery, smallpox, cholera, murder, were murdered by “Ladrones” (Native people) and “other” ailments between 1901 and 1903; by 1910 the situation was not much improved.³¹ The war was barely over, and student and parental engagement was abysmal. Eighty-three percent of Filipino students dropped out before fourth grade, and, not surprisingly, by all accounts the nation's public education was substandard.

30. The Philippines also boasted the American architect, William E. Parsons, who designed numerous schools and hospitals during the time Willis lived there. According to Luciano P. R. Santiago, “The first *Academia de Dibujo* [Drawing] was founded in Manila in 1821...” He refers to the Manila Art Academy in the nineteenth century being patterned on the Spanish tradition, and distinguished the Academy work from that of the ““native art” which was largely self-taught or learned by apprenticeship with self-taught artists.” He continues, “[m]any nineteenth century works of art seem to combine both styles in different proportions.” The Academy had 540 students in 1891 and soon thereafter a staff of at least nine painting three sculpture and one engraving faculty members. After the arrival of the Americans, the school became the School of Fine Arts of the University of the Philippines in 1909. Santiago, “Philippine Academic Art: The Second Phase (1845–98),” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, 17, no. 1 (1989): 67–89.

31. DeHuff, “Philippine School of Commerce,” 28. In *American Teachers in the Philippines*, edited by Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis, 215–17. Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1959.

Willis was homesick, and dispirited, as she wrote her mother on August 25, 1910, “If I should stop writing home I wonder if the folks there would write to me. I wish I knew! Things might be bearable with letters from home, and my courage might not waver....” Her letter continues:

I hate to acknowledge that I am sad—but I am. My schoolwork, which began on ...June 23...is not as pleasant as it might be. I have a hard schedule. Trigonometry, or Physical Geography (I do not know which until Monday, the rest I began teaching alone today) geometry, Junior English—*Ivanhoe* and Composition and Rhetoric—Algebra and Freshman English—*Evangeline* and Com[position] and Rhe[toric]. It requires lots of preparation and while these yellow—men and women really—students are quite bright and very attentive, there is criticism in the air. They are ready to pounce on you and laugh you to scorn, just as they would like to do all things American. They hate all Americans. We, like the Yankees and the negro, have been too good to them. They are completely spoiled and “handle themselves” as you would say, but I hope to manage them successfully. It will mean much study and strong nerves.

P.S. Most of the teachers are married. The four who are not are tall thin typical old maids.³²

A letter Willis wrote to her mother on August 29, 1910, tells:

My schoolwork is progressing “so-so”. I had three horrid classes of almost fifty-five pupils and two very interesting small ones every day. I include a schedule of my daily work [which included Physical Geography, English, Algebra, and Geometry].

32. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 10, folder 12), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

This letter included a telegram from her uncle requesting that DeHuff forward money to Willis if needed. Teacher pay was notoriously late, sometimes by months, adding to the problems these men and women faced.

The American superintendent of the schools, Frank White, responded to the less than adequate teaching situation and problems with the pupils by emphasizing crafts, including basketry, weaving and pottery, as ways to engage students who were historically resistant to education enforced by an outside nation. These methods would make a lasting impression on the two young American teachers, and no doubt informed Willis's work with the young Kabotie.

John DeHuff, in the meantime, was appointed Superintendent of the Manila Schools in 1912, and about that same time he wrote "The Philippine School of Commerce,"³³ in which he proposed instituting business classes (stenography among them) to enable the Philippine students to earn a living and supply a cheaper (than American) source of workers.³⁴

By this time, apparently Willis and DeHuff were preparing to return to the United States and begin the next stage of their careers by adapting what they learned in the islands to teach Indian students in America (DeHuff taught in the Philippines some twelve years, Willis for three). While teaching in the Philippines (and later in New Mexico), Willis likely drew on Dewey's principles that she encountered at Teachers College, particularly the belief that education helps integrate children into society through intellectual development. Despite the fact that "Article One: What Education Is" of

33. DeHuff, "Philippine School of Commerce," 215–17.

34. *Ibid.*, 215–17.

Dewey's essay, *My Pedagogic Creed*, begins with the statement, "I believe that all education proceeds by the participation of the individual in the social consciousness of the race."³⁵ Willis, similar to many of her contemporaries, probably viewed Native people as children who needed the guidance of more evolved whites, at least initially. However, her experiences in the Philippines and her subsequent interactions with Angel De Cora at the Carlisle School (described in the following chapter) both enhanced her understanding of how to teach art to indigenous students. The combination of these approaches later catalyzed the Georgia-born math teacher to instruct Kabotie in art.

35. Dewey, "Pedagogic Creed," 77–80.

Chapter Four

Angel De Cora, Hampton Institute and Carlisle Indian Boarding School: Native American Art Educator Participates in the Arts and Crafts Movement and Creates a Pan-Indian Approach

When the DeHuffs left the Philippines they traveled to the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, where they embarked on their careers as teachers of Native American students. There they worked with Winnebago art educator Angel De Cora (Hinook-Mahiwi-Kilinaka “Fleecy Cloud Floating in Place”),¹ whose own formal art education began at the Hampton Institute in Virginia. The artistic styles and pedagogies that converged in the Indian boarding schools of the early twentieth century in general and the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School (via the DeHuffs) specifically are best understood from a biographical and an historical perspective. Additionally, by investigating the evolution of art pedagogy in Native American boarding schools, this chapter provides a fresh examination of the roots of the early Native American easel painters –essential to a better understanding of the origins of Native American easel painting and especially the Santa Fe Style.

1. Suzanne Alene Shope, “American Indian Artist Angel De Cora: Aesthetics, Power, and Transcultural Pedagogy in the Progressive Era” (PhD diss., University of Montana, 2009), 1.

Return to the United States and the Carlisle Indian Boarding School

In 1913 both Elizabeth Willis and John David DeHuff returned to the United States; they married at her family home in Georgia on January 1, 1914.² On January 5, Willis DeHuff wrote in her diary of almost missing the train to CFW (she does not explain what CFW is), and on January 6 of chatting with other teachers about their Christmas holidays, and how hard it was to get back to work. She does not state where she was teaching, but she does record that on January 27, 1914, she, “[h]elped serve at the Columbia Art Exhibit.”³

By June 15 Willis DeHuff was in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, near Harrisburg writing, “The flowers in Carlisle are beautiful. Each day there is something new.”⁴ That year DeHuff became principal teacher at the Carlisle Indian Boarding School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. A letter in Willis DeHuff’s papers states that Willis also taught at Carlisle;⁵ however, after the couple married, she most likely stopped teaching. As the wife of the assistant superintendent, she would normally not have been permitted to teach. In truth,

2. Rootsweb lists: Elizabeth Mary Willis Dehuff to John David DeHuff, 25 April 1914; she was born 2 Sept 1886, Augusta, Ga. He was born 19 Feb 1872, Chili Indiana. He died at Santa Fe, New Mexico, 25 Jan 1945. Accessed October 15, 2010, [http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~Willis DeHuff/marre.htm](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~Willis%20DeHuff/marre.htm).

3. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 5, unnumbered diary), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

4. Ibid.

5. “The War Department has been requested to approve the transfer of Miss Willis, after which the Civil Service Commission will...issue the necessary certificate.” Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 5, unnumbered diary), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. A handwritten note at the bottom of the page notes, “She began work at Carlisle May 20, 1914, by verbal authority.”

rules governing married women's work varied from school to school; however, regulations forbidding married women from teaching were not uncommon and such rules often went so far as to say that female teachers could not marry while under contract or could not marry at all, and additionally could not consort with men. A woman certainly could not teach when pregnant, which Willis DeHuff became soon thereafter.⁶

There are references to the DeHuffs in several Carlisle publications, the first in *The Carlisle Arrow* on May 29, 1914. A small blurb on page one entitled, “New Principal Teacher for Carlisle,” announced the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. DeHuff as new “additions” to the faculty. “Both were formerly employed in the Philippine School Service,” the story continued, “Mr. DeHuff being Assistant Director of Education. He takes Mr. Whitewell’s place as principal teacher.” The phrasing leaves several things unclear. What did the DeHuffs teach? And was John DeHuff the Assistant Director in the Philippines School Service as well as at Carlisle?⁷ Or was he Principal Teacher at Carlisle, as noted elsewhere? As the letter mentioned earlier indicates that Willis DeHuff did teach there initially, when and why did she stop?

6. Raymond Bial, *One-Room School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 29; and Jerold W. Apps, *One-Room Country Schools: History and Recollections from Wisconsin* (Amherst, WI: Amherst Press, 1996) 28–30.

These rules were to be followed very strictly. If a teacher broke any one of these rules, she/he was dismissed immediately. According to Apps, “The reason for the rule against marriage is that it would normally be followed by pregnancy, and the farmers did not want a pregnant woman teaching their children. Also, the teacher would most likely be unable to finish the term if she were to become pregnant and it would be difficult to replace her.” To the author’s recollection, as late as the 1960s women in the United States were not allowed to teach while pregnant.

7. “New Principal Teacher for Carlisle,” *Carlisle Arrow*, May 29, 1914, n.p.

The September 1914 issue of the *Arrow* noted, “Mr. and Mrs. De Huff [sic] are now comfortably settled in their apartment in [the] Teachers’ Quarters.”⁸ After that, references highlight John DeHuff in relation to school visitors, teachers’ meetings, literary societies, a visit by General Pratt, and the football team and chapel exercises. Willis DeHuff is rarely mentioned, and only in social contexts such as “Mrs. DeHuff poured the tea...”⁹ and “We are glad to have Mr. and Mrs. Lipps and Mr. and Mrs. De Huff [sic] with us again, after an absence of several days at the Lake Mohonk conference” where John DeHuff gave a talk entitled “Economic and Social Aspects of Contact of American Teachers with the Filipino People.”¹⁰

The December 1914 *Arrow* describes a paper DeHuff was to give to the International Congress of Education in Oakland, California in August 1915 entitled, “Education of Non-Saxon Races.”¹¹ The DeHuffs also attended the 1914 conference at Lake Mohonk, for on Oct 12, 1914, Willis DeHuff noted in her diary that she had spent the day packing for the journey.¹²

8. “General School News,” *Carlisle Arrow*, September 1914, n.p.

9. “Afternoon Tea,” *Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914, n.p.

10. “General School News,” *Carlisle Arrow*, October 23, 1914. From 1883 until 1916 those interested in Indian affairs met annually at the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian, in Lake Mohonk, New York, where they discussed and made recommendations about matters of concern to the American Indian. These conferences were highly influential on government policy.

11. “Invited to Speak at Educational Congress,” *Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914.

12. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 5, unnumbered diary), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. Just three years earlier Angel De Cora spoke on Native American art at the Society of American Indians conference there in 1911.

The last mention of Willis DeHuff's activities occurs in 1915, when the *Arrow* notes, "Congratulations. A sweet baby girl, Anna Wilson DeHuff, arrived at the home of her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. John Willis, in Augusta, Ga., on Monday the 22nd of March," and later, under "General School News," "Mrs. DeHuff and daughter Ann Wilson returned from Georgia last Sunday."¹³

Early Art Education in Indian Schools

Art education in the American Indian schools was formalized as early as 1890 under the direction of Estelle Reel, who had rapidly moved beyond her first job as a school teacher in Wyoming to become the Laramie County School Superintendent that year. She became Wyoming State Superintendent of Public Education only five years later (she was apparently the first woman to hold state office there). From 1898 until 1910, Reel served as Superintendent of Indian Schools, Office of Indian Affairs, under President McKinley.¹⁴ Her position unifying the school system helped to produce "God-fearing Indian men and women." Her educational emphasis remained on practical skills and labor as keys to forming good citizens.¹⁵ For example, in 1904 she visited the Indian school in Albuquerque, and found the students so eager to weave that they had turned chairs on end to create looms. This experience led Reel to recommend hiring local artists

13. She is named as Ann later in the same issue and Anne in later personal Willis DeHuff documents; and *Carlisle Arrow*, undated; and "General School News," *Carlisle Arrow*, undated.

14. Marinella Lentis, "Art for Assimilation's Sake: Indian-School Drawings in the Estelle Reel Papers" *American Indian Art* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2013): 44–51.

15. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 280.

to teach in the Indian schools. Unfortunately the kinds of crafts she promoted often were small-scale industries that failed to prepare the students to earn little more than pocket change.¹⁶ It is important, however, to note that Reel was educated in the mainstream school system and was very interested in educational theory, as evidenced by the fact that she referred in her early writings to the works of Pestalozzi and Fröbel.¹⁷ She also supported the teaching of academic art to Native students, believing it would enable them to leave their Native culture behind and enter the mainstream.¹⁸ The head of the Carlisle art program, Angel De Cora, was not impressed with Reel's exhibit, and in the Carlisle School publication *The Red Man and Helper* referred to "the flim flam methods of a Wild West Show" in one exhibition organized by Reel.¹⁹

Reel drew on the work of Thomas J. Morgan, who served as commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1889 to 1893. Morgan established a central curriculum for the Indian schools and incorporated the nineteenth-century art theory that art education would promote more cultured students who would, in turn, become better citizens.²⁰ The first art classes in the Indian schools taught drawing. According to Indian studies educator Marinella Lentis, "Only later, under the direction of William Hailmann, Superintendent

16. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 66.

17. *Ibid.*, 67.

18. Lentis, "Art for Assimilation's Sake," 44–51.

19. Untitled clipping from the *Red Man and Helper*, September 19, 1902. Estelle Reel Papers, (item 4, folder 15), Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts & Culture.

20. Morgan, *Rules for Indian Schools, with Course of Study, List of Textbooks, and Civil Service Rules* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1892). Also see Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915).

of Indian Schools from 1894 to 1898, and more prominently under Reel, his successor, were Indian arts and crafts added to the art training.”²¹

Morgan suggested beginning art studies early; he recommended teaching the concepts of color and form in the second year of primary school. The following year students would start working with line and geometric shapes, and in the next three years on executing drawings from objects. This is the model Indian schools followed until 1915.²² Germane to this study, Lentis writes in her article “Art for Assimilation’s Sake: Indian-School Drawings in the Estelle Reel Papers,” that:

Nevertheless, until 1915, Indian schools continued, for the most part, to follow a model that ignored children’s individual development, skill proficiency and intellectual progress. Moreover, while public schools emphasized appreciation of beauty through the “study of pattern and picture, form, composition and colors...related to the constructive surroundings of the child...In Indian schools, this kind of teaching would have contradicted the educational agenda; instead, Native children had to learn how to draw from a Western perspective that did not take into account their indigenous knowledge or social and natural environment....For example, the triangle, one of the simplest forms for an Anglo child to master, would have been very difficult for a Navajo child to draw or imagine because there is no word for it in the Navajo language.”²³

The perceptual, conceptual and linguistic differences do not end there. Lentis additionally points out his belief that various Native tribes perceive color differently (blue and green are the same to Navajos, Choctaws see no distinction between yellow and

21. Lentis, “Art for Assimilation’s Sake,” 46.

22. Morgan, *Rules for Indian Schools*, 35–38.

23. Lentis, “Art for Assimilation’s Sake,” 47.

brown, etc.).²⁴ Although these instances point out the complexity of visual culture differences, they are only two examples among many.

Reel wrote a revised course of study for the Indian schools in 1901 that placed drawing aside and emphasized instead the production of Native crafts. Students drew from life to shore up classroom learning; drawing from nature with western realism's "accuracy" in detail and color was encouraged. Reel had her students draw Indian pots and baskets to represent local peoples in geography class, thus recognizing differences in tribes; something De Cora sometimes failed to do. Reel additionally had her students make scrapbooks, with illustrations of things they had learned in school.²⁵ For the most part, Reel's students illustrated scenes from school life. They did not pursue images of their home life, nor landscapes, portraits, or what might be considered classical iconography. Her guidelines were followed by those of her successor, Harvey B. Peairs, who chaired the committee that wrote *The Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools*. This publication includes extensive instruction for the teaching of art through the sixth grade; it recommends that instruction be adapted to the local environment of individual schools, and to the needs of individual pupils.²⁶ This document paved the way for Willis's work with Kabotie, although her approach may have been "unsanctioned by the Office of Indian Affairs," and she met resistance from some Indian School employees. On the other hand, the DeHuffs were supported in their efforts to

24. Ibid., 48.

25. Reel, *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States, Industrial and Literary* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901).

26. Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools*.

teach Indian students by the local Santa Fe and Taos non-Native artists and intellectuals.²⁷ More so than Reel's, Wills DeHuff's work with Kabotie must have been inspired by another exceptional woman, Angel De Cora, whom the DeHuffs met at the Carlisle Indian School.

Angel De Cora and the Development of the Art Program at the Carlisle Indian Boarding School: Building on the Philosophies of Colonel Richard Henry Pratt

Historian T. J. Jackson Lears's seminal *No Place of Grace* (published in 1981) develops as its central thesis the idea that the Anglo-American bourgeoisie experienced a profound psychological trauma as corporate capitalism replaced entrepreneurial capitalism. This work questions the effects of America's industrial capitalist society during the years from 1880 until the 1920s. The unjust distribution of wealth and power, and the pursuit of the mechanical over the natural, resulted in an anti-modern movement. According to Lears, the antimodern malcontents searched for alternative sources in medieval, Oriental, and primitive cultures.²⁸

This cultural vacuum was one of the principal dynamics leading to the Arts and Crafts movement, which was, perhaps, the single most significant influence in design reform at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁹ Art historian and curator Emily Neff describes the multiple cultural factions during this time as including: a fascination with

27. McGeough, *Through Their Eyes*, 23.

28. Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880–1920* (1982; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): xi.

29. Barbara Haskell, *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900–1950* (New York: Whitney Museum of Art in association with W.W. Norton, 1999), 36.

non-western cultures, the Colonial Revival movement, the international Arts and Crafts movement, the Southwest landscape itself, and the “discovery” of a “new” type of Indian...the Pueblo Indians and the Navajo.³⁰

Lears believes that by this time antimodern sentiments affected a goodly proportion of intellectuals from Europe to America, and suffused both the middle and upper classes. He portrays the educated bourgeoisie as seeking authentic experience: for this group, for whom “life seemed increasingly confined to the airless parlor of material comfort and moral complacency.”³¹ Lears theorizes that for an American society disillusioned with technological advances, even the elevator endangered one’s sense of self-fulfillment, and antimodernists turned to the English Arts and Crafts movement for inspiration.³²

Lears also defines many links between antimodernism and the Arts and Crafts movement, as aesthetes and reformers “sought to recover the hard but satisfying life of the medieval craftsman.”³³ He explains that for most Americans at the end of the nineteenth century, change meant progress, and progress for many was to be desired.³⁴ However, antimodernism, and the Arts and Crafts movement as a parallel phenomenon, was a reaction against this concept, with its placement of American technology at the hands of impersonal big business. Lears states it thus: “In work-obsessed America, it was

30. Neff, *Modern West*, 129.

31. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 5.

32. *Ibid.*, 60–65.

33. *Ibid.*, xv.

34. *Ibid.*, 8.

not surprising that the recoil from overcivilization generated a critique of modern work.” Thus some members of the middle class revived America’s interest in handicrafts, both homemade and mass-produced. As Lears writes, the antimodern movement encompassed a “wide variety of social types and...ranged from the aloof patrician Charles Eliot Norton to the flamboyant former soap salesman Elbert Hubbard,” and the Arts and Crafts movement was “less a cohesive social phenomenon than a catchall polemical phrase.”³⁵

The Arts and Crafts movement was also a reaction to the changing place of the artist. As University of Leicester Emeritus Professor of Museum Studies, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, writes:

The training of artists was radically altered. Previously, artists had worked as apprentices, as in the medieval guild system, in the studio of a master. Now the ‘museum’ took the place of the master and students worked in the galleries, faithfully following the master painters step by step.³⁶

Not only did the museum become the arbiter of taste in art, but the ramifications of this were tremendous. A division was created between the producers and the buyers of both art and knowledge as experts and laymen were established, leading to categories of those who held the advantage in the arts and those at a disadvantage. Additionally, as Lears writes in “Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America,” by the nineteenth-century exoticism had become a commodity that offered the new and exciting, both culturally and via mysterious goods for sale. Lears further asserts that, from 1880 through 1920 especially, this created increasing tensions between the authentic and

35. Ibid., 60–61.

36. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), 182.

imitation because, in part, of the arrival of non-Protestant cultures along with the advent of department stores and amusement parks where the exotic could be put on display for the public's pleasure.³⁷ The exotic did offer new means to interpret the contemporary world, most notably for women, alongside new methods to interpret the rapid changes occurring. Victoria and Albert Museum curator Ghislaine Wood notes that the exotic "could be safely appropriated and incorporated into existing cultural structures while simultaneously suggesting internationality and modernity."³⁸

On the periphery of this transitional Anglo world, Angel De Cora was a woman who embodied many of these ideas, in particular the opportunity to reinterpret the modern world through the lens of someone perceived as coming from a simpler, more natural origin. A Winnebago-born painter and illustrator, De Cora was not only a teacher at Carlisle, but was also one of the founders of the Native Arts programs in the Indian Boarding School system.

In tracing the genesis of De Cora's art pedagogy, it is important to begin before the effects of Reel, and look to the first academic attempts to teach art to Native Americans. In the spring of 1875, the United States government decided to incarcerate a group of Southern Plains warriors who had been engaged in recent Indian wars, in an attempt to encourage Native Americans to adjust to life on reservations. Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, who had served in the Union army during the Civil War, had rejoined the

37. Lears, "Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, ed. Simon J Bronner (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1989), 77, 85.

38. Wood, "The Exotic," in *Art Deco: 1910-1939*, ed. Charlotte Benton, Tim Benton and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publications, 2003), 126.

army and participated in the Indian Wars beginning in 1867. He was given the task of moving the captured warriors to incarceration at a distant deserted prison at Fort Marion, near St. Augustine, Florida in 1875.³⁹

One female and seventy-one male warriors, (as well as one non-combatant woman following her husband with their eight-year-old daughter), all American Indian prisoners, arrived at Fort Marion (formerly Castillo de San Marcos) where they were to be held indefinitely.⁴⁰ Pratt was in charge of the group, but was offered little instruction as to what he was to do with them. He developed a program, but it was not universally approved. The lack of guidance was apparent, and Pratt was not unanimously admired for his work with the Indian prisoners. Post Commandant, Major John Hamilton, futilely complained about Pratt, who, among other transgressions, had taken the irons off six of his prisoners and allowed them onto the parapet of the prison to see the ocean shortly after their arrival at the fort. In fact, after a few days, Pratt had the irons removed from all the prisoners.⁴¹ After allowing them to rebuild their rotting living quarters, he initiated an education program in order to encourage the prisoners to develop familiarity with western cultural concepts. To do so, he invited local people to visit and interact with the prisoners, and asked the prisoners to demonstrate target shooting and other Native skills for the visitors' enjoyment. In addition he allowed the prisoners to create and sell small crafts. He also encouraged local women and winter tourists to come and teach the prisoners.

39. Joyce M. Szabo, *Art From Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 2–24.

40. Herman J. Viola, *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art Drawn by Making Medicine and Zotom* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1998), 7.

41. Viola, *Warrior Artists*, 9–10.

These actions show Pratt as much more humane than many others might have been (such as Hamilton).

The art created by the Fort Marion prisoners, which became well known, was highly collectible from the very beginning, since it reflected many aspects of the former warriors' lives, both before and after being captured (including equally scenes of their transport and prison, as well as their Native lives). Pratt encouraged their artistic endeavors by providing art supplies from New York, together with unlined books, as opposed to the ledger books a number of Plains Indian artists were in the habit of using. Although it is not known exactly what instruction he gave his wards, he encouraged them to focus on imagery that would sell—in other words, whatever the tourists were most likely to buy is what the artists learned to represent. Pratt allowed the sketchbooks to be sold for two dollars each, and they were avidly collected by a wide range of St. Augustine's tourists and citizens (figures 4.1–4.4).⁴²

Many of the prisoners had previous experience drawing, and there were at least twenty-six artists in the group, who produced well over 1,400 images in their three years at Fort Marion.⁴³ Their members came from the Cheyenne, Kiowa and Arapaho tribes, each with different cultural and aesthetic backgrounds. According to art historian Joyce Szabo, the Cheyenne benefited from a cultural basis for drawing records of battle scenes, while the Arapaho had a history of creating representational drawing, and the Kiowas' delicate aesthetic style differed in its “firmly established system of representational

42. Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 29; and Frances K. Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002), 228.

43. Phillip Earenfight, ed., *A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 5.

imagery connected less to detailed drawings of battle encounters than to maintaining calendars.”⁴⁴ Szabo further suggests that rock art and painted hide robes and shirts, as well as tipi or lodge art, served as prototypes for Fort Marion art.⁴⁵

Visitors to Saint Augustine saw drawings depicting daily life of the plains, with peaceful village scenes, men courting women, and large groups of people gathered for ceremonies. Such representations gave the purchasers of these drawings a sense of the prisoners as people in their own homes, engaged in the daily activities of lives distinctly different from those led by visitors to the fort. These drawings were also instantly recognizable as records of a life the non-Native visitors would never know; images created by the captive artists were the closest most visitors would get to understanding aspects of that life. In fact, given the need for the drawings to stand on their own without the accompanying oral narration that would have been part of both calendars and more detailed battle images on the plains, Fort Marion drawings had to assume the roles of visual and oral narration simultaneously.... The original collectors or recipients of Fort Marion drawings may have looked at them as simple souvenirs... Drawing books would then serve the same function as photographs... memories of Florida vacations.⁴⁶

Moira F. Harris, author of *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion*, points out that while it is unknown when the first Native ledger book painting was created, the earliest extant is of the Cheyenne people and dates from the 1860s. Harris agrees that the Fort Marion paintings purchased by tourists were probably not purchased as “art” per se, but as curios or souvenirs, corroborating Szabo.⁴⁷ Brad D. Lookingbill, in

44. Szabo, *Art from Fort Marion*, 30–32.

45. *Ibid.*, 30–35.

46. *Ibid.*, 168.

47. Harris, *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion* (St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 1989), 11, 13.

War Dances at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners, conjectures that these books were recognized by the Indians as trade commodities. He proposes that Pratt's prisoners were already very experienced with trade commodities, as their culture had an elaborate and wide-spread network of exchange built up over centuries, and the marketing strategies employed by Pratt at Fort Marion were an extension of this.⁴⁸

And it was a marketing program indeed. Posters and handbills advertised round-trip excursions from Jacksonville and St. Augustine to see "Captain Pratt's Indians." The railroad asked permission to include photographs of the prisoners for promoting tourism to Florida. Apparently, "Even General of the Army William T. Sherman encouraged his cousin to stay in the ancient city for a winter so that he and his family could see the Indians." Cultural exhibitions were held about twice a week, with powwows, war dances, the singing of traditional songs, and short pantomimes of mock battles, for which the participants were paid as much as two dollars each.⁴⁹ Pratt was compelled to issue *General Order Number 51*, prohibiting visitors on Sundays.

In 1878 the government decided to release the Fort Marion prisoners, since neither the Bureau of Indian Affairs nor the Army was willing to continue paying the expenses of incarcerating them. But the government was unsure what to do with them. When Colonel Pratt was informed in 1878 that the prisoners were to be released, his immediate concern was for their welfare. He felt many were well on their way to

48. Lookingbill, *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 82–83.

49. Lookingbill, *War Dance*, 84–90. Lookingbill also cites the travel guide of local writer Sidney Lanier, who imaging the prisoners "rapidly degenerating behind the coquina walls...[and privately complaining] about their confinement "by some ass who is in authority."

assimilation, and he worried their return to the reservation might set his efforts back. When he asked if any of them would be interested in furthering their education, twenty-two raised their hands. Pratt asked colleges along the eastern seaboard to accept them as students, but only the Hampton Institute in Virginia agreed. Hampton had only recently opened its doors--in 1868, after the Civil War--with the express mission of educating former slaves. In its first year, it had enrolled fifteen African-American students under the tutelage of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the school's founder and principal.

Armstrong defied reluctant board members and benefactors by accepting Pratt's student-wards, and made room for seventeen Native Americans. The courageousness and difficulty of his decision can be underscored by noting that when he asked his African-American student body to volunteer as mentors to these new students, they initially declined; and when pushed to provide a reason, they told Pratt they were afraid that the former Indian warriors might scalp them.⁵⁰ While his motives have often been portrayed as purely altruistic, it should also be recognized that he used his Native students as a means to raise money for the school.⁵¹

50. Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute: 1877–1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 31.

51. Jeremy B. Taylor, "'There's Money in Them': General S. C. Armstrong's Marketing Plan for the Hampton Indian Program, 1878–1893," *Ozark Historical Review* 37 (Spring 2008): 2, 4, 6, 7, 14.

Armstrong presented the Hampton Institute as the best institution to civilize the Indians. He utilized a number of marketing tactics to do so, and capitalized on the fears of those who were interested in the fate of American Natives. When his second group of Indian students arrived in 1878 Hampton received \$150 in cash annually for each of one hundred students. By 1881 this increased to \$167 per student, and for 1886 Congress authorized Hampton to accept an additional twenty students. Despite this, the school had to rely heavily on donations. He had the backing of influential men, and in 1880 Rutherford B. Hayes spoke at the school's commencement, citing racial issues as the nation's greatest problem, one that Hampton was helping to solve.

The United States government gave its permission for the Fort Marion prisoners to attend Hampton, and even provided some monies for the admission of these Native American students,⁵² but Armstrong and Pratt felt pressured to identify additional funding. One source was increased government support via massive efforts to enroll even more Indian students. Another developed over the following years as the two men marketed the concept of the boarding school to potential students and donors. Unfortunately, their method of enrolling students, according to numerous contemporaneous accounts, involved Indian children being kidnapped and dragged off to boarding schools in order to meet the student-body quota set by Pratt. This is, in fact, the way De Cora came to attend Hampton in 1883.⁵³

52. Taylor explains Hampton Institute's early history in the following way:

During its first ten years of operation, Hampton, apart from a moderate amount of money from Virginia's Morrill Act funds, depended primarily on private donations to survive. As any non-profit operator would agree, maintaining an organization's financial solvency primarily through philanthropic income means walking a monetary tightrope. Facing fluctuating income and an enormous operating budget, Armstrong constantly looked for stable and consistent income sources. The federal government was one of the few institutions that could provide such support.

For many years, the government had worked to civilize the Native Americans. The civilization process involved teaching Christianity, abandoning "savage costumes," and education in scholarly basics and agriculture. Congress allocated funds to accomplish these goals, and Armstrong was willing to accept a share. In defending the need for government-aided education, he argued, "We tell the Indians to take the white man's road and refuse to open it." Armstrong continued, "he is capable of citizenship, but is unfit to hold lands, or manage property till he can read and write." He recognized the government's needs and presented the Hampton model as the best way to fulfill them.

Armstrong's efforts proved to be successful, and the government began to provide Hampton with substantial funding to expand its Indian program. With the arrival of the second group of Indian Students in the fall of 1878, Hampton received \$150 annually for each of its one-hundred Indian students amounting to approximately \$15,000 per year. The annual payment increased to \$167 per student in 1881, and, beginning in 1886, Congress authorized Hampton to accept twenty more students increasing the annual subsidy to approximately \$20,000. *Ibid.*, 1–19.

53. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 24–25.

More legitimate fund-raising and marketing efforts included dressing the students in Native garb and holding demonstration dances for visiting dignitaries (despite Pratt's determination to "kill the Indian" by civilizing him or her). A "before and after" pair of student portraits, originally conceived as a practice at Fort Marion, consisted of photographing arriving students in their traditional garb, and then bathing and dressing them in European clothes with Anglo haircuts. These photographs graphically depicted what Pratt considered to be the schools' success; today these images are striking in their poignancy⁵⁴ (figures 4.5–4.9).

These before-and-after transformations, "reproduced by the hundreds in J. N. Choate's local studio,"⁵⁵ were used by Pratt to illustrate the achievements of Fort Marion, Hampton and later Carlisle, never prevented him from capitalizing on his students' exoticism when dignitaries visited. A Department of the Interior brochure *Indian School at Carlisle Barracks* (1880) notes, "Secretary Schurz addressed the pupils in the chapel

54. Along the same lines, articles in the school publications repeated this metaphor, with "Mr. Man-on-the-band-stand, an Anglo-American who monitored every student, cajoling the students to "lose" the Indian in themselves. "Eugene Tahkapuer, who was once a Commanche Indian, but is now a voting citizen of Massachusetts, has killed his Indian." S. Elizabeth Bird, "Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s–1900s," in *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, ed. S. Elizabeth Bird (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 1–12. As Joel Pfister observes, "The school encourages students to see themselves as diseased. Indianism, the dreaded pathology, necessitated Carlisle's cure." Pfister, *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). 45. Pfister adds, "Students learned to play two key roles: how to act the White imagination of "Indian" and the role of White "Individual," (71).

55. Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 166.

before dinner. Three of the older pupils, who for the day wore their native garb, performed an Indian dance.”⁵⁶

Armstrong and Pratt had much in common, including their desire to educate the underprivileged, but their methods involved very different approaches, especially when it came to the subject of allowing Native American students to retain aspects of their culture.⁵⁷ At Carlisle, founded in 1879, Pratt forced each student to accept assigned Anglicized names, western clothing and haircuts.⁵⁸ Armstrong had grown up in Hawaii with missionary parents who worked to convert Natives to Christianity, there he observed the work of Native Hawaiian students at the Hilo Manual Labor School.⁵⁹ In his early years at Hampton, Armstrong allowed students to adopt some version of their Native

56. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *The Indian School at Carlisle Barracks* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880), 5; accessed January 8, 2014, Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/details/indianschoolatca00unitiala>.

57. For more on these two men and their educational philosophies, see Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

58. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 110.

A more human approach was the Hampton method. When a boy arrived at the school with the name Hehakaavita (Yellow Elk), an inquiry about the boy's father's name evoked the response 'Good Wood.' Hence the boy's new name became Thomas Goodwood. On another occasion, the son of an old chief, Medicine Bull, was given the new name of Samuel M. Bull. Such alterations, Hampton held, met the necessity of assigning a new name yet recognized the individuality, if not the heritage, of the student.

Carlisle simply handed out western-style names, without consulting the students at all, much as Fred Kabotie himself was named at the Keams Canyon Boarding School some years later.

59. Gregory D. Smithers, *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780s-1890s* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 157.

names, thus demonstrating his sympathy with and progressive attitudes toward their traditional upbringing. De Cora's biographer, Linda M. Waggoner, attributes his attitude to the social Darwinism movement, and writes, "Angel eventually espoused the reform Darwinism of the Progressive era. This orientation granted the lower classes (and races) a chance to progress if they worked strenuously."⁶⁰ When De Cora, in 1912, delivered a speech at the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians (see full text in Appendix 2),⁶¹ she noted:

The Indian artist's first aim was to picture his thoughts, and he drew them on the material at hand.... At first no attempts were made at realism, the simple forms and figures had practical significance, but gradually through the process of evolution, the pictorial arrangements tended to cultivate his decorative sense and thereby started his art on the more aesthetic plane....

De Cora speaks of attending a National Education Association convention, where she studied the Indian school exhibit. She was disturbed that the work appeared much like any public school art, "the usual spray of flow or budding twig done in "wash" after the manner of Japanese brush work, and some included stilted forms of geometric figures apparently made under the strict directions of a teacher;" the only hint that the work was by Native students was found in their names. This exhibit compelled her to consider what might happen if educated Native students adapted Indian art to modern methods.

60. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 35.

61. The American Society of Indians was an organization dedicated to uniting Native Americans of all tribes "under one soul." This organization and its *Quarterly Journal* were both owned and operated by Native Americans, and as such offered the sole voice of the (pan) Indian of the times. Their goal was to craft a "coherent narrative that represented Native Americans." (Gregory D. Smithers. "The Soul of Unity: The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians, 1913-1915." *American Indian Quarterly*, 37. No 3, Summer 2013, 263-289.)

In her speech, De Cora also discusses her pan-Indian pedagogy, for instance taking the best samples of beadwork, noting “we study the symbolic figures, first of the Sioux, as they represent a certain style of ...the middle west...broader aspects of nature, such as sky, clouds, hill, lakes, rivers, trees and rock in symbolic figures of geometrical shapes...” From observing simpler art forms she moved her students to studying figures, and continued in an analytic style to study multiple tribal styles. She theorized that the “Zuni, Pueblo and Hopi offer a much more developed system of decorative designing which lends itself wonderfully to interior wall decoration,” and found their designs “especially in harmony with the so-called “mission” style.”

De Cora saw the financial advantages for students in adapting Native designs for everyday items, while at the same time she recognized distinctive tribal art forms serving as sources for an American style—an idea that this study investigates further.⁶²

De Cora’s speech offers significant insights into her attitudes about Native American arts and students. In *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist*, Waggoner states that De Cora often expressed admiration for Armstrong, and later in life criticized Pratt’s more autocratic approach.⁶³ While Armstrong had not sought out Indian pupils, he viewed their needs as equal to those of African-Americans, since both required specialized educational programs tailored to the special needs of a beleaguered minority

62. Angel De Cora, quoted in Society of American Indians, *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington, DC: Printed by Order of the Executive Council, 1912), 82–87. It is interesting to note that Dorothy Dunn’s teaching materials appear to be more closely akin to De Cora’s concepts than Willis DeHuffs, perhaps because De Cora and Dunn were both trained art teachers, Willis DeHuff had little or no actual art training, and therefore no pre-defined systems to pass on to her students. For more on Dunn’s materials and systems, see Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*.

63. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 35.

if they were to succeed in mainstream American society. Taking a benign patriarchal view, he perceived American Natives as children who needed adult guidance as well as careful and thoughtful tutelage.

According to art education historian Donal F. Lindsey, in *Indians at Hampton Institute: 1877–1923*, Armstrong and the Hamptonian staff regarded both African-Americans and Indians as second-class citizens who had to cope with ignorance, vice, and a lack of cleanliness, as well as anti-white sentiments.⁶⁴ Pratt, on the other hand, held that all races should be educated together in public schools so that they could be equipped to compete in a multicultural environment.⁶⁵ He believed Native Americans should be made full US citizens, and he supported intermarriage between Indians and whites in order to speed up the process.⁶⁶ Pratt also championed widespread education of Indians, and subsequently found ways to get them off the reservation so that they might assimilate into white society. Differing from Pratt, Armstrong believed in educating Indians so they might go home to the reservation and spread the good message of the Anglo-American life and ways to go about attaining it. In consideration of his approaches (and De Cora's beliefs as expressed by Waggoner) it is ironic that Armstrong's model student De Cora went out into the Anglo world and succeeded as an artist first, and an educator second.

In *Education for Extinction*, author David Wallace Adams estimates that despite Armstrong's important and empathetic contributions, Pratt "would remain the single most important figure in the Indian education scene" for the next twenty-five years, since

64. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*, 91–94.

65. *Ibid.*, 22–24.

66. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 32, 34.

“Philanthropists saw him as a sort of Moses for the Indians,” capable of leading them out of the wilderness of Native customs and into the civilized world of mainstream whites.⁶⁷ Unlike many Americans at the time, Pratt was convinced that Indians could be civilized and become equal to whites. He believed Indians were handicapped only by their upbringing on the reservations and simply needed to be exposed to mainstream culture in an orderly manner in order to become civilized.⁶⁸ The subject of Indian education and assimilation was considered nationally important, and its problems were not always oversimplified in dictums like Pratt’s. For instance, the *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* essay “Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle” (1880) asserts, “Books, of course, are for a long time of no avail [since the students cannot speak English or read when they arrive], and object-teaching, pictures, and blackboards take their place.”⁶⁹ Before the Fort Marion Indians’ first year at Hampton was ended, Pratt became apprehensive that a joint venture would taint Native students with Anglo-Americans’ fear and dislike of African-Americans, and he believed biracial schools such as Hampton were not offering the

67. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 56.

68. According to authors Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller and Lorene Sisquoc:

Pratt wanted to destroy the cultural foundations of Native Americans so that they could enjoy full citizenship. In order to do this, he established the off-reservation boarding school, where he would “feed” Indians to the American way of life. ‘We make our greatest mistake in feeding our civilization to the Indians instead of feeding the Indians to our civilization. Trafzer, Keller, and Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 14.

69. Helen W. Ludlow, “Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* December 1, 1880, 659–75. Quote is found on page 663. Accessed January 8, 2014 through ProQuest Periodicals Archive Online.

Indians the needed opportunity to mingle with white society.⁷⁰ With this in mind, he organized the first off-reservation Indian Boarding School, which opened in 1879 in the old Carlisle, Pennsylvania army barracks.⁷¹ At Carlisle, Pratt's curricula offered western-

70. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 33.

71. Early "educating" of the Indian was almost exclusively undertaken by religious groups. For instance, the Spanish opened a secondary school for the Indians of Mexico City in 1529, but by 1589 that school was in ruins because it was immensely difficult to engage Natives in western style learning. This problem was exacerbated by a cultural difference in methods of discipline as evidenced in 1634, when a Jesuit priest complained the Native "Barbarians" would not allow their children to be punished or reprimanded. In 1611 Jesuit based schools opened in Illinois, Maine, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Wisconsin where students were tutored in reading, writing and religion. Of the six original students in these Jesuit schools, two died after engaging in fights with "Frenchmen," and one fled. One successful facility was the Ursuline Academy, which opened in New Orleans in 1727; it was a free school that taught ladies as well as slaves, free women of color and Native Americans. John Reyhner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 15.

As has been discussed earlier in this study, in 1629 the Franciscans established a mission in Awatovi that included a school. Both mission and school were eradicated by the Hopi in the Pueblo Rebellion, and again when the entire village of Awatovi was destroyed.

Harvard University's original 1650 charter specified the education of "English and Indian youths of this country in knowledge and godliness," but by 1665 all the Indian students were gone, and by the end of the seventeenth century only eight Native students had attended the college, one of whom actually graduated.

Among the earliest East Coast institutions for Native Americans was the Brafferton Indian School, mandated in the 1693 Royal Charter of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, which was opened in 1723. Native boys eight years old and up, from the Pamunkey, Nansemond, Catawba, Delaware and Wyandot communities attended the school to learn English, "vulgar Arithmetick" and Christianity. Funding was from an Englishman's estate, and therefor was cut off with the onset of the American Revolutionary War. The Brafferton building is the second oldest building on the college campus today. "The Brafferton: 'A Good House and Apartments for the Indian Master and Scholars,'" College of William & Mary, accessed June 2, 2014, <http://www.wm.edu/about/history/historiccampus/brafferton/>.

Yale University, upon its founding in 1701, showed great interest in converting the Natives to Christianity, although not specifically chartered to do so. Understandably, the Natives steadfastly declined that privilege throughout the eighteenth century. Dartmouth College was chartered in 1769 to educate Indian youths in reading, writing and the liberal arts. In 1779 the federal government subsidized the education of Delaware Indian students at Princeton. Frederick E. Hoxie, *The Encyclopedia of the American Indian* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 171-74; and "American Indian Resource Center," College of William & Mary, accessed December 5, 2008, <http://web.wm.edu/airc/>.

These many efforts were identified as a failure in a *New York Tribune* article, "The Effort So Far a Failure," which prophesized a similar fate for the Hampton Institute. The article cites Harvard, William and Mary, and Dartmouth as failures. Donal F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton*

style art classes similar to those at Hampton. Not until Pratt's summary retirement by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, and the arrival of the East-coast-based young Winnebago artist De Cora, did art education at Carlisle shift in the new direction of allowing students opportunities to utilize their Native heritage.

Although Willis DeHuff may never have directly encountered the variety and scope of the Fort Marion work, the concept of Native art simultaneously supplying visual and oral narration would no doubt have appealed to her, especially given her later work with Kabotie, and potentially much more so than that of seeing Native paintings as vacation souvenirs.⁷² Even if she never saw any of the Fort Marion works, while working at the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, Willis would have enjoyed anecdotes related about Colonel Pratt,⁷³ who was the founder of the school, and his first highly successful

Institute 1877–1923 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 210. *Southern Workman* 8 (July 1879): 71, quoted in, “The Effort So Far a Failure,” *New York Tribune*, May 31, 1879.

Looking in a new direction, in 1818, the United States House Committee on Indian Affairs attempted to separate the Indians from their land, “for their own good,” and recommended that Congress take steps to socialize Native people and help them become productive in the capitalist sense. Congress allotted an annual budget of \$10,000 under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to establish mission schools, which supported the efforts of religious groups and interested individuals willing to live among and teach Indians. The act led many to found so-called mission schools, which increased in number until federal officials stopped providing direct funding for them at the end of the 19th century. Some of these mission schools continue to operate today. Curry Stephenson Mallot, *A Call to Action: An Introduction to Education, Philosophy, and Native North America* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008) 38, and Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 6.

Thus the United States efforts to educate the Indian were, with the exception of the Brafferton School, supported by religious organizations up until the founding of day schools on the reservations. Their attendance was considered mandatory by Government Indian agents, and onerous by most Indian children and their parents.

72. But both play out in the future work of Fred Kabotie.

73. And her diary mentions a celebration of the anniversary of the opening of the school that Pratt attended, on October 6, 1914. “Holiday. Carlisle’s 35th birthday. Gen’l Pratt, the founder, is here. The children paraded and cheered.” Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 5, unnumbered diary), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

student-wards, who were subsequently credited with the origination of the Fort Marion style. Equally important, De Cora surely both saw Fort Marion work and heard tales of Colonial Pratt's prisoners and their drawings.

There is no record of Fort Marion students continuing their art activities in Hampton, perhaps because the school did not promote art, as Pratt had in Florida. Records at the Hampton Institute indicate that art was taught in a traditional western manner, similar to the art pedagogy in any other public school in America at the time. Drawings and photographs of classrooms and dormitories (figures 4.10–4.14) show the use of western (non-Indian) instructional and art materials, including plaster casts of Greco-Roman sculptures (figure 4.10) and decor. Hampton's 1883–84 school catalogue, the earliest one to mention art classes, indicates that freehand drawing was offered to students only in their senior year. This same catalogue states that in November 1883 De Cora, of the Winnebago Nebraska Indian Agency, entered Hampton.⁷⁴ In 1890–91 she is listed as a senior, at which time she could have taken the drawing class; however, freehand drawing classes were not listed as being offered that year, most likely a typographical error, since De Cora writes in her letters of taking such art classes.⁷⁵

74. Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, *Catalogue for the Academical Year 1883–1884* (Hampton, VA: Normal School Steam Press, 1883), 26–30. (Senior year freehand drawing is offered.)

75. Senior year freehand drawing is offered in the catalogues for 1883–1884, 1884–1885, 1885–1886, 1886–1887, and 1887–1888, but not in 1888–1889, 1889–1890, 1890–1891, or 1891–1892. First Term map drawing is offered in 1888–1889, 1889–1890, 1890–1891, 1891–1892. First term moulding was offered in 1890–1891 and again in 1891–1892. In 1891–1892, there is also senior year second term, drawing or bookkeeping, and in 1892–1893, drawing was offered in junior, middle and senior years. See the appropriate *Catalogue of the Hampton Institute*, each of which was printed in Hampton on the Institute Steam Press.

Photographs in the Hampton University files do offer glimpses of students and their environment, and on one occasion (figure 4.14), an art class with students' watercolor paintings of butterflies—something entirely different from the Santa Fe Style. De Cora's biography relates she adapted well to the school and, like her advisor and mentor Cora M. Folsom, De Cora developed a strong “desire for a career in a man's world.”⁷⁶ According to Waggoner, De Cora found art class a cure for homesickness, a fact that allows one to surmise that Hampton offered more art classes than the sole listed senior course in freehand.⁷⁷ Waggoner writes:

A woman artist visited the school the summer before she [De Cora] arrived and set up experimental classes. The experiment [was] a success, [and] she [the female artist] convinced Hampton's principal ‘that some permanent arrangements should be made to add the study of drawing to the many advantages already afforded the students.’ Her [De Cora's] new art teacher's direction to ‘draw independently’ melded well with Hampton's educational philosophy and stayed with Angel the rest of her life.⁷⁸

De Cora never forgot these early experiences at Hampton and spoke of them often in later years. She was not alone. Rayna Green, Mary Lou Hulgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin, the authors of *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute 1878–1923*, readily acknowledge, “School changed them [the

76. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 28.

77. *Ibid.*, 28.

78. *Ibid.*, 28–29.

students]. School put them into drawing classes, where young Indian ladies in long dresses made charcoal portraits.”⁷⁹

Talented not only as a visual artist, De Cora left Hampton in 1891 and went to Miss Mary Burnham’s Preparatory School for Girls in Northampton, Massachusetts on a music scholarship. One gift she sent back to Hampton was a crayon portrait of General Armstrong, to be hung in the girls’ parlor. This gift preceded her waning interest in music. That summer (1891), Northampton’s local Ladies Indian Association provided De Cora with drawing lessons; the following fall, she transferred to the School of Art at Smith College, where she worked at the Hillyer Art Gallery to help pay expenses. During her time at Smith, she was taught by the gallery’s director, the famous tonalist painter Dwight William Tryon.⁸⁰ De Cora spent four years, from 1891 until 1895, at Smith studying painting (Smith was, at the time, one of the few places where women could seriously study art). Coursework at Smith included landscape sketching, composition and modeling in clay. Tryon “followed a typical academic curriculum, moving from cast drawing to life drawing and lecturing on topics like art history and perspective.”⁸¹ He apparently leaned heavily on his own personal aesthetic period and symbolist ideas of art as a “universal moral language,” and painting as evocative of figurative subjects as well as representative of itself and its own formal means, while promoting art as a humanizing

79. Hultgren, Molin, and Green, *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute 1878–1923* (Charlottesville: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy in cooperation with Hampton University, 1989).

80. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 60–62.

81. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 179.

factor capable of “unifying and advancing American culture.” De Cora thrived at the school and won several prizes and commendations there.⁸²

Certainly, De Cora proved to be an outstanding student, and in recognition of her accomplishments was invited to speak at the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians by Albert K. Smiley, a Quaker philanthropist, who owned the resort and founded the Conference. In her Mohonk presentation, De Cora explained that at Smith she studied “drawing from antique casts, still-life studies, oil and portrait painting,” but identified landscape painting as her favorite.⁸³ Francis E. Leupp, future Commissioner of Indian Affairs, attended the event, as did many prominent American social reformers and Indian advocates. Leupp was so impressed by De Cora’s speech he later hired her to head up the pilot art program at the Carlisle Indian Boarding School.

When she left Smith, De Cora moved to Philadelphia and enrolled at the Drexel Institute of Art, Science, and Industry, where she studied illustration under the prominent American artist and illustrator Howard Pyle, who in 1876 had studied at the New York Art Students League.⁸⁴ As mentioned earlier, Pyle was acquainted with Arthur Wesley Dow’s ideas, and by 1904 he was a teacher at the League⁸⁵ (figures 4.15–4.17).

On November 26, 1904, the *American Art News* reported, “It has just been announced at the Art Students' League that Howard Pyle will give a series of lectures on

82. Ibid., 179.

83. Ibid., 68.

84. David J. Nordloh, ed., *Howard Pyle: A Portrait of the Artist* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 7.

85. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 51–63; and Nordloh, *Howard Pyle*, 19.

Composition, every other Saturday, from 4 to 6.” The notice continued, “The lectures are open to all students on payment of a small fee, but those wishing to put compositions up for criticism must first submit a sample of their work.”⁸⁶ Considered the father of American illustration by many, Pyle subsequently opened the nation’s first school of illustration at Drexel. He taught there beginning in the fall of 1894, and at the institution he instructed many notable illustrators, including Maxfield Parrish, Jessie Wilcox Smith and N. C. Wyeth.⁸⁷ He continued his ties with the Art Students’ League from 1904 to 1905. The *International Studio* states that:

The Art Students’ League has been fortunate enough to obtain the services of Mr. Howard Pyle for the coming winter. His class will not be of the usual academic order, as Mr. Pyle particularly wishes to help young artists as well as students. The course will consist of a series of critical lectures on Composition, the class meeting on alternate Saturdays and lasting two hours, from four to six o’clock. The first hour there will be a general talk on composition, and the second hour will be devoted to criticizing the work of those who pass Mr. Pyle’s standard. The less advanced pupils will, however, have the benefit of his criticisms as well as his lectures. The first lecture will be held on Saturday, December 3. The tuition fee for this class will be \$2.00 a month.⁸⁸

Pyle was active in social and professional clubs in New York and had close connections to Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt; these ties drew him into national art policies. He was a supporter of women in the arts, but in a paternalistic manner—he eventually banned women from his studio classes. Long before that

86. Untitled announcement in *American Art News* 3, no. 55 (November 26, 1904), 2.

87. Elizabeth Nesbitt, *Howard Pyle* (New York: Henry Z. Walk, 1966), 22.

88. “Schools and Institutions,” *International Studio* 25, nos. 97–100 (March–June 1905), lxxiii.

happened, De Cora joined his summer class at Chadd's Ford, Pennsylvania in 1898. Other students included Frank Schoonover, Ellen Bernard Thompson (who later married Pyle's brother) and Sarah Stilwell. De Cora was among Pyle's students who made their first showings in his Spring 1898 exhibition, in which she displayed a magazine illustration. In the Fall exhibition of the Plastics Club that same year, De Cora's work was specifically mentioned in newspaper reviews, along with that of other Pyle students, Jessie Wilcox Smith and Elizabeth Shippen Green.⁸⁹

Influenced by the English Arts and Crafts movement, Pyle specialized in adventurous and highly active historic illustrations featuring heroic figures. His contemporary romanticization of the American Indian⁹⁰ made Natives ideal subjects for popular magazine stories and books,⁹¹ and enabled De Cora to gain an intimate understanding of her highly romanticized peoples from a westernized perspective. While

89. Jill P. May, Robert E. May, and Howard Pyle, *Howard Pyle: Imagining an American School of Art* (Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), x, 87– 89.

90. As William H. Goetzmann and Joseph C. Porter write, in *The West as Romantic Horizon*:

There have been as many definitions of Romanticism as there have been romantics, but it is important ...to be clear about its nature as it applies directly to the artists of the American West. Essentially, Romanticism was an attempt to depart from the norms of rational analysis of the world. I sought truth and meaning in the emotions and individual inspiration through which it was thought that one could penetrate beyond the apparition of nature to a more profound and transcendent truth. *The West as Romantic Horizon: Selections from the Collection of the InterNorth Art Foundation* (Omaha, NB: Center for Western Studies, Joslyn Art Museum, 1981), 12.

91. Not only Pyle, but other top-notch illustrators including Henry F. Farny (*The Song of the Talking Wire*, 1904 and *Morning of a New Day*, 1908); and N. C. Wyeth (*Moving Camp*, 1908).

studying with Pyle, De Cora wrote and also illustrated “Gray Wolf’s Daughter” and “The Sick Child” for *Harper’s* (figures 4.18 and 4.19).⁹²

As a developing artist, De Cora struggled to represent Natives accurately and compellingly, both visually and literally, although she too tended to be highly romantic and at times lachrymose in her depictions, at least in those for popular publication. She was frustrated by other illustrators’ inaccuracies in depicting Indians’ dress, and later recalled that Pyle, “Upon borrowing a complete woman’s costume... used the leggings for sleeves and inappropriately adorned the costume with feathers.”⁹³ Pyle envisioned a future for De Cora as an illustrator specializing in Indian subject matter, and urged her to go home to the Winnebago reservation to study and draw members of her tribe. Impressed by her work, he helped ensure that she be awarded one of ten coveted spaces in his summer workshop at Chadd’s Ford. At this workshop, she reportedly told him, “I am Indian and don’t want to draw just like a white man.”⁹⁴ At this point in her life, however, she had become an accomplished artist, painting in the style of an Anglo illustrator, utilizing western tools, perspective, and modeling to convey western concepts. Recognizing her talent, Pyle wrote that hers was the work of a genius.⁹⁵ But he lamented her gender and, even worse, her status as an Indian woman. He was convinced her work

92. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 176.

93. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 70.

94. Natalie Curtis, "An American Indian Artist," *The Outlook: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Current Events*, January 14, 1920, 78.

95. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 79.

would never be seen in Paris, the place he perceived as central to success in the modern art world.

Pyle was not the only one to recognize the quality of De Cora's work. In February and in November of 1899, her illustrations were printed in *Harpers Monthly* and other publications (figures 4.18–4.20, and 4.21, a painting done in Pyles' class), and De Cora was successful enough to be able to afford setting up her own studio in Philadelphia. That same year she enrolled in the Cowles Art School, Boston, in order to study with Joseph Rodefer DeCamp, who specialized in portraiture, figure and landscape painting in a modified version of impressionism. DeCamp left the school a year later. Following his recommendation, she transferred in 1900 to the School of Drawing and Painting at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where both Frank Benson and Edmund C. Tarbell taught (figures 4.22 and 4.23).

Benson's studios provided a place where young female artists could draw and paint from the nude female figure, a novelty at the time. Tarbell was famous for his outdoor paintings with figures. During this period DeCora's commissions increased, and her work caught the attention of Commissioner of Indian Affairs William A. Jones, who asked her to design a room for the Indian School Exhibit at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York.⁹⁶ For this showing, she designed Native American-embellished Arts and Crafts furnishings, including a settee, andirons and mantel with a

96. *Ibid.*, 100–104. Unfortunately, despite extensive research by numerous librarians, no images of DeCora's designs has been located. The Pan-Am Exposition of Buffalo was held from May 1 until November, 2, 1901. Note that this was before the first issue of the *Craftsman* magazine which was published in October 1901. The October issue was dedicated to William Morris, and the November to John Rushkin.

thunderbird motif, and then she decorated the room with her illustrations.⁹⁷ Her working drawings were sent to the Carlisle Indian Boarding School to guide in the manufacture of

97. *The 1901 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, DC, 1901), 48–49, quotes “Miss Fletcher’s report:”

The grill-work screen is the work of Indian pupils at Hampton Institute, Virginia; the bookcase, hall seat, large table, and woodwork of the mantel, by the pupils of Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kans.; the inlaid table, the onyx work, decorated vase and the inlaid and carved pillar just outside this inclosure, [sic] by the pupils a Phoenix school, Arizona; the settle, by Peter Williams, a former student at Chemawa school, Oregon, now working with a furniture house in Portland, Oreg.; the dado of mats of native weaving, the frieze of Moqui ceremonial plaques, and the pottery are the old native arts.

The central object in this room is the mantel, designed by Miss Angel Decora, of the Winnebago tribe, a graduate of Hampton Institute, later a student in the art school of Smith College, Northampton, Mass. She has also been a pupil of Howard Pyle, and is now pursuing her art studies in Boston. In this design Miss Decora has combined the native symbolism of fire with our own tradition of the fireside. Upon the space below the shelf, in low relief of red wood, is a conventionalized “thunder bird; the plumes of its wings flashing out into flames. On the side uprights, and in a band around the upper part of the mantel, making a frame for the central painting, are conventionalized forms of the sticks used in making the “sacred fire” by friction. The scene of the picture painted by Miss Decora is on the rolling prairie, at sunset, suggesting the hour of gathering about the hearth; off to the left is a cluster of Indian tents, each one aglow from the bright fire within while in front, a little to the right, against a background of golden clouds, stand a pair of lovers, the beginning of a new fireside. The poetic conception of this design has been carried out by Angel Decora with a charm, simplicity, and skill which make this mantel a work of art.

The settle was also designed by Miss Decora. She has there used the same conventional border as upon the fireplace.

In the bookcase, which contains various records of school work, is a little volume called *The Middle Five*, a clever and charmingly written story of Indian school life from the pen of Mr. Francis La Flesche, an Omaha Indian, who was one of the five boys who were known to their mates as “The Middle Five.” The frontispiece to this book is by Angel Decora, and the original painting hangs on the wall of this room.

her designs, and De Cora visited the school to supervise the production of her furniture designs (all of this work took place before De Cora accepted a job teaching at Carlisle).⁹⁸

The 1901 Pan-American Exposition was a turning point in De Cora's career. Although she had executed sketches for earlier expositions,⁹⁹ this was the first time she adapted Native iconography for contemporary American design and worked with Native students to produce her pieces. This exposition and her impact on the American Arts and Crafts movement are highly significant, because, as Waggoner determines, "[after this event] American Indian objects of art began making their way out of the remote marketplaces of Indian traders and into US homes, where "Indian Corners" suddenly appeared."¹⁰⁰ These "Indian Corners" were an adaptation of earlier Victorian "Cozy Corners," in which women created space in their homes decorated with pillows and textiles from the Middle East, "reflecting an Orientalist association of the region with comfort and luxury, but Japanese themes were also common." Cozy Corners "reflect the shifting association of middle-class homes in the second half of the nineteenth century from sites of work to retreats from the workaday world,"¹⁰¹ and Indian traders claimed,

98. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior*, 1901, downloaded, nothing there. . . . Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society photography files, see email.

Panam1901.org/documents/original_sources.html June 1901 Harpers, Pan Am

DeCora was also invited to participate, with her students at the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial.

99. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 200–202.

100. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 104–5.

101. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 18. See also: Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Karen Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, ed. Simon J. Bronner (New York: Norton, 1989), 157–89.

“No home is complete nowadays without [one].”¹⁰² The American Southwest became a popular theme in home decoration, as demonstrated by stories such as Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant’s “The Journal of a Mud House” series published in *Harper’s Magazine* between March and June 1922. In fact, Native American art “was seen as a distinctly superior form of decoration, in keeping with the increasing nationalism and protectionism of the nation at the time,” and critics recommended Americans buy Native crafts rather than European or foreign.¹⁰³ American art magazines with the largest circulations, including *Brush and Paint*, *Handicraft*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Craftsman*¹⁰⁴ and *Keramic Studio*, all included articles on Native American handiwork, indicating a broad national aesthetic interest in Native American art.¹⁰⁵ Elbridge Burbank, an American artist trained in Munich who was popular for his portraits of American Indians, published the essay, “In Indian Teepees,” in 1900 in *Brush and Pencil*, a popular art magazine. Burbank portrays the Indian craftsmen as artists who find inspiration through nature, and he equates the formal qualities found in Native work to that of mainstream artists. This article includes a photograph of Burbank’s own extensive Native art collection.¹⁰⁶

102. Beverley Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience*. (Madison, WI: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 7.

103. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 26.

104. Although the *Craftsman* is often thought of as a home design and home decorating publication, it also featured articles on fine arts, including one by formative artist and art critic Walter Pach, who is featured further in chapter 3 of this dissertation. Walter Pach, “Manet and Modern American Art,” *Craftsman* 17, no. 5 (February 1910): 483–92.

105. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 97.

106. Elbridge Ayer Burbank, “Studies of Art in American Life III: In Indian Teepees,” *Brush and Pencil* 7 (November 1900): 75–91.

In 1902 De Cora left Boston and moved to New York City, where she rented a studio on 23rd Street. She successfully supported herself as an illustrator until 1905. In that year, President Roosevelt appointed Leupp as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Leupp, who as already noted, was the author of several books and essays on Native Americans,¹⁰⁷ had worked with the Indian Rights Association prior to his appointment, and he had been able to promote the incorporation of more Native American culture into the Indian schools' curriculum.¹⁰⁸ On February 7, 1906, the *Washington Post* reports that Leupp had appointed De Cora as art teacher at Carlisle Indian School, and quotes him as saying, "Her forte is reviving and bringing to the attention of the art world the effective and beautiful designs of the various tribes of North American Indians."¹⁰⁹ Educator Charles Wegner writes that Leupp wanted to add Native arts to a curriculum that regularly taught the art of painting flowers on picture frames and embroidering floral designs on pillows.¹¹⁰ In a matter of months, Indian schools in Albuquerque, Santa Fe, Phoenix and Chilocco (among others) instituted their first Native American arts programs.¹¹¹

De Cora's arrival at Carlisle helped to precipitate a complete change in the government's attitudes toward Native American education. Differing from Pratt, Leupp

107. Francis Leupp, *In Red Man's Land: A Study of the American Indian* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1914); see also Francis E. Leupp, "The Red Man's Burden," *Hearst's Magazine* 23, no. 5 (May 1913), 741–52.

108. Archuleta, Child, and Lomawaima, *Away from Home*, 84–85.

109. *Washington Post*, February 7, 1906.

110. Charles Wegner, 2002 quoted in Laurie A. Eldridge, "Ruthe Blalock Jones: Native American Artist and Educator" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006), 36.

111. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 317.

changed the focus of students' creative pursuits because he wanted to use Carlisle as a prototype for concentrating on art education in general and salable Native creations in particular. Consequently he hired De Cora to develop a program for teaching Native arts, a process that came to engender, as a by-product, a new school of pan-Indian work.

Leupp, like Estelle Reed, encouraged the employment of Native artists at Indian schools, inspired, in part, by the expectation that hand-made Native arts and crafts would provide an important source of income, particularly in the Southwest where increased tourism created an ongoing demand for these items.¹¹²

De Cora came to the Carlisle school thoroughly trained in western art by America's preeminent teachers, but with a recently heightened and highly visible interest in contemporary design employing Native iconography. At Carlisle, she developed this inclination further by offering classes in crafts that ranged from pottery and weaving to furniture making. There is no reference to her teaching any class based on more traditional western models (i.e., emulating Greek and Roman sculpture or European subject matter), although, apparently, Carlisle offered this type of instruction under Pratt until he was forced to resign in 1904. However, in the process of developing her program, De Cora astutely capitalized on the American Arts and Crafts movement and its growing involvement with Native and so-called primitive design.

Leupp was in full agreement with this approach, as he wanted to replace “‘Caucasian design’ with a ‘characteristic Indian touch’ on as many ‘products of the

112. Ibid., 315.

school shops' as possible."¹¹³ De Cora actually arrived at the school in February 1907, and by March, the *Carlisle Arrow* reports, "students were already making excellent progress in native art."¹¹⁴ Despite this seeming instantaneous success, De Cora had an uphill battle to convince students, who had long been conditioned by an educational system that had spent years urging them to rid themselves of their Native affiliations and dress, to once again address their individual Native cultures. Regarding this experience De Cora relates, "When I first introduced the subject -- Indian art -- to the Carlisle Indian students, I experienced a discouraging sensation that I was addressing members of an alien race."¹¹⁵ The students needed to unlearn previous educational efforts, efforts that had incorporated various methods including punishment, to eradicate their Native heritage.¹¹⁶ They struggled to assimilate De Cora's new ideas and their institutions' changed attitude toward Indian art, and perhaps also the emergent pan-Indian art that De

113. Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907): 65–67, quoted in Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 133.

114. *The Carlisle Arrow*, March 23, 1906; and Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 134.

115. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 134.

116. Some types of punishment the Hopi (and other Indian people) had suffered under the Bureau of Indian Affairs is described by Charles Lummis:

The Hopi Indians of Moqui...don't Have to Cut their Hair, until, with self-respect, a respect for their short-haired instructors shall lead them to desire to resemble the latter. No one will dare shear them again against their will. It will be a long time before another government teacher shall smash their furniture and crockery, cut up their blankets, kick their children, bully their women, or indulge in any of the other little pleasantries of the gentlemen.

James, *Hopi History*, 129.

Cora espoused in her attempts to incorporate their Native heritage in her curricula.

According to Waggoner, “She encouraged their ‘race pride’ to unify them as a group.”¹¹⁷

Despite the positive aspects of De Cora’s emphasis on Native American sources, she stereotyped the Indian students as much as any white person. Since many of her students’ home tribes had forgotten their art traditions, she evidently felt little compunction about substituting those of different tribes in order to encourage her students “latent” skills. Thus, while verbally championing individual tribal arts, in reality she frequently fostered a universal appropriation of a pan-Indian style. This was probably unconscious, as she herself states, “As a teacher I have taken care to leave my pupils’ creative faculty absolutely independent and to let each student draw as his own mind prompted him, true to his own thought, and, as far as possible, true to his tribal method of symbolic design.”¹¹⁸ In *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences*, art historian Margaret Archuleta cites De Cora’s statement: “The plan is to encourage the Indian to use the conventional designing that is the characteristic art of the race.”¹¹⁹ But there was no one race, nor any one characteristic, for her students came from many different tribes and cultures. Failing to fully recognize this, De Cora held

117. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 134.

118. Angel De Cora, “Native Indian Art,” in *The Report of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indians and Other Dependent Peoples* (Lake Mohonk, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1908), 16–18, 528. Or Angel De Cora, “Native Indian Art,” in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of the American Indians Held at the University of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio-October 12–17 1911* (Washington DC: Society of American Indians, 1912), 87.

119. Archuleta, Child and Lomawaima, *Away from Home*, 88–89.

weekly exhibits to encourage competition between students, a concept that would be alien to most Indian cultures (where cooperation was the norm).

As her own reputation as a designer grew, De Cora was invited to speak to national and international groups on many occasions. She addressed the first Indian-led Indian rights organization in the United States at the conference of the Society of American Indians in the fall of 1911, where she stated that she believed Native art could revitalize American culture.¹²⁰ The *Nation* wrote that “Although cultivated in the white man’s ways, she exemplifies the gifts of her race.” She should be “regarded as a pioneer,” and her work would be considered to mark “a new departure in the education of the Indian.”¹²¹

Six years later, in 1913 when the DeHuffs arrived at Carlisle, De Cora’s approach was an established success, buttressed by her own and the program’s national reputations. She and her students were highly regarded for their design and their crafts, and the school entertained visitors, including administrators and superintendents of Indian schools, from across the country. But few of De Cora’s students went on to work in the fine arts, perhaps because, based on De Cora's own experience, there was little opportunity for any but the very best to make a living as artists. One favored, successful student, Anna Miles, received a scholarship to attend the Philadelphia School of Fine Art, according to the *Carlisle Arrow*.¹²²

120. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 171.

121. “Congress of Americanists,” *Nation* 83, no. 2152 (September 27, 1906), 258.

122. *Carlisle Arrow*, March 22, 1912; and Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 194, 201.

During his tenure, Leupp began to oppose the phenomenon of the off-reservation Indian school since he came to realize that separating children from their families and tribal culture was a mistake. Unfortunately, Leupp's resignation in 1909 (due to exhaustion) prevented him from changing the course of the schools, and preceded the erosion of the arts program at Carlisle. His departure substantially changed De Cora's situation at Carlisle as well as that of Native students in the decades that followed. After Leupp's departure, De Cora and her husband, William Dietz, a football coach and assistant art teacher at Carlisle, continued to work in the art department, but with decreasing support. Dietz worked with the school press, which had been recognized by national organizations for both its high-quality typography and design.¹²³ In fact, the school monthly, *Indian Craftsman* (figure 4.24), received so much recognition Gustav Stickley, publisher of the *Craftsman*, took legal steps to force it to change its name, and hence it became the *Red Man*. Stickley's action spurred his main competitor, Elbert Hubbard, founder of the Roycroft reformist community (figure 4.25) and the publication *Roycrofters*,¹²⁴ to visit the Carlisle school in 1910. The interest of these prominent

123. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 171–72, 178, 194.

124. Hubbard was inspired by William Morris, whose ideas he encountered while touring in England. In America he established a new press, the Roycroft Press, in imitation of Morris's Kelmscott press. This developed into a full-blown, self-contained community in East Aurora, New York, of "Roycrofters," over 500 people who lived and worked together. Tourists could visit, stay in the Roycroft Inn, and purchase Arts and Crafts objects. From 1895 until 1938, the Roycrofters promoted and popularized the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States. Unfortunately, Hubbard and his wife died on the *Lusitania* in 1915. With the loss of his leadership and tireless promotion, the organization lost its impetus.

Hubbard published his key essay, "A Message to Garcia," in the March 1899 issue of *Philistine*, in which he describes the efforts of a United States army captain to get a message to the leader of Cuban rebels (Garcia) to enlist them on America's side in the growing conflict between Spain and the United States. The issue of this essay sold over 40 million copies, and was translated into thirty-seven languages. It became a popular inspirational business model, and the saying "take a

American designers and stylistic innovators in De Cora's program at Carlisle, in addition to their focus on Native arts in their magazines, testifies to the popularity of Indian designs among the paramountly important of the American Arts and Crafts movement.

In 1912 Natalie Curtis, author of the *Indians' Book*,¹²⁵ illustrated by De Cora (figure 4.26), wrote that De Cora's influence was apparent in Indian schools nationwide. But De Cora's input extended to more than just the Indian schools, as Stickley's and Hubbard's interest clearly indicates.¹²⁶ The February 1913 issue of *Red Man* carried a story on De Cora, one of several over the years, and one the DeHuffs would have seen (figure 4.27). It begins, "In the world of today, there are just two real Indian artists," (Lone Star and his wife De Cora) and ends, "The trouble has been that the white man pictured the Indian as his imagination saw him, and not as the Indian actually exists in his free and untrammelled life.... But the time has come, so our two real Indian artists believe, when, if pictorial records of the Indian are to be made, they should be done correctly. And with two such interpreters of the art of their race, this ought not to be difficult of achievement."¹²⁷

message to Garcia," became a common idiom in American slang. In 1916 Thomas Edison, Inc. made a film of the story, a year after Hubbard died at sea.

Marie Via and Marjorie B. Searl, *Head, Heart and Hand: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994), vii, 1.

125. Natalie Curtis, *The Indians' Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of Their Race* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907).

126. "From Miss Natalie Curtis's talk in Saratoga," *Saratogian*, May 15, 1912. Also available in De Cora student files, Hampton Institute.

127. E. L. Martin, "The Story of Two Real Indian Artists," *Red Man* 5, no. 6 (February 1913), 233-41.

Despite its many successes in the arts, just a year after the DeHuff's arrival, in 1914 Carlisle came under the scrutiny of the Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs. Records of interviews during the investigation point to De Cora's disillusionment with Leupp's replacement, superintendent Moses Friedman, and his contentious relationships with Carlisle's students and staff.¹²⁸ These interviews also indicate that the Native Art Department had been disbanded under Friedman's supervision, a change the school publications failed to mention and one of which the school's staff seemed unaware.¹²⁹ De Cora and her husband continued to teach painting and the fine arts, but after Leupp's departure, the Bureau of Indian Affairs again became adamantly opposed to Native arts being taught in Indian boarding schools.

Even though Friedman was dismissed as a result of the investigation (which demonstrated his failure to work well with his staff), in the summer of 1915 De Cora's husband resigned from the school and went to the Pacific Northwest for a new job. Their marriage was essentially finished. De Cora stayed at Carlisle, and in September a new superintendent took over the school. Although De Cora outwardly supported the new administrator, she resigned from her post in September 1915, but remained in the town of Carlisle as a freelance artist.

128. Waggoner, *Angel De Cora*, 210–13.

129. Ibid., and also Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs, *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings Before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, to Investigate Indian Affairs* (Washington: DC: Government Printing Office, 1914), 1017–18, 1342, and 1372; also “Testimony of Mrs. Angel Dietz,” 1106–11, 1340, 1277, 1379, 1390. (Available at openlibrary.org, <http://www.archive.org/details/hearingsbeforejo02unit> or <http://www.archive.org/details/hearingsbeforejo00unit> for full text of both volumes.)

How all this turmoil affected the DeHuffs is unclear, but it must have been unsettling. The couple worked at Carlisle for two more years, but by this time the Indian arts program was essentially defunct, the innovative arts program was a thing of the past, and the school itself was struggling. Whether or not the couple had further contact with De Cora is unknown. De Cora died four years later; her obituary in the March 19, 1919 issue of *Southern Workman* states, “she remained [at Carlisle] for nine years, guiding Indian artists, developing almost a new art and incidentally several crafts.”¹³⁰ While it is not known if the DeHuffs were particularly close friends with De Cora, they surely recognized her many talents.

Although very little has been written about other art programs in the Indian boarding schools, period photographs and De Cora’s writings indicate an educational focus on traditional western art to be the norm—even images of the Carlisle School’s classrooms testify to art classes being based on a western model (figures 4.28–4.34). Despite Leupp’s efforts, two Carlisle publications, the *Red Man* and the *Carlisle Arrow*, contain western-style illustrations produced by the students and staff, which suggests that an emphasis on westernized art continued. Significantly, the importance placed on Leupp’s endorsement and encouragement of Carlisle’s art education is indicated by the fact that the studio built for the art department was named in his honor (figure 4.35).

By tracing the evolution of the pedagogy of American Indian art in the Indian schools, from that of Reel to DeCora’s, this study carefully opens the door to a deeper comprehension of what tools Willis DeHuff brought to the art education of Fred Kabotie.

130. “Angel De Cora [sic] Dietz,” *Southern Workman*, March 19, 1919, 104.

But there is one other key component that ought to also be explored before moving on, and that is the Arts and Crafts movement in America.

Chapter Five

The Impact of the Arts and Crafts Movement on the Santa Fe Style

A manifold arts movement most germane to this study of the origins of the Santa Fe Style is the American version of the Arts and Crafts movement, in its prime from 1895 to 1918; one also occasionally referred to as the namesake “Craftsman” movement after Gustav Stickley’s popular magazine with the name of Craftsman, published from 1901 until 1916.¹ This movement would have affected the everyday life of each of the persons germane to Kabotie’s early arts education, most notably DeHuff and Kabotie himself.

1. Kenneth R. Trapp, ed., *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life* (Oakland: Oakland Museum; New York: Abbeville Press, 1993), 13.

Arts and Crafts Movement in America

By spring 1902, the Arts and Crafts style, which had begun as a reactionary set of antimodern tactics battling against the dehumanization of industrialization, became equated with the latest decorating fashions and trends in the United States. Art historian Nicholas Pevsner describes the twentieth century as “for the masses.”² Unlike in England where the Arts and Crafts movement was born, in America the Arts and Crafts faction embraced mass production. In the foreword to John J. G. Blumenson’s book, entitled *Identifying American Architecture: A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600-1945*, Pevsner writes:

The situation in the United States was somewhat different. There was no Gothic and no Renaissance. The story of architecture begins with the Spanish Colonial on the West Coast...Neither of these two styles was a revival. They were the direct continuation of what had gone on...in Europe. ³

The American Arts and Crafts movement was based on the English movement, which was initiated in the latter half of the nineteenth century by John Ruskin and other social reformers, most notably William Morris, who studied with Ruskin at Oxford in the

2. Pevsner, *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), 7.

3. Pevsner, foreword to *Identifying American Architecture: A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600–1945* by John J. G. Blumenson (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), v. Presumably Pevsner was not familiar with Native American architecture, from the mound builders, such as at Cahokia, to the great kivas and pithouses of the American Southwest.

1850s. Morris was the Ruskin proponent most often admired and emulated in America,⁴ and among his favored inspirations were the craftsmen of the Middle Ages and their work. In an era when manufacturing was on the increase, and machine made items were commonly inferior in quality, the Arts and Crafts movement sought to bring beauty back to everyday household items. Proponents held a vision of society where every item created was done so with intrinsic ideas of harmony, with craftsmen and women taking pride in the quality of their work. In his designs Morris borrowed heavily from Japanese, Islamic and Gothic aesthetics and incorporated their iconography freely. His decisive eclecticism created an ongoing set of views that many people subsequently wished to ratify and perpetuate. As art historian Kenneth Clark writes:

There is, however, one way in which the Revival has had a permanent influence on our sense of beauty. It accompanied and, in large measure, promoted a profound change in human perception, a change which can be loosely described as the growth of a taste for the primitive.⁵

In America, one furniture trade publication reported, “dealers can scarcely get enough [Mission style] furniture to supply the demand.”⁶ Like the earlier Arts and Crafts

4. The author’s circa 1880 territorial adobe home in downtown Tucson, Arizona was found, at some point before 1925, to have been wallpapered with a combination of Morris-based floral motif papers. Many would consider Tucson truly a backwater of the time –it became a United States territory through the Gadsden Purchase in 1863, and a state in 1912. According to the US Census Bureau, Tucson in 1910 had a population of 13,103, almost double the 7,531 people officially counted in 1900. Despite the town’s rural nature, Morris’s designs were adopted by at least one homeowner. “Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 V~1-8, Arizona Supplement:” 568, accessed May 12, 2014, http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/41033935v1-8_TOC.pdf

5. Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste* (London: Lewis Reprints, 1962), 301–2.

6. Barbara Mayer, *In the Arts and Crafts Style* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006), 85.

movement in England,⁷ the American version prized crafts as art, but eschewed what was considered lesser purely “decorative” work. At the same time, many Arts and Crafts devotees viewed their mission as one of improving the caliber of public taste, a goal listed as one of the recent accomplishments of the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts. Conversely, in America the new aestheticism led the way to the growing new culture of consumerism, where previously aesthetic pleasure had been seen as too close to the sensual.⁸ Advocates of the movement promoted traditional craftsmanship, from folk art to Native American arts, while simultaneously encouraging honesty through the use of hand workmanship, harking back to “simpler” pre-industrial folk arts, much as the earlier English Arts and Crafts, including Morris and his proponents who perceived the Middle Ages to be more honest.

An important and unique facet of the Arts and Crafts movement in America was its support of Native artists. American Natives continued to be perceived as “The American Indian;” a symbol of otherness, untouched by modernization and industrialization. At the same time, national interest in the “preindustrial” American Indian as representing all the things lost in modern times reflected the “tensions between past and present, nostalgia and progress, and timelessness and marked time.”⁹ Not only did Arts and Crafts adherents encourage and nurture weavers, basket makers and potters, they frequently gave their Indian artisans directions to make their work more marketable to mainstream collectors (who, at the same time, proclaimed the work to be “unsullied”

7. Clark, *Gothic Revival*, 219.

8. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 77.

9. Neff, *Modern West*, xii.

by mainstream culture).¹⁰ American Indian arts were bought and sold, imitated, and adapted to manufactured forms, while the myth of the “vanishing” American Indian continued to be idealized in art and literature along the lines of *The Last of the Mohicans*, *Ramona* and paintings such as those by Frederic Remington (figure 5.1). Museums, including the Field Museum of Natural History and the Natural History Museum, also subscribed to the myth of the vanishing race and began sending employees out on “collecting” missions at the turn of the century.¹¹ In *The Arts and Crafts Movement*, according to authors Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan:

Native Americans were romanticized as the embodiment of “the simple life” and objects produced by them were among the most popular domestic accessories. The geometric patterns of Indian pottery, baskets and blankets were also compatible with the Arts and Crafts aesthetic of stylization, so much so that many commercial companies as well as Arts and Crafts societies began to produce Native American designs. These ranged from forms inspired by Indian designs, such as a silver bowl crafted by the Chicago metalsmith [sic] Robert Jarvie (1865–1941) that he adapted from a Native American basket at the Field Museum of Natural History, to fairly archaeologically correct imitations, such as those produced by the Clifton Art Pottery of [Newark] New Jersey (1905–14).¹²

10. Robert C. Hobbs, “Ganado Style Navajo Rugs and the Arts and Crafts Movement,” (unpublished manuscript, n.d.). In the author’s collection, courtesy of Robert C. Hobbs.

11. Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3, 1988* (Madison, WI: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988), 6.

12. Cumming and Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 152.

Pratt brought a battalion of Carlisle Indian students and paraded them in public to demonstrate the school's success in civilizing and Americanizing these young men. They quartered with regular army units there, and marched through the White City with those units—however, instead of guns they carried items representative of the paths to civilizations taught at Carlisle (books, slates, tools among them).¹³

Boarding-school student art works were sold at the 1893 Columbian World Exposition in Chicago¹⁴ under the auspices of the United States government, and in 1900

13. Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 179.

14. The Columbian Exposition (Chicago World's Fair) of May to October 1893 celebrated the 400th anniversary of the "discovery" of America by Christopher Columbus, and was attended by over 27 million people. Frederick Jackson Turner offered his famous frontier thesis concerning the closing of the American west (based on shifts in the United States Census) and, as an essay posted by the University of Illinois Department of Anthropology department describes, Native Americans from multiple cultures were featured at the Exposition in anthropological displays as living specimens, in the Anthropological Building, the United States Government Building and various state buildings. Visitors could tour Indian villages and for twenty-five cents visit replica cliff dwellings where they could watch the Natives at work and play. Museum displays in the government and anthropological buildings accompanied these living dioramas, offering hundreds of material artifacts. The Bureau of Indian Affairs supplied an alternate view, of Natives working toward becoming good citizens, via the government schools. They exhibited an operating Indian school, complete with students from Pennsylvania and Kansas. Just outside the gates of the exposition the Buffalo Bill Wild West reenactments could be enjoyed. Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World's Fair of 1893* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 67, 76–77, 107. Also see "American Indians at Chicago's Columbian Exposition." University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology, <http://www.ao.uiuc.edu/courses/aiiopcmpss/essays/exposition/expo2.htm>, accessed August 20, 2014.

The Anthropological building was organized by F. W. Putnam, of Harvard University, who saw the Exposition as an opportunity to showcase American Indians to illustrate their:

characteristic industries...the basket maker, the blanket weaver, the maker of a toy birch bark canoe and other trinkets, the silver smith, and skilled workmen in many other branches of native handiwork...native ceremonies and dances from which ethnologies may learn of the strange myths and superstitions which prevail among these tribes... F. W. Putnam, "Ethnology, Anthropology, Archaeology," in *World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893*, ed. Trumbull White and William Igleheart

the National Arts Club offered an exhibit in which the organizers “clearly expected its viewers to see the indigenous objects in the same light as the other works on display.”¹⁵ Anthropologist Edgar Lee Hewett¹⁶ and journalist George Wharton James were among those invited to lecture at the Arts Club.¹⁷ As early as 1916, Hewett stated, “It will be necessary to abandon the attitude of the ‘superior’ toward the immature and incompetent, for the Indian is neither a ‘primitive’ nor an ‘inferior’ race.”¹⁸

During Dow’s tenure at Pratt (1895–1904), there was at least one exhibit in the school’s gallery of Native basketry. Displays of American Indian crafts at the Boston Society of Arts and Crafts took place in the first decade of the century.¹⁹ The 1903 National Educational Association meeting in Boston showcased an Indian boarding-

(Boston: John K. Hastings, 1893), 415–35, Google Books facsimile.

It should be noted here that the organizers of this exposition had conflicting views on the role of America’s Natives, as explored in Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 45–46, 179. Putnam chose to segregate the Indian village “displays” from the so-called White City (what the group of off-white painted main buildings was called, and where the above mentioned governmental exhibits were located), along the Midway with the freak shows, honkytonk bar and the Ferris wheel. Some American Indian supporters were appalled by this, including Pratt and Emma Sickles, chair of the Indian Committee of Universal Peace Union, who was fired from her post on the Midway Project when she strongly suggested that the Indians’ participation in their civilizing should be shown as well.

Although the Chicago Columbian Exposition had a major impact on Native arts in America, and is worthy of further study in its possible relations to the Santa Fe Style, this study is unfortunately too limited in space to do so.

15. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 124.

16. Hewett will be discussed in chapter 7.

17. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 124.

18. Edgar L. Hewett, “America’s Archaeological Heritage,” *Art and Archaeology*, December 1916, 257–66.

19. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 118.

school exhibition of student works in Indian Corners to demonstrate how they could enhance the modern home. The exhibit included Apache basketry, Pueblo pottery, Navajo and Chilkat blankets, and Navajo jewelry. These exhibits were promotional events, putting forward the Indian schools as places where Native students' work might be integrated into white society while promoting authentic crafts for sale.²⁰ The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition (held in St. Louis and attended by Pueblo potter Maria Martinez and her husband, Julian) incorporated decorative Native works as fine arts in the Fine Arts Palace, a reflection of the Arts and Crafts mindset. The Chief of the Applied Arts Division congratulated the exposition's art director by emphasizing "some of the best crafts work done in the country is done among the Indians."²¹ Intense interest in Native Arts continued at least through the winter of 1915–16, at which time Mary Austin and her friend, author Ina Sizer Cassidy, met at the National Arts Club and formulated plans to create the Indian Arts Fund.²²

To appreciate the popularity of the Arts and Crafts style and its immense appeal to the middle class at the time, one needs to consider the accelerated pace of innovation and new inventions in the nation. As described by Lears, this harking back to simpler times held immense appeal for Americans in a period of uncomfortably rapid change and modernization. To illustrate the point: in 1912, only 16 percent of households were wired

20. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 75–79.

21. *Ibid.*, 125.

22. In 1922 a group of Santa Feans organized the Pueblo Pottery Fund. The Fund focused on collecting examples of Indian arts and crafts, while making them available for study. In 1925, the group became the Indian Arts Fund (IAF), and in 1972 the IAF deeded its collections to the School for Advanced Research.

for electricity; twenty years later, that figure was 67 percent. In 1900 there were no motorized vehicles, by 1910 there were half a million, and by 1920 there were ten million cars.²³ This extraordinarily accelerated pace and substantial transformation caused many Americans to feel substantively uncomfortable and unsettled.

Earlier a similar situation in England prompted William Morris (1834–1896), the leader of the British Arts and Crafts movement, to define his efforts to create alternatives to cheap and unattractive manufactured objects for homes. “Have nothing in your houses that you do not know to be useful or believe to be beautiful,”²⁴ he said in 1880. American furniture designer Gustav Stickley, in *Craftsman* magazine, went even further than Morris. Stickley promoted historic regional arts to the extent of advocating “Indian Corners” in every American house (figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5), and describes a wall treatment in 1903, “The canvas frieze...is decorated with North American Indian *motifs*, stenciled in dyes...derived from the basketry of the Pueblo tribes...The windows are hung with a textile similar....”²⁵ As early as 1902, the year after De Cora’s successful exhibition of an Indian created interior at the Pan-Am Exposition, the *Craftsman* was offering insights such as this one from the Conference of the Industrial Art League:

Take our own American Indian. He has very little of the useful, but what he has of it is an expression of the beautiful. Take the pipe of peace, which he would have presented you, had you gone into his tepee in the forest years ago,—and how much art there was in that pipe! Take

23. Richard Guy Wilson, “The Arts and Crafts after 1918: Ending and Legacy,” in Trapp, *Arts and Crafts Movement*, 233–46.

24. William Morris, in a speech delivered before the Birmingham Society of Arts and School of Design, February 19, 1880.

25. “A Simple Dining Room,” *Craftsman* 5 (October 1903): 92.

the tomahawk with which he marched into battle! It is pleasing. It is something that we ourselves would put today in our apartments as an object of art.²⁶

Dozens of articles about the American Indian appeared in the *Craftsman* between 1901 and 1916. These articles covered topics as diverse as Aleutian basketry (March 1904) to Charles A. Eastman's story "The Song of the Birch Canoe."²⁷ The *Craftsman* endorsed the archetypical Arts and Crafts room, as presented by Stickley, with its combined motifs from the medieval, folk and colonial American traditions to evoke simplicity. This model stood as a counterpoint to the over-civilized overstuffed urban dwelling. Stickley recommended, for example, Indian rugs and Navajo blankets to turn any porch into a peaceful outdoor living room. The *Craftsman* advertising department listed a mixed grouping of mainstream and American Indian goods, including "'hand-wrought' metal items, 'genuine' Navajo blankets from New Mexico, antiques and 'hand-braided' rugs from Ipswich, Massachusetts, and 'handwoven' Perquot rugs from Norwich Town, Connecticut."²⁸

To clarify its position as a sales mechanism, the *Craftsman* magazine served as a supplement to Stickley's Craftsman Bazaar showroom in New York City.²⁹ For this purpose, it included articles on many aspects of Native arts, including: "Aboriginal

26. Oscar Triggs, "Conference of the Industrial Art League," *Craftsman* 3, no. 2 (November 1902), 121–27.

27. Eastman, "The Song of the Birch Canoe," *Craftsman* 23, no. 1 (October 1912), 3–11.

28. Wendy Kaplan, ed., *The Art that is Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920* (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Little Brown and Company, 1987), 217.

29. Gordon and Herzog, *American Indian Art*, 7.

American Homes,” (July 1905); “Indian Basketry: Its Structure and Decoration,” (December 1904); and Native American culture in general, (June 1906). Stickley's publication was by no means alone in focusing on Native arts. Nor was this interest completely new with Stickley; a small sampling of earlier local and national periodicals featuring stories on Indian arts includes the *Chataguan* (1901) and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* (1900); popular national journals including *Country Life in America* (1903) and *House Beautiful* (1898, 1902 and 1909)³⁰ are among the diverse publications that carried specific articles and advertisements promoting interior decorating with American Indian arts and crafts (figure 5.6). It should be noted that this movement began before De Cora began her teaching, indeed, according to Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog, authors of *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience*, these articles helped to revive dormant traditions of Native arts.³¹ Additional articles, such as Leila Mechlin's in *International Studio* entitled “Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection”³² urged mainstream artists to study Indian art for its aesthetic qualities. In January of 1901, *Everybody's Magazine* reproduced a photograph taken by

30. Gordon and Herzog write:

A 1900 issue of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, for example, illustrated the living room of prominent Seattle citizens Judge and Mrs. Thomas Burke. The “chief charm” of the room, according to the *Intelligencer*, was its “entirely Indian” interior decoration. The walls were “literally papered” with Indian baskets, plaques, matting, and blankets “The varied colors found only in Indian work,” were said to harmonize perfectly.” *American Indian Art*, 7.

31. *Ibid.*, 7–8.

32. Mechlin, “Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection,” *International Studio* 35, no. 138 (August 1908), lxi–lxvi.

Gertrude Käsebier in which her subject, Indian artist Sam Lone Bear, is shown sitting in front of his work hanging on the wall. This work signifies the acceptance of the Native artist as situated firmly in the western world. As art historian Robert Goldwater terms it, primitive art was “discovered.” Continuing this thought, Donald Kuspit writes that after this discovery the search for primitive art was “relentless once Oceanic and African ethnographic artifacts were recognized as genuine art, [a practice] extending in the twentieth century, to Native American artifacts (centuries earlier Albrecht Dürer appreciated the artistic quality of Mayan and Aztec artifacts, mourning the melting into bullion of those made of gold).”³³ According to art historian and critic Donald Kuspit, the greatest irony in the quest for the primitive was that while this so-called primitive art was considered a remedy for the impersonal and rational ideas of western sciences, American

33. Donald Kuspit, *The End of Art* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 103. Museums around the world promoted this interest in the so-called primitive. “In the first part of the twentieth century western artists sought to expose themselves to the primitive wherever it could be found.” In early 1910, Kirchner wrote from Dresden to a Brücke colleague in Italy that the ethnographic museum had reopened: “The famous Benin bronzes are still on show, as well as some things by the Pueblos of Mexico;” Colin Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 91. Rhodes also notes that the German artists were more interested in the arts of the South Seas than of Africa, perhaps due to the influence of Gauguin (124). Rhodes quotes Nolde in praise of primitive art, “Why is it that we artists love to see the unsophisticated artefacts of the primitives?” (131). In France, at the 1889 Paris *Exposition Universelle*, indigenous villages were constructed on the Champs-de-Mars, where visitors were invited to observe primitive peoples “going about their everyday lives, wearing their national costumes” (92).

Picasso, Matisse, Ernst, Pechstein, Nolde, Brancusi and others responded to masks, sculpture and diverse other genres of tribal African, Oceanic and American art... Recognition of the power of the indigenous forms led not only to radical shifts in European artists’ creativity, but also in some degree to an acknowledgement of the richness and complexity of non-European cultures.

Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art / Colonial Culture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), 7.

artists accepted the definition of the primitive that was created and maintained by those same sciences.³⁴ Both Colin Rhodes and Robert Goldwater argue that artists are the cultural channels through which the value of primitive art has been communicated.³⁵ However, primitive art was seen differently in American than in Europe. In fact, America was viewed as outside the metropolitan center of art production until the 1940s, and primitive art often was offered to Americans initially filtered through European sensibilities. Thus, when Americans began trying to create their own national artistic identity, they distanced themselves from European art (often at the same time still admiring it).³⁶

But the American Indian was not always cast solely into the role of primitive. In key examples in which Native artists were seen as artists first and Indians second, the National Arts Club in 1900 exhibited Native basketry and beadwork alongside works by non-Indians.³⁷ Indian works were more and more often displayed in exhibitions supported by New Mexican transplants. Alice Corbin Henderson sponsored the 1920 Arts Club of Chicago showing of Alfonso Roybal's work; Mary Austin arranged for San Ildefonso paintings to be seen at the Museum of Natural History in New York; and Hewett

34. Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art*, 111, 195.

35. Robert Goldwater, "Judgments of Primitive Art, 1905–1965," in *Primitivism in Modern Art*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1967). Originally published in 1938.

36. Jack Flam and Miriam Deutch, eds. *Primitivism and Twentieth-Century Art: A Documentary History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 15.

37. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 124, 137.

organized an exhibition of Pueblo paintings at the International Art Center in New York in 1926 and 1927.³⁸

These presentations, in conjunction with the proliferation of popular arts magazines at the time, illustrate the growing American fascination with Native American crafts and interior decoration. Willis DeHuff and De Cora both would have been familiar with several publications written for middle-class women (especially De Cora, who would have had the potential to provide illustrations for them): *Home Decorator and Furnisher* (first issue 1898), *Art Interchange* (issues located from 1878 to 1904), *House Beautiful* (introduced in 1896), *Ladies Home Journal* (first issue in 1883, still in production), *Keramic Studio* (1899–1924), and *House and Garden* (premier issue 1901, and also still in publication). These magazines were major disseminators of Arts and Crafts ideas of beauty in the home, and they frequently featured Natives and Native arts. On their covers, and those of other periodicals including the *Literary Digest*, the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Sunset* could often be found idealized images of handsome Indian figures, both male and female (figure 5.7) or, alternatively, Indian crafts. One *Harper's Weekly* cover (June 17, 1899) featured a Taos village scene with basketry painted by Ernest Blumenschein, who also created illustrations of Native Americans for *Scribner's* and *McClure's*.

Indians did not appear solely on the covers of magazines and books, but were also incorporated into popular arts and crafts including sculpture (for example, figures 5.8 and 5.9 from *International Studio*) and pottery, most especially that of Rookwood (figures 5.10-5.12). Again, on these covers, and in these sculptures and objects d'art, the

38. Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 22.

American Native was commonly portrayed as handsome and noble, and correspondingly, as reserved and resigned.

During this period department stores, from Marshall Field's in Chicago to John Wanamaker's in New York, took on the role of intercultural marketplaces, offering goods that ranged in quality from the mass-produced to the exquisitely hand-made³⁹ (figure 5.13). An advertisement in a 1903 *House Beautiful* cites Marshall Field's as a source for "baskets, weapons, pottery, pipes, bead and porcupine embroidery, and many other interesting and decorative articles, handiwork of the Sioux, Apache, Winnebago, Chippewa, Moki and Maricopa Indians."⁴⁰ In March of 1898, the *New-York Tribune* announced a special display of "Indian Curiosities" opening at the Wanamaker's Astor Place emporium.⁴¹ John Wanamaker was not unique in marketing Native American art. His rival Frederick Loeser (owner of the second largest department store in Brooklyn) held a sale of Navajo rugs in June the year before. These were not isolated incidences, and Indian handicrafts were available at stores in every major city of the country. "Tiffany's and Macy's also frequently carried selections of Indian goods and New York City's shopping district boasted at least four stores specializing in Native American merchandise over the course of the first decade of the twentieth century."⁴² Native works

39. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 39–40.

40. Cited in Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 38, as *House Beautiful* 13, no. 3 (1903), inside front cover. Unfortunately the author has not yet been able to locate a copy with the cover intact. The University library has them bound in volumes, sans covers. (August 1903, has article by George Wharton Jones on Pueblo architecture.) I

41. "Navajo Indian Blankets: The Remarkable Products of an Arizona Tribe," *New-York Tribune*, March 19, 1898, supplement 2.

42. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 37–38.

were marketed by some of the nation's best department stores and advertising agencies. Department stores not only promoted contemporary pieces, but were also known, according to Elizabeth Hutchinson, author of *The Indian Craze*, to broker personal collections and objects linked to specific Natives, including the eminent Indian statesman, Sitting Bull.⁴³ In 1901 Wanamaker's hosted George Wharton James for three lectures with concomitant exhibits of his collection; and in 1903, the Wanamaker store ran an ad in the *New York Times* referring to a case in its Indian section with an "intensely interesting collection of relics" that had been collected by a former United States marshal. It cited specific objects with links to Sitting Bull, Little Wound and Hard Heart.⁴⁴

This turn-of-the-century promotion of both folk and Native American wares fostered a growing tradition of adapting Indian pieces for American homes. Inspired by an Arts and Crafts fervor and its focus on Native art, women's groups across the country formed associations focusing on "Indian rights, education, music, and basketry."⁴⁵ As

43. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 41.

44. *Ibid.*, 41.

45. The Women's National Indian Association was founded in 1879, well before the male dominated Indian Rights Association (established 1882) and Lake Mohonk Conference (1883). Spurred by the writings of Helen Hunt Jackson, women's groups across America formed committees focused on education, missionary work and converting Indian women into upright Christian women. The California Federation of Women's Clubs was a national leader in efforts to improve life for American Natives. In 1917 Stella Atwood formed a local Indian welfare committee of the Riverside branch of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. In 1922 local club lectures on Natives included Anna Huebner's "The Indians of the Painted Desert." Huebner's lantern slides included several images of the Hopi Snake Dances that she had been permitted to take. Karin L. Huebner, "An Unexpected Alliance: Stella Atwood, the California Clubwomen, John Collier, and the Indians of the Southwest, 1917-1934," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (2009): pg. #, doi:10.1525/phr.2009.78.3.337.

In other examples, an 1893 a speech given at the Friends of the Indian Mohonk Conference inspired the formation of one early group, the Indian Industries League, which was organized as a branch of the Women's National Indian Association. The League "offered financial support to

Hutchinson writes, the women in these groups did not reject modernity, but utilized the Indian reform movement to accomplish their own transition into a place of authority in the public sphere. Members of one such organization, the Redlands, encouraged naïve American crafts, but additionally stimulated western crafts production among Indian men and women as a way to foster the Christian work ethic as well as create a method for earning income among the Natives. Hutchinson points out that it was not unusual for these organizations to go a step further and also become intermediaries in facilitating the sales of Southwestern baskets and rugs.⁴⁶

Thus a paradigm shift began in 1890 when the United States Bureau of the Census declared that the frontier line no longer existed,⁴⁷ and consequently historian Frederick Jackson Turner claimed in a speech at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, that “[T]he frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history.”⁴⁸ Books such as James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans* (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826) and Helen Hunt Jackson’s 1884 *Ramona* remained highly popular through the mid-1900s.

reservation-based handicraft projects . . . and marketed their products at meetings of reformers and through commercial venues.” Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 64.

In 1921 the General Federation of Women’s Clubs created the Indian Welfare Committee, which worked to improve both education and health facilities on reservations, as well as preserve Native American culture. General Federation of Women’s Clubs website, accessed December 29, 2013, http://www.gfwc.org/gfwc/History_and_Mission.asp.

46. Hutchinson, *Indian Craze*, 62–67.

47. Neff, *Modern West*, 51.

48. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920).

Even the art of George Catlin, who made it his self-assigned task to illustrate every Indian tribe on the continent, was reviewed during this period.⁴⁹ Catlin's works (1796–1872) (figures 5.14 and 5.15) were in high demand in American print and publications as well, as were images by photographer Edward S. Curtis, whose frequently-staged photographs of Native people were immensely sought after. Equally popular were Buffalo Bill Cody's scripted Wild West shows, which operated from 1835 to 1907 (figures 5.16 and 5.17).⁵⁰ Currier and Ives produced some 7,800 sentimental prints that also were tremendously popular in American homes, including more than one series focused on the American Indian that were printed repeatedly since 1845, many based on Catlin's paintings (figures 5.18 and 5.19).⁵¹

49. His publications (beginning in 1841 with his *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians: Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832–1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America* [London: Published by the author, printed by Tosswill and Myers, 1841]) and exhibitions over the next thirty years were well received in England, where Queen Victoria invited him to show his work, and France, where Louis-Philippe had a hall in the Louvre set aside for his own personal viewing. Barbara Groseclose, *Nineteenth-Century American Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 151.

George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians: Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832–1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America* (London: Published by the author, printed by Tosswill and Myers, 1841).

50. Jane Monaghan, "The Stage Career of Buffalo Bill," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 31, no. 4 (1938): 411–23. For alternate views on the life of Cody, see also Louis S. Warren, "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, the Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2003): 49–69; and Juti A. Winchester, "New Western History Doesn't Have to Hurt: Revisionism at the Buffalo Bill Museum," *Public Historian* 31, no. 4 (2009): 77–79. Also see L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996)

51. Harry T. Peters, *Currier and Ives: Printmakers to the American People* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1942), 4–5. Also see Fred J. Peters, *Railroad-Indian-Pioneer Prints by Currier and Ives* (New York: Antique Bulletin Publishing, 1930). The enduring appeal of Currier and Ives is attested to in the books on their work that appeared in the mid 1900s, which include: *Currier and Ives: Lithographs in Color: Fine Prints by Nat Currier, Currier and Ives, Thomas Kelly, Kellogg & Thayer, and Others: American Historical Scenes and Portraits, Country Life,*

Paintings and prints aside, no discussion of the Arts and Crafts movement in America would be complete without touching on the subject of Rookwood pottery. Rookwood opened in Cincinnati in 1880 under the guidance of Maria Longworth Nichols. Her employee Henry Farny, who later became a well-known as an illustrator and painter, in 1881 was the first Rookwood artist to employ Indian images on Rookwood pieces. In 1888 Rookwood artist Artus Van Briggles created a bowl and a vase copying images from publications from the Bureau of Ethnology in Washington, DC. In 1889 a pitcher, also decorated by Van Briggles, featured a portrait profile of an Indian. After this, dozens of pieces, most commonly vases, were created either based on Native designs or featuring romanticized American Indians.⁵²

It was not only in paintings, on pottery and in popular magazines that the Native American was romanticized. In the period from 1894 until 1929, some 400 movies of the genre popularly known as “westerns” were made, including, in 1920, *The Virginian*, *The Deerslayer and Chingachgook*, and two versions of *The Last of the Mohicans* (the first film version of *The Last of the Mohicans* was made in 1911). The heyday of the western appears to have been from 1917 until 1921, in which years at least 175 were filmed. Parallel to the fascination for westerns, Native American theatrical actors thrived; Gladys

Naval and Marine Prints, Early West Sports, &c., including the Collection Formed by W.E. Russell (New York: American Art Association, 1926); Frederick Wellington Ayer, *Currier and Ives: And Other Rare American Lithographs* (New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930); and Russel Crouse, *Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives: A Note on Their Lives and Times*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930). In a short survey, the author has located an additional twenty books on Currier and Ives published since these.

These reproduced images remain readily available for purchase today on websites such as eBay, in poster form.

52. Anita J. Ellis and Susan Labry Meyn, *Rookwood and the American Indian* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 62–73.

and Reginald Laubin, for instance, enjoyed a sixty-year career performing “authentic” Native American dances. Actors were not the only Americans playing Indian; from the Boston “Tea Party” to children at summer camp, impersonating America’s first inhabitants became a defining characteristic of the national persona. America’s Natives themselves sometimes participated in this “white people’s Indian play...assisting, confirming, co-opting, challenging, and legitimizing the performative tradition of aboriginal American history.” At the same time, the “savage” Indian served as an oppositional position, one the “civilized” Euro-American could patronize. Alternately coded as free, the Indian presented a “dialectic of simultaneous desire and repulsion.”⁵³ Despite this, as American History Professor Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. points out in *The White Man’s Indian*, a parallel contradiction occurred as the government attempted to divest Natives of their land in a process that was intended, at least in theory, to help the American Indian assimilate into western culture. By the very act of taking away their land, Native peoples were rendered incapable of helping themselves. In fact, it might be put forward that Euro-American hegemony forced Native peoples to become Pan-Indian, without regard for their cultural diversity.⁵⁴

53. Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 7–9, 117.

54. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 193, 195.

Two additional books with informative discussions of these issues are: Rennard Strickland, *Tonto’s Revenge: Reflections on American Indian Culture and Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), and Ward Churchill, *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians*, ed. M. Annette Jaimes (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1992).

For a discussion of regional and national identity in the twentieth century and its relationship to the visual arts and indigenism, see Michael J. Schreffler and Jessica Welton, “Garcilaso De La Vega and the ‘New Peruvian Man’: José Sabogal’s Frescoes at the Hotel Cuzco,” *Art History* 33, no. 1 (2010): 124–49.

In this environment heavily inspired by the American Arts and Crafts movement, with its attendant reliance on Native America, Elizabeth Willis matured. As a young, modern and educated woman, she, in many ways, embodied the spirit of the day. And, as such, she found it necessary to move from the small town of Athens, Georgia to places where she could further expand her horizons and experience what America had to offer.

In the Philippines Willis and DeHuff learned systems of teaching non-western students through art. At Carlisle Indian Boarding School, where the focus on art was still prevalent, although perhaps on the wane, the DeHuffs interacted with De Cora and saw firsthand her pan-Indian teaching methods, with its sources located in art pedagogies as diverse as that of Pratt and the Hampton Institutes to Howard Pyle's. These experiences provided the groundwork for Willis DeHuff's next move, with her husband, to Santa Fe, where she met Fred Kabotie and the two initiated a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity.

Chapter Six

Fred Kabotie Meets Elizabeth Willis DeHuff: The Genesis of the Santa Fe Style

The DeHuffs moved to Santa Fe in 1918 when John DeHuff was appointed the superintendent at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. There, Willis DeHuff's initiative in bringing Kabotie into her home for drawing lessons, and her husband's allowing this, despite its possible controversy, were the catalysts for the development of an entire new genre of modern American art: the Santa Fe Style. Preceding chapters have established some of the key events leading up to this juncture; this chapter explores the manner in which the relationship between Kabotie and Willis DeHuff developed.

Under Willis DeHuff's supervision, Kabotie worked with watercolors and paper supplied by the school and began creating images of ceremonial dances, Hopi home life and Katsinas that Willis DeHuff and fellow teachers at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School were delighted to collect. Willis DeHuff's enthusiasm for Kabotie's work led her to share it with Hewett and to exhibit it at the Museum of New Mexico, an event that led to Mabel Dodge Luhan's discovery of his work, and the launching of Kabotie's career as a professional artist.

The DeHuffs Move to New Mexico

While Willis's official teaching career may have ended when she married, John DeHuff's continued to develop. However, his days at the Carlisle School ended abruptly due to ill health. In an unpublished manuscript written in her later years, entitled "Static Kachinas Come to Life, or the Silent Years of Southwestern Indian Watercolor Painting (1917–1933),"¹ Willis DeHuff explains that in the spring of 1916, her husband showed signs of tuberculosis, and his doctors immediately sent him to the dryer climate of New Mexico, where he was appointed Supervisor of the Pueblo Indian Day Schools. Willis DeHuff describes how, under her husband's supervision, art was introduced to these day schools, using materials originally designated for map-making:

An agreeable non-missionary-minded teacher of the San Ildefonso day school soon allowed the children to paint pictures with these paints on Friday afternoons. Many of them painted objects from their most exciting and moving experiences, the ceremonial pageantry of the village.²

The day-school student paintings were shown to the Director of the Museum of New Mexico, Dr. Edgar Hewett, who a few years later became a significant supporter of Kaboutie. Willis DeHuff writes:

In June 1917 these [day school student] pictures were seen by Dr. Hewett....They were the first static, two-dimensional figures and Dr. Hewett bought them for a few dollars for the Museum. These were never exhibited at the Museum until after the 1920s.³

1. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, "Static Kachinas Come to Life, or the Silent Years of Southwestern Indian Watercolor Painting (1917–1933)," 2; Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 6, folder 58), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. There is also a copy of this manuscript in the Beinecke Library, Yale University.

2. Willis DeHuff, "Static Kachinas," 2–3.

3. *Ibid.*, 3.

This story parallels Kabotie's, as can be seen in Kabotie's account of how Willis DeHuff especially liked the map he colored and chose him to be her first art student.⁴ In an interview with Belknap, he states that he does not remember specifically what he first painted, but does say "from then on I painted ...more of Katsinas, I would say."⁵

John DeHuff Promoted and Transferred to the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School

Although DeHuff enjoyed overseeing the New Mexico Indian day schools as superintendent, after two years in this position he was promoted and transferred to Santa Fe. The DeHuffs saw, in their words, their first "so-called Indian dance on May 1, 1918 at San Felipe Pueblo on our way to the new appointment as superintendent to the Santa Fe school."⁶ At this point, Willis DeHuff's thinking about Native Americans crystalized. As she indicates in "Static Kachinas Come to Life," both she and her husband were "thrilled" by their New Mexico experiences, particularly by the Native ceremonial dances.⁷ Their passion led Willis DeHuff to consider how to document these experiences since no cameras or sketching were allowed at the events. She found a solution through initiating drawings by Kabotie and her other students.

4. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 27–28.

5. Kabotie, "Interview Sess. 1," folder 5, 1110. Also Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 28.

6. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, "The Renaissance of Southwestern Indian Art by One Who Was Present," 5; Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, box 6, folder 50), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

7. Willis DeHuff, "Static Kachinas," 3.

Willis DeHuff was not solely interested in visual art. She had acted in numerous Shakespearean plays while at Lucy Cobb,⁸ and one of the first school events she attended after her move to Santa Fe was the biennial student production of the play *Hiawatha* (presumably an adaptation of Longfellow's poem).⁹ She was "horrified" when she saw that the school's production was not set in an Iroquois upstate New York locale as in the Longfellow poem, but in a "girls' boarding school of Whites." This seeming disregard for the schoolchildren's Native culture prompted Willis DeHuff, over the next few years, to write several plays in which students could relate their own lives and customs.¹⁰ She reported that her first play, *Ash-Fire at Oh-Kay* (*Winter Ceremony at Oh-Kay Pueblo*), was first performed in 1920 and was "adored" by the pupils;¹¹ the editor of *Drama* magazine, "mentioned it with a picture of the Blackbird dancers in his magazine's next issue." When it was restaged years later, *Ash-Fire at Oh-Kay* was "generously spoken of" in the periodical *Art and Archaeology* in December 1924, and featured with several photographs in *El Palacio* on September 30, 1924. This was her first of many plays

8. Willis graduated in June 1905 from Lucy Cobb, where she had acted in at least four Shakespearean plays. Unfortunately the programs in her scrapbooks are not dated by year. Her roles included: Prospero in *The Tempest*, Angelo in *Comedy of Errors*, Claudius, the King of Denmark in *Hamlet* and Salarino in *Merchant of Venice*. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 1, scrapbook 1), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

9. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha*, with illustrations from designs by Frederic Remington (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1891).

10. Willis DeHuff, "Static Kachinas," 5. For a description of a play at Carlisle see "Y.M.C.A. Vaudeville a Success," *The Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914. The article describes a play starring Chief Kill'em Quick and his band, featuring Indian war dances, a medicine man along with hunting and camp scenes.

11. "Ash-Fire at Oh-Kay," *El Palacio* 8, nos. 7 and 8 (July 1920): 190. The article includes a photograph "The Eagles" in "Ash-Fire at Oh-Kay."

produced in Santa Fe.¹² The June 9, 1920 production listed Kabotie as playing the role of the grandfather, Tay-Tay.¹³ Willis DeHuff later developed this production into a children's book, which Kabotie illustrated for her. It is likely that John DeHuff supported his wife in her theatrical efforts at the Indian school, especially in light of his own participation in local theatre. The April 1919 *El Palacio* lists John DeHuff as playing the role of Peter Swallow in the local Drama League of Santa Fe production of *Mrs. Bumpstead -Leigh*, directed by B. J. O. Nordfeldt (Elizabeth Willis DeHuff played Violet De Salle).¹⁴

Willis DeHuff had not only been dissatisfied with the Santa Fe Indian School's theatre program, but was also critical of the lack of any formal art training, as well as the absence of what she termed "Indianness."

During the first months in Santa Fe, I searched everywhere for 'Indianness.' First I looked for watercolor painters. In his carpentry shop, Mr. Jensen the instructor replied, 'If you are looking for artists. [sic] I have a Hopi boy in one class. When I give him a board to square off and saw, I find it decorated with katsina figures instead.' So I took down the name 'Fred Kabotie.'¹⁵

By talking with various teachers at the school, Willis DeHuff located more prospective art students. They included Velino Shije (his teacher claimed he preferred to paint Indian figures

12. Fred Kabotie mentions at least two other plays Willis DeHuff wrote and produced while at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School. The earliest featured both Hiawatha and Pocahontas, and a third play starred Kabotie as a medicine man. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 4, 116 and folder 5, 117.

13. According to the program in her papers, the play was written, arranged, and designed by Mrs. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff and produced under direction of Mrs. DeHuff and Teachers of the Academic Department. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 5 no number), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

14. "Drama League," *El Palacio* 8, nos. 7 and 8 (July 1920): 223.

15. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 18.

rather than maps in geography class); two young men from San Juan Pueblo; Juan Jose Montoya of San Ildefonso; and Otis Polelonema, another Hopi. Kabotie recounts how Willis DeHuff especially liked the map he colored and chose him to be her first art student.¹⁶

With special permission from the superintendent, these young men were allowed to exchange a course in watercolor painting for their required three hours of vocational work. Tables and chairs were set up in the big living room of the superintendent's home, and watercolor paints and papers were provided. Willis DeHuff instructed her new students to:

Please paint a scene from your favorite Indian dance. Don't have the figures flat like paper dolls. Show them dancing, with the chorus singing and the drums being beaten, if there is a chorus and drums. Make them look alive.¹⁷

Under Willis DeHuff's direction, Kabotie painted "thirty or more elaborate Indian ceremonial pictures—known as dance pictures—, [sic] some of which, as mentioned before, have been exhibited in New York, and others have been written up and reproduced in *Art and Archaeology* [sic]."¹⁸

According to Willis DeHuff, Kabotie's first watercolor under her guidance was a Snake Dance¹⁹ (see figures 12, 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4 for Snake Dance scenes by Kabotie that might be similar to this first painting) that included the portrayal of a snake wriggling away from the

16. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 27–28.

17. Willis DeHuff, "Static Kachinas," 6.

18. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, "A Hopi Indian Artist (Internationally Known at the Age of 22 Years)," n.d., 7; Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 6, folder 29), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

19. There is no evidence which, if any, of the existing Snake Dance watercolors by Kabotie is this first painting.

dancers, a situation Kabotie included in more than one Snake Dance watercolor.²⁰ Velino Shije portrayed a corn dance with a small chorus, and the other students illustrated only a few figures.

Kabotie recalled that situation somewhat differently. Writing in a May 1940 letter uncovered in the archives at the Center for Southwest Research, he stated, “My first painting, which Mrs. DeHuff now possesses, was a group of Hopi Butterfly Dancers, and my second painting was of the Hopi Snake Dance.”²¹ In either case, Willis DeHuff bought a selection of her pupil’s work for a small sum “for encouragement,” and another teacher, Mr. Jensen, bought a few for “a pittance.”²² Willis DeHuff further states that by 1919, she was encouraged enough by her students’ paintings to take a selection to the Museum in Santa Fe for the aforementioned exhibition in its art gallery, which she did on a Saturday because that was the day many Native and white artists came to the museum to see what new pottery and crafts were on display.²³ In her

20. Willis DeHuff, “Static Kachinas,” 6.

21. Untitled 2-page document addressed “To whom it may concern,” signed by Fred Kabotie, and dated May 1940. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 7, folder 24), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

22. Kabotie recalls in an interview, “Mr. Jensen... would buy all my paintings! My paintings were quite expensive, maybe a dozen of them, single figures, would be about 75 cents!...I understood he sent them to Denmark.” Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 4, 110.

23. Willis DeHuff, “Static Kachinas,” 6. Willis DeHuff continues:

The artist Carlos Vierra was looking at them when Alfonso Roybal (Awa-Tsireh) of San Ildefonso came in. After a few moments of study. Alfonso remarked, “I could do that.” “Then do it,” said Carlos. The next Saturday Alfonso brought to Santa Fe a couple of two or three figure paintings to sell to his friend Alice Corbin Henderson, the poet. Tonita Pena also brought paintings to the Museum—all three-dimensional.

In another document, an undated letter to Mrs. Kramer (Dorothy Dunn married fellow teacher Max Kramer), Willis DeHuff writes that Vierra, Frank Applegate (painter and author of *Indian Stories From the Pueblos*) and Alice Corbin Henderson all bought Roybal’s paintings. Mrs. Kramer was a former employee of the Santa Fe Boarding School and was in the process of researching the early Indian artists.

essay entitled “Static Kachinas” she provides fresh insight into her reasons for encouraging students to paint. This account also clarifies Willis DeHuff’s decision to facilitate art classes because she wanted paintings of dances and upon her arrival at the school there were no students painting them.

In a separate essay Willis DeHuff writes, that in 1918, after she began working with Kabotie and others:

When each [Santa Fe Indian Boarding School student] artist had painted several pictures, there were enough to fill an alcove at the New Museum. Proudly I took them down and asked permission to hang them for exhibit. Since the Museum is State-owned and it is an open gallery, the paintings were displayed. Indians came in from the pueblos to see them.²⁴

Hewett must have liked these paintings as well.²⁵ A review of Willis DeHuff’s students’ work displayed in the “Indian Alcove” appears in the April 7, 1919 issue of the Museum journal, *El Palacio*, that notes:

Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 10, folder 31), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

William P. Henderson and Alice Corbin Henderson came to Santa Fe from Chicago in 1916. He was a “painter, muralist, architect, and designer,” who studied art at Boston Museum School of Art and in Europe whose work included murals for Frank Lloyd Wright’s Midway Gardens; Alice was a “poet, critic, and editor,” who had been a journalist for the Chicago newspapers. She was instrumental in the development of the Modernist movement in poetry as editor of *Poetry* magazine. Alice developed tuberculosis and the couple moved to Santa Fe, where they became staunch supporters of the art colony. James Kraft and Helen Farr Sloan, *John Sloan in Santa Fe* (Woodlawn, MD: Wolk Press, 1981), 15.

24. Willis DeHuff, “Renaissance of Southwestern Indian Art,” 5.

25. Although Hewett did write, in his “Report of the Director of the School of American Research for the Year 1919,” *El Palacio* 6, nos. 7 and 8 (April 17, 1919): 170, that:

As the Indian disappears into the citizenship of our country it is imperative that the record of this great racial experience be made complete and true. It is the problem of artist and poet as well as of the historian and scientist therefore Americanists welcome into their field the advent of a distinguished and numerous company of artists....with the inevitable disappearance of the pure Indian type, and the final

An unusual exhibit at the Museum is that of the art class of Mrs. J. DeHuff of the United States Indian School. It is quaint, colorful, and naïve. The various winter and summer dance ceremonials of the Pueblo Indians, ranging from the Snake Dance of the Hopi to the Corn Dance at Santo Domingo, and including the Deer, Buffalo and other dances, are depicted. One is struck with the rhythm of the moving figures as if the artist had been humming the ceremonial song at the same time that he was drawing the figures. The grouping as well as the color, even though limited in their scope, are expressive of harmony and are beautifully decorative. Their symbols and emblems are correct to the smallest detail although drawn from memory rather than from living models. The entire exhibit seems to prove that with the Pueblo Indian art is racial rather than individual and that beautiful results are obtained if the Indian is given free scope to express himself.²⁶

This article, perhaps written by Hewett or Chapman, is the earliest review of Kabotie's work, and almost certainly the Snake Dance image mentioned was by him. How this came about was not only an accident of nature—the DeHuffs' move to New Mexico precipitated by the onset of John DeHuff's tuberculosis—but also a result of his rapid promotion to superintendent in Santa Fe, which was, no doubt, due to his ability as an educational administrator.

Kabotie soon grew to be much more than a pupil to the DeHuff family. John DeHuff writes in his diary on Tuesday, June 24, 1919 that he and his wife took their daughter, Ann, and Kabotie, Isabell Montoya and Flora Quisnienema for a 40 mile drive to San Juan Indian pueblo to see the annual feast day dance, thus making it clear that Kabotie was a favorite of the DeHuffs, and that he attended other Pueblo dances, where he had the opportunity to observe

disintegration of the ceremonies these [Native paintings] become priceless records.

26. "Exhibit by Indian Pupils," *El Palacio* 6, no. 9 (April 7, 1919): 142–43.

details for his watercolors.²⁷ The affection he shared with the DeHuffs is evident in letters written later in life, when Kabotie addresses her as “Foster Mother” and “Mother,” and she calls him “Son.”

According to the New Mexico Museum of Art Collections Manager Erica Prater, the next year (1920) Kabotie also exhibited five paintings in an exhibit entitled “Paintings—Water Colors by Pueblo Indian Artists”: *Hopi Buffalo Ceremony*, *Hopi Basket Ceremony*, *Navajo Mask Dance*, *Ancient Peace Ceremony* and *Corn Ceremony*, *Santa Clara*.²⁸

To summarize: although it is not certain exactly what specific arts Willis DeHuff encountered before becoming Kabotie’s teacher, the general environments in which she grew up, was educated, and taught have been established in the preceding chapters. Willis DeHuff matured during an era that propagated the Arts and Crafts movement, with its attendant fascination with America’s Native peoples. Her second teaching job was in the Philippines, a brand new protectorate of the United States. There, she experienced at firsthand the nation’s early attempts to colonize a so-called primitive society via teaching art. At Carlisle, Willis met the artist and art teacher Angel De Cora. Even if she had no particular interest in art at that time, she would have been aware of the school’s intense focus on art. Once in Santa Fe, all these experiences came into play, enabling her to become one of the first Anglo teachers of art to Native American students. Fred Kabotie was an apt and brilliant student. With its host of modern thinkers, such as Mabel Dodge Luhan, Edgar Hewett and John Sloan, who were in residence and ready to lend advice and patronage, Santa Fe became the perfect place for Kabotie and Willis DeHuff to collaborate in

27. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers, (MSS 99 BC, John DeHuff diary, p. 29), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

28. Email to author, June 9, 2014. Ms. Prater notes that the next exhibition at the museum that included Kabotie’s work was not until 1962.

the formation and development of the Santa Fe Style.²⁹ Early paintings by Kabotie reflect the encouragement and patronage Willis DeHuff offered; they are relatively unstructured explorations by a young man who is considering the possibilities that expressing himself through watercolors could offer.

Kabotie's Earliest Paintings

When Willis DeHuff started the students painting in her living room, she told them to “paint pictures to frame as works of art; not to draw just single figures, as the Hopi had done for Dr. Fewkes.” She further instructed them not to imitate the paintings of Anglo artists, but in her words to “visualize a whole dance movement and paint as if the participants were dancing. The promise was that I would buy the paintings.”³⁰

29. This discussion of the initial promotion of the Santa Fe Style does not intend to gloss over the many difficulties John David DeHuff faced as superintendent, including students who spoke no English and were inclined to run away at the first chance, the high teacher turnover rate and the overall poor quality teachers. One teacher, at the Crow Creek Indian School, recalled being informed in 1897, “there ain’t nobody here who could earn a living anywhere else. They’re the only kind of people who ever come into this dirty Indian service.” In fact, teaching on reservations was almost never the first choice of non-Indian teachers, and those who did attempt to teach in the Indian schools were given no special training to work with their Native students; Reyhner and Eder, *American Indian Education*, 91–91. This development occurred in spite of the statement by the superintendent of the Indian Territory schools in 1905 that, “The greatest need of Indian education today is a corps of teachers trained to understand Indian life and environment...trained in methods of importing needed knowledge in such a manner as will appeal to the mind of the Indian child.” John D. Benedict, “The Advisability of Conducting Normal Schools to Train Teachers for the Specific Purpose of Instructing Indian Children,” in *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting Held at Asbury Park and Ocean Grove, New Jersey July 3–7 1905* by the National Education Association of the United States (Winona: MN: National Education Association: 1905), 950.

30. Willis DeHuff to Kramer, Willis DeHuff Family Papers. Willis DeHuff was not alone in this belief. Alice Corbin Henderson, a strong supporter of Awa Tsireh, in 1925 wrote an article about him for the *New York Times*. In it she stated firmly that, “Irrespective of all the examples of our “alien” art about them, their work remained purely Indian.” “The World Of Art: A Boy Painter Among the Pueblo Indians and Unspoiled Native Work,” September 8, 1925.

This anecdote may seem like an ordinary moment, but in fact it was of fundamental importance for the development of the Santa Fe Style. At this time Willis DeHuff gave Kabotie permission to create the watercolors foundational to the Santa Fe Style and Native American art. Her decision to teach Kabotie was of major significance socially, culturally and artistically, and was predicated on her own (and Kabotie's) historical conditioning and understanding of art in general, and Indian art specifically. This conjunction of interests and attitudes enabled Kabotie to produce works that were carefully constructed to be not just Indian but interstitial works, situated firmly between Native and mainstream America.

In Kabotie's earliest works, produced while at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School during the DeHuffs' tenure and before the exhibition of student paintings in New York (from 1918 through 1920), the roots of his Santa Fe Style can be observed emerging. Although Kabotie has not yet learned to control his media, his figures are balanced and positioned in a rhythmical, geometrical formation, as noted in the short article, "Exhibit by Indian Pupils," in *El Palacio*,³¹ which also posits the idea that music was chanted while the artists worked. Kabotie mentions relying on singing as an improvisatory technique on several occasions in his autobiography; it was an approach he and his son Michael both expressed as important to the germination of their art to the author and others.³²

As the *El Palacio* reviewer notes, Kabotie's use of color is balanced and harmonious across the page, with no jarring elements. Figures are dressed similarly, if not identically (perhaps because he was depending on his memory for every detail). Backgrounds are non-existent (with rare exception), and human figures show little modeling, with simplified hands

31. "Exhibit by Indian Pupils," *El Palacio* 6, no. 9 (April 7, 1919), 142–43.

32. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 45–46. Also conversations with the author, December 1979.

and feet. They cast no shadows. The review in *El Palacio* calls his figures naïve, and indeed they do offer more resemblance to folk art than to any classical western school of art. At the same time, they communicate an immediacy and sense of reality, becoming essentially a glimpse offered to Willis DeHuff and Anglo-American patrons of what they perceived as Kabotie's exotic homeland.

Kabotie's early work, made while attending the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, was generally executed on inexpensive paper (now yellowed with age) and gouache. His handling of paint was still somewhat inexperienced, but can be seen to be unhesitant and almost assertive. He utilized the gouache liberally to fill large areas, but also applied it deliberately to define details in the paintings, as seen in several single images.

As only one of Kabotie's watercolors bears an actual date, chronicling Kabotie's earliest works is difficult, as is locating paintings in which a definitive time can be ascertained. The *Snake Dance* watercolor reproduced in the *Dial* magazine in 1920 (figure 12), was definitely painted between 1918, when Kabotie started working with Willis DeHuff, and 1920, when it was published; consequently it will be the first watercolor examined.

This work portrays a loose knit group (unlike the later *Snake Dance* painting seen in figure 8.22 where the group is a more rhythmic unit). Kabotie carefully lays out each of the major participants in this dance scene, revealing the final day of a ceremony immensely popular with tourists as well as with buyers of his works. Kabotie's *Snake Dance* reproduced in the *Dial* is restrained, with a rhythmic line of dancers on the left and circling teams of snake handlers crossing the picture plain. Unfortunately, there is not an extant image in color of this work, but these early Snake Dance paintings might have been conceived in a similar palette, as all would have been made with paints supplied by the DeHuffs.

Held biennially, every other August, the Snake Dance, like essentially all Hopi ceremonies, is a prayer for rain and fertility. Snakes are gathered for weeks preceding the dance and kept in the kiva where sacred preparations are made. On the day of the dance the snakes are brought to the village plaza and placed in the *kisi* (shrine); one at a time each is placed in the hands and mouth of a dancer, who is accompanied by another member of the Snake Society. This companion carries a snake whip with which he strokes and calms the snake. After every snake has been danced with, it is returned to the *kisi*, and from there all of the snakes are gathered by the handful and returned to the four directions of the desert.³³

His *Flute Boy*, (figure 6.5) *Ahöla Kachina*, (figure 6.6) and *Hopi Woman Making Piki* (bread) (figure 6.7), represent three very different aspects of Hopi life: a social dance, a Katsina figure, and a domestic scene, respectively. *Flute Boy* wears a Squash Blossom necklace as many of Kabotie's early figures do. His traditional Hopi sash is depicted in careful detail, as is *Ahöla*'s mantle. The pottery the woman is working on is shown less definitively, perhaps because weaving is traditionally men's work so Kabotie was very familiar with the process, while pottery is, according to custom, women's work. (At this point Kabotie may not have yet been following Nampeyo's work particularly closely, especially since her pots were made for the market, not for Hopi daily life.) The fine detail Kabotie depicts in the illustrating of weaving is also obvious in *Hopi Men Getting Ready for a Buffalo Dance* (figure 1.5). The two rugs on the floor are clearly hand-woven, with the sides pulling inward as they would in real life. One bustle is complete, and the feathers laid out for another. A pertinent document found in the archives at the School for

33. This dance is ancient, and when the author attended one in 1978, it was very successful. As the crowd assembled along the edges and rooftops of the plaza to watch the dancers and snakes, one small cloud appeared on the horizon. Within an hour, thunder, lightning and clouds surrounded the plaza, and a shaft of sunlight shone down on the snakes and the dancers. Then, rain poured down on the nearby Hopi fields. It was a dance that offered everything a modern American could have asked for, with human and nature appearing to work in sync together.

Advanced Research in Santa Fe is the previously unpublished letter written December 22, 1921 to Eva L. Tenyers in which Kabotie describes two of his works:

Although I did not know the meaning of some of the objects in my pictures...I will try my best to explain them in detail....(1) These two men are preparing for [the] Buffalo dance and the shield that you see on the wall and another below are only used in [the] Buffalo dance. They are representing the sun. In the dance they are worn by the ladies only on their back[s]. These sun shields are fashion[ed] some way on their backs so that the parrets [sic] feathers on the shields behind their heads [are] projecting out a little above their heads. (2) These feathers on the floor are suppose[d] to be parret [sic] feathers with a stick to which they will be attached and place[d] on the other shield. (3) These disks near the bowl are colored and are used on the shields and some others. (4) These two crooked sticks with the eagle feathers laying against the wall are used by two men dancers and these sticks are supposed to represent the lightening. (5) These (drawing of stars in circles) are rattles used by the two men dancers. I am sorry I do not know the meaning of these designs (drawing of bird tracks) on the lightening sticks but they are more like birds' tracks. (6) The blanket is used in this dance, [it is] worn by the ladies but it can be used in other ceremonial dances. (7) The men formerly when working in the kiva generally took off their clothes provided the heat is plentiful. (8) In the kivas the fire-places are different from those in the houses. The ceremonial kivas are large rooms so in order to keep the heat in balance the fire-place must be right in the center of the room. The entrance from the top by which the people go down into [the] kiva can also be used as a chimney. (9) I don't know the name of the stone used for [the] floor. They are flats and are only found on the adobe hills.³⁴

The two men in this image, as in other early Kabotie s, are stiff, and their gestures immobile. Still, the artist is clearly showing a more western-type realism than is seen in pre-Columbian or contemporaneous Hopi works (see figures 1.7, 1.14, 1.23, 1.39). Kabotie's early paintings are not unlike the earlier images painted for Fewkes (figures 1.34–1.37) in some aspects (such as in the empty backgrounds and the depiction of Katsinas), but Fewkes's artists

34. School for Advanced Research, AC 17L 54. 2.

employ body proportions more akin to the Awatovi murals (figure 1.7), and the depiction of body limbs and clothing both are much more like Pueblo murals than western art. Kabotie's humans are more fluid and offer more careful detail. Fewkes wanted his painters to show no influence of western art (which of course they did), whereas Willis DeHuff encouraged her students to paint figures as if they were alive and moving (see footnote 17). However, since Willis DeHuff had no formal art training herself, one can assume that any suggestions she offered were based on her own primary and secondary education experiences.

Kabotie's *Dance of the Corn Maidens* (figure 1.1) lacks the overall harmony seen in many of his works; but the same year he painted *Pine Dance* (figure 1.2), which illustrates the geometrical rhythms of figure placement that he developed in his later works. Several *Basket Dance* images (figures 1.3 and 1.4) advance this geometry further—as if Kabotie is interpreting and replying to the written praise of art critic Walter Pach, who asks in the March 1920 *Dial* apropos Kabotie's own work:

Where can one find a row of figures forming one simple and impressive rhythm such as here, until one has gone clear back to the painting of the Egyptians? And the nobility of gesture and of grouping in the other figures...need no comment, so I leave them.³⁵

In these *Basket Dance* paintings there is also more complex detail in the women's work, with a variety of carefully crafted baskets piled in the center and each woman proudly displaying her own work.

These early watercolors are narrative works involving traditional Hopi secular and religious events from everyday life to plaza dances. As Kabotie himself recalled in 1940, "I...began making watercolor paintings of Indian ceremonials in the home of Elizabeth Willis

35. Pach, "Indian Water-Colors," 343–45.

DeHuff, with her aid and encouragement...during the fall of 1918.” Kabotie continues, “Mrs. DeHuff selected a group of eight or nine Indian boys³⁶ whom the academic teachers recommended as good drawers of maps,” and had them “spend ... that time each day painting “Indian dances” in her living room.”³⁷ Kabotie names Velino Shije (Zia), Otis Polelonema (Hopi), Manuel Cruz and Guadalupe Montoya (San Juan), and Juan Jose Montoya and Jose Miguel Martinez (San Ildefonso) as being in the group.³⁸ “Our first paintings were exhibited by Mrs. DeHuff in the Art gallery of the New Museum in Santa Fe.” Kabotie also reveals Hewett’s involvement when he writes:

Two years later [1920], I was engaged by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett to paint Indian dance pictures for the School of American Research. I worked on these paintings for a permanent record for the School of Research for several years, while attending the Santa Fe High School.³⁹

Although Kabotie was perhaps the first and most prominent Santa Fe Style artist, other Pueblo artists promulgated this successful genre, including Kabotie’s friend and fellow Santa Fe

36. In the letter to Mrs. Kramer, Willis DeHuff writes, “I do not know why I did not ask for girls also – who seemed to have a talent for drawing.” Willis DeHuff Family Papers.

37. Appendix 2. Untitled 2-page document addressed “To whom it may concern,” signed by Fred Kabotie, and dated May 1940. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 7, folder 24) Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

38. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 4, 109–12, and Kabotie, “To whom it may concern,” Willis DeHuff Family Papers.

Also, according to a short blurb entitled, “More Tewa Paintings,” in *El Palacio* 6, no. 12 (July 1, 1918), 215:

Mrs. J. DeHuff has succeeded...in bringing out several more painters among the Indian pupils. Especially noteworthy are paintings of Indian dances by two San Juan boys, Manuel Cruz and Guadalupe Montoya, which were placed on exhibit in the Museum.

39. Kabotie, “To whom it may concern,” Willis DeHuff Family Papers.

School student Otis Polelolema. Despite Willis DeHuff's contention otherwise,⁴⁰ the Santa Fe Boarding School students clearly studied each other's work closely, as is illustrated in Polelolema's painting *Preparing for the Buffalo Dance*, which is surely a copy of Kabotie's *Hopi Men Getting Ready for a Buffalo Dance* (figures 6.8 and 1.5);⁴¹ careful examination reveals that Polelolema left out parts of the image, most noticeably under the man's arm, and apparently did not finish painting the men's legs.

Conclusion

Kabotie's earliest watercolors, executed between 1918 and 1920 (figures 12, 1.1–1.5, 6.1–6.3, 6.5–6.7 and 8.1–8.6), offer a baseline for interpreting the Santa Fe Style. At this beginning point in his career, his significant ideas would have been derived from what he saw and remembered from Hopi, and from his interactions with other students at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School and with Willis DeHuff. As his work evolved in the mid-1920s, it advanced with the addition of complex details and increased skill as he interacted with new, outside sources (which will be discussed in following chapters). After leaving the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School in 1921, while beginning work at the Museum and attending Santa Fe Public High School, Kabotie began to observe detail from an artist's perspective, offering more meticulous refinements in his work. As early as 1919, he visited other pueblo ceremonies with

40. Willis DeHuff, in "American Primitives in Art," 2, wrote:

To each boy was given a large sheet of paper and a box of water-colors—a foreign medium to them at that time—and ...immediately from memory the boys marvelously covered their blank papers with singing men beating drums and with dancers in accurately reproduced symbolic costumes – costumes in which each article had a meaning...each boy working silently, independently, never glancing at the efforts of another.

41. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the story of the cavalry raid in his village when he was a child was an event of special significance to Kabotie.

the DeHuffs and had opportunities to observe features held in common by many pueblos, and so was no longer merely painting from his childhood recollections (but also, perhaps, became more pan-Pueblo, if not pan-Indian in detail). If one accepts the idea that Kabotie was initially painting from memory, it makes sense that as an artist he would, at every chance, have begun to carefully observe and mentally catalogue specific elements as his career advanced.

While this dissertation may differ with previous histories of Kabotie by awarding credit to both Willis DeHuff and Kabotie for the development of the Santa Fe Style, examining the pedagogy of art in the United States as well as in the Indian schools, clarifying Dunn's late arrival on the scene, and bringing Hewett, Luhan, Chapman, Nelson and modern artists into the story (as it will do in the next chapter), it shares with earlier works the need to look at what little is known about Kabotie's personal history and reconsider it in terms of Hopi history. The instruction he received from Willis DeHuff, as simple as it was, was enough to establish Kabotie's subject matter. Although Katsinas are what he recalled drawing as a child and sketching on boards in carpentry class, Kabotie instead offered ceremonial dances in his first works for Willis DeHuff. Kabotie's specific experiences are difficult to tease out from the few records extant; his own files are sketchy until his permanent return to Hopi in 1929 and the inception of the Hopi Arts and Crafts Silvercraft Guild in 1949. This absence leaves the author relying on Kabotie's autobiography and the writings of Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, alongside admittedly fallible interpretations of the events that informed the two. However, by investigating Kabotie's known works collectively and as sequentially as possible, it becomes markedly easier to follow the development of the Santa Fe Style. While indubitably all the components that informed Kabotie's art have not been uncovered, well-known elements and unexplored inspirations not previously understood have been clarified, such as the training level of Willis

DeHuff as an art instructor, the reasons behind the initial subject matter of Kabotie's works, and the early artistic efforts of Kabotie, from blanket to jewelry making.

Simply gathering so much information in one place has resulted in clarifying the development of the Santa Fe Style, and establishing a perspective concerning how this occurred. What can be certain is that Kabotie's style and subject matter were advanced from his personal Hopi heritage in conjunction with Willis DeHuff's western and pan-Indian ideas,⁴² that now have been traced all the way back to the Fort Marion prisoners and the work of Angel De Cora. The paintings that Kabotie produced while a student at the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School were thus neither Hopi nor western in style: they incorporated elements of both; the very crux of the theory of mimesis, as well as its fatal flaw, is that each person by necessity understands the world from his or her own limited perspective. The following chapters will further demonstrate how traditions were artfully combined to create works that appealed to western buyers in both subject matter and style, without being disloyal to Hopi aesthetics.⁴³

42. Simultaneously, there were numerous other Native artists across the country participating in less well-defined reconceptualizations of their own tribal and pan-Indian styles. Strong early advocates and collectors of their works included several notable Euro-Americans, among them Fewkes, Keam, Harvey, Hewett and Mabel Dodge Luhan. The latter two became equally, or more, important to Willis DeHuff in marketing his work, and their many contributions will be discussed in the following chapters.

43. The DeHuffs left Santa Fe in 1926 when John DeHuff was transferred to the Sherman School in Riverside, California. Willis DeHuff attributes this to the "backstabbing" of:

Miss True, Miss Disette and their friends who wanted to take over Mr. DeHuff's position as Superintendent of the Santa Fe School [and] wrote to Commissioner Burke that Mrs. DeHuff was encouraging the Indians to keep up their 'pagan beliefs' by painting Indian dancing and acting Indian.

John DeHuff could not tolerate the smog pots in Southern California, and so the DeHuffs "withdrew from the Indian Services," and returned to Santa Fe in 1927, where John DeHuff accepted the job of Secretary of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce. Their temporary removal must have left Kabotie somewhat adrift and open to the desires of other patrons. Willis DeHuff, "Renaissance of Southwestern Indian Art," 7, and Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 5, 120.

Chapter Seven

Museums and Collectors Develop an Interest in Fred Kabotie and the Santa Fe Style: Edgar Lee Hewett and Kenneth Chapman of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe and John Louw Nelson's Commissions for George Gustav Heye

This chapter examines the connections between Kabotie and Santa Fe's Museum of New Mexico director Edgar Lee Hewett and Hewett's assistant Kenneth Chapman, with the goal of understanding the negotiation of identity, power and art practice between these men and Kabotie, and how the Santa Fe Style benefitted from this conversation. In view of the absence of documentation of their interactions with Kabotie, this study examines their individual backgrounds in an attempt to position and understand possible conversations that informed and inspired him. This chapter surveys their aesthetic perspectives and cultural landscapes, and the ways they contributed to the artistic development of the Santa Fe Style. Chapter 7 will also offer the first known survey of John Louw Nelson, collector for George Gustav Heye, and his contributions to the development of Kabotie's work. In doing so it sets the stage for the New Mexico art community's promotion of Kabotie, and the eventual inclusion of his work in the

significant New York exhibit, the 1920 Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists.

Edgar Lee Hewett: The Anthropological Link to the Santa Fe Style

Without Edgar Lee Hewett (1865–1946) (figure 7.1), the former East Coast socialite and art patron Mabel Dodge Luhan¹ might never have seen and collected Kabotie’s paintings, and John Sloan, the most preeminent of modern artists promoting Native arts, might never have visited Santa Fe; both events led to national and international recognition of Kabotie’s work. These facts testify to Hewett’s importance to the popularization of the Santa Fe Style. In his dissertation, “Native American Art and Culture and the New York Avant-Garde, 1910–1950,” W. Jackson Rushing writes that Hewett was to Santa Fe what Luhan was to Taos.² Although Hewett was not an artist, he was both enthusiastic and open to the encouragement of an art community in Santa Fe. He invited countless mainstream artists to visit Santa Fe and supported them and their work; unlike many others, he extended this support to Native artists as well.

Born in 1865 in Illinois, Hewett, as an adolescent, was a fan of the social scientist Lewis Henry Morgan, who wrote about the American Southwest, and Morgan’s protégé Adolph F. Bandelier, who became one of the most influential archaeologists in the

1. She married four times and therefore had many different names (her maiden name was Ganson, her married names were Evans, Dodge, Sterne and Luhan respectively), but she signed her books Mabel Dodge Luhan. To avoid confusing the reader, the author has chosen to use that name when referring to her in general, and by whichever name she was known as in a specific time.

2. Rushing, “Native American Art and Culture and the New York Avant-Garde, 1910–1950” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1989), 85–100. Luhan’s importance will be explored later in this chapter. There is a more readily available wealth of information on this in W. Jackson. Rushing III, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

Southwest. Hewett began his career as a teacher in rural Missouri; later he moved to Iowa to study law. For economic reasons, he abandoned his law studies to become a school principal. He then relocated to Colorado, where he became interested in archaeology and especially in the nearby Pajarito Plateau of the Jemez Mountains in New Mexico (the setting for Bandelier's book, *The Delight Makers*).³ In 1898 Hewett was appointed president of the Normal University at Las Vegas, New Mexico, where his interest in archaeology intensified. That same year, he helped to form the Archaeology Society of New Mexico.

In 1903 Hewett was dismissed by the school for what were perceived as his overly liberal ideas: his teaching practices emphasized fieldwork over sitting in a classroom; he strove for one-on-one interactions between student and teacher; and he appointed a woman as the head of the science department. Biographers Janet Chapman and Karen Barrie believe Hewett's teaching practices were based in part on John Dewey's ideas and his pedagogy that was just beginning to take shape in a national discussion about education.⁴ Hewett's support for the development of national parks also contributed to his dismissal: Hewett wanted the entire Parajito Plateau to be set aside and the Indian ruins there preserved for future generations. This concept was strongly opposed by New Mexico's governor as well as by the state's stockmen and large landowners.

After he was dismissed, Hewett decided to pursue his interest in archaeology and moved to Europe to earn a doctorate. When the Santa Fe Archaeological Institute opened

3. Adolf F. Bandelier, *The Delight Makers* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1890). (His full name was Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier, but was given as Adolf F. Bandelier on the book.)

4. Janet Chapman and Karen Barrie, *Kenneth Milton Chapman: A Life Dedicated to Indian Arts and Artists* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 41.

in 1907, he returned as its director, and, in 1909, he founded the Fine Arts Gallery in the Santa Fe Palace of the Governors. That same year, the New Mexico legislature created the Museum of New Mexico, and Hewett was made its first director.⁵ He soon established a summer archaeology camp at Rito de los Frijoles, northwest of Santa Fe on the Parajito Plateau. Hewett writes in *Ancient Life in the American Southwest*, “It is entirely pre-Spanish, the excavations have never yielded a vestige of European influence.”⁶ Here again he reiterates the Anglo premise that the best Native art is uninfluenced by the advent of the white men.

Hewett describes the paintings excavated there, but does not note the year they were uncovered, writing:

[In one kiva, on a] dado painted in red to a height of about forty inches...above this is a frieze about twelve inches wide in which there is seen a painting of the 'Plumed Serpent'...so thoroughly blackened that its original color cannot be ascertained.” He also describes a ceremonial cave with walls “covered in paintings in red, white and black.”⁷

Kabotie worked as a laborer excavating a kiva under Hewett’s supervision at this camp during at least one summer while he attended the public high school; one wonders if he saw any similar images.⁸ At the very least, he would have heard discussions about them, and probably he saw reproductions of them as well. In a 1916 *Art and Archaeology*

5. Beatrice Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe’s Vibrant Era* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983), 38, 72.

6. Edgar L. Hewett, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930), 208.

7. *Ibid.*, 229.

8. *Ibid.*, 223–29.

essay, archaeologist Paul Walters, writes of the excavations, including one of a possible plumed serpent mural at El Rito de los Frijoles. Walters notes that 196 fresco murals were discovered there in 1909.⁹ This excavation drew local curiosity seekers; as historian Arrell Morgan Gibson writes, many of the Santa Fe colony artists joined these archaeological expeditions.¹⁰

By 1916 the Museum of New Mexico began offering studio and exhibition space to out-of-town artists, including Robert Henri and his student George Bellows (who visited Santa Fe, “but did not find it sympathetic”).¹¹ As mentioned in chapter 6, in 1919 Hewett created an “Indian Alcove” in the museum to exhibit the work of Willis DeHuff’s students; he billed the work shown as “new art indigenous to the soil.”¹² In the mid-1920s Kabotie and at least three other Native artists (Awa Tsireh, Crescencio Martinez and Ma-Pe-Wi) took advantage of studio space at the museum as well.¹³

Kabotie writes in his autobiography that he met Hewett through the DeHuffs (although he does not tell exactly when). He mentions that Hewett “understood a lot about Hopi life, and had already bought several of my paintings.” Kabotie writes, “I began working part-time at the museum during school [Santa Fe High School], and full-

9. Paul A. Walter, “The Santa Fe-Taos Art Movement,” *Art and Archaeology* 4 (December 1916), 330–38. See also Edgar L. Hewett, “The Excavation at El Rito De Los Frijoles in 1909,” *American Anthropologist New Series* 2 (1909): 651–73.

10. Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900–1942* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 158.

11. Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*, 122.

12. Gibson, *Santa Fe and Taos*, 158.

13. *Ibid.*, 122.

time on archaeological digs in the summers.”¹⁴ From this insight it is clear that by the time Kabotie met him, Hewett was already in possession of, and was presumably an admirer of, Kabotie’s work. Thus Hewett could have had a major impact on the development of the Santa Fe Style in three ways: as a patron, as a promoter, and in providing a most sophisticated creative environment. There is, however, no evidence that Hewett directly informed Kabotie’s artistic direction. But Hewett's preference for “authentic” primitive art was predicated on similar aesthetic expectations as those of Willis DeHuff.

Kabotie’s Museum of New Mexico studio was in an upstairs corner overlooking the plaza, and his office in the basement where the daughter of the local bank president worked as his assistant. His job included setting type and bookbinding for the museum. He also set type for the museum publication, *El Palacio*, in the mornings; in the afternoons he would paint.¹⁵ Other artists who lived and worked there at one time or another included contemporaries Josef Bakos, Thomas Hart Benton, Dorothy Brett, Dasburg, Fremont Ellis, Marsden Hartley, Edward Hopper, John Marin, Willard Nash, Will Shuster, Sloan, Paul Strand and Walter Mruk.¹⁶

14. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 35. It’s impossible to know what he saw on these archaeological expeditions, but Hewett was still discovering murals in 1920, according to *El Palacio*, which states that “One of them is a frieze of dancing katchina figures;” “Frescoes in the Otowi,” *El Palacio* 8, nos. 7 and 8 (July 1920): 213. The same issue notes, on page 221, that Hewett had just returned from delivering a lecture, “The Philosophy of Indian Art,” at the Corcoran Art Gallery.

15. Fred Kabotie, “Interview, Session I,” folder 5, 133, 138.

16. Heather Hole, *Marsden Hartley and the West: The Search for an American Modernism* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 2007), xi.

This working studio space at the Museum of New Mexico must have made a major impact on Kabeto and the Santa Fe Style. Although the museum has no records of who had studio space, or when, extant photographs of the artists and employees show a vibrant, collegial artistic community. Kabeto would have been able to attend lectures by other artists, and also overheard and participated in conversations with them. It would have been difficult for these artists not to have inspired one another.

Hewett went on to organize the first Southwest Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibit in 1921 (which is today the Santa Fe Indian Market) (figure 7.2). In 1922 Hewett established the Laboratory of Anthropology at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, with the support of Luhan and Sloan. The Indian Arts and Crafts Association was formed alongside it to protect the integrity of Native arts. For Hewett, this meant protecting the Indians from non-Indian imitators and encouraging Native artists to avoid the commercialism of souvenir art, among other things. He apparently missed, however, the perverse irony of whites promoting Indian art "unsullied" by whites.

Hewett remained a central figure in the artistic and intellectual circles of Santa Fe. As one of popular author Mary Austin's first contacts when she came to Santa Fe, it was probably through Hewett that Luhan offered Austin a place to stay.¹⁷ Hewett's importance as a social leader continued as late as 1926, when he and the museum were asked to help train staff for the new tours called Indian Detours, designed by the Fred Harvey Company. These expeditions were expected to bring 5,000 tourists annually to Santa Fe (figure 7.3), and offered three-day trips, including visits to Santa Fe museums and artists' studios, travel to Indian ruins, meetings with Indian artists on reservations, and,

17. Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*, 140.

occasionally, the opportunity to see the Snake Dances at the Hopi Reservation. On her return to Santa Fe, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff became an official “Courier and Lecturer” for the tours (figure 7.4), and Kabotie frequently helped out.

These tours were immensely popular with wealthy visitors from the East, who viewed participation in them as a mark of sophistication. These same affluent tourists were enthusiastic buyers of Native arts. With Kabotie working for Hewett at the museum and enthusiastically leading tours at DeHuff and Hewett’s request, it is likely visitors had conversations with him, both about the tours as well as about art.¹⁸ They undoubtedly also probed Kabotie for suggestions concerning travel on the Hopi segments.

The importance of the Museum of New Mexico in Kabotie’s development was profound. He continued to work there until he graduated at age twenty-five from the Santa Fe High School in 1925. He finally left when, as he recounts:

One day a man named MacMillan wanted to talk business with me. He had an Indian shop across from La Fonda [Hotel]. “Fred, you’re not getting enough for your work,” he said. “Why don’t you quit the museum and go out on your own? I’ll buy everything you paint, and you’ll make more money¹⁹.”

Kabotie quit his job at the museum and rented a home in town. But he soon started “drinking quite a bit,” according to his autobiography. This led to his departure from

18. Kabotie told Bill Belknap that he met Hewett through Willis DeHuff. Kabotie, “Interview, Sess. 1,” folder 5, 139.

19. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 42.

Santa Fe, with the encouragement of John Louw Nelson (buyer of Indian art for George Gustav Heye, who will be discussed later in this chapter).²⁰

Kenneth Chapman: Introducing a Formally Trained Artist to the Formation of the Santa Fe Style

Kabotie certainly interacted with one other notable person before he left Santa Fe: the artist, educator and fellow Museum of New Mexico employee Kenneth Chapman (1875–1968) (figures 7.5 and 7.6). Scholars have not addressed Chapman before as having an impact on Kabotie, but considering their proximity during Kabotie’s formative years, he must have been. Chapman is a somewhat elusive character, and in a biography of his life his relatives Janet Chapman and Karen Barrie write, “Based on our sources, including our studies of private family papers, we believe that extensive personal information about Chapman is simply not available.”²¹ However, they did secure Chapman’s records along with memoirs he wrote later in life, and these offer considerable insight into the development of the Santa Fe Style. In reference to this dissertation and Kabotie, it is important to note that Chapman was the first person with an education in the fine arts to be in regular contact with Kabotie.

Like Hewett, Chapman was born in the Midwest, specifically in rural Indiana. He came to New Mexico in 1899 when he was twenty-three years old, “seeking a healthy climate for his [city] fume-damaged lungs.”²² His father was a businessman; his mother a

20. Ibid.

21. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, xii.

22. The authors do not say if he suffered from tuberculosis, like DeHuff, or was just city-weary. However, later in the book they do state that, “despite Chap’s move away from the tuberculosis

housewife who had studied at J. Insko William's art school in Cincinnati, and painted and gave drawing lessons to neighbor children (although Chapman did not recall her instructing him in the arts).²³

Chapman took his first drawing class when he was ten years old, under the tutelage of a local teacher named Etta Sheehan.

The class began with freehand drawing of parallel lines, triangles, squares, and then circles...progressed to outline drawings of simple, familiar objects and finally to light and shade.²⁴

Of this experience, Chapman writes in his memoirs that it was "slow, exacting, and tedious work" with drawings made in a "pretentious sketch-book each page of which had to pass inspection before I was given the next problem."²⁵

Alongside his interest in art, Chapman developed a fascination with Native Americans. As Chapman and Barrie write:

History, and that of American Indians in particular, caught his imagination. Before the eighth grade, Chapman read and reread the opening lines of his history book on American Indians, even committing certain parts to memory.²⁶

threat in Chicago, he began to feel unwell in the early summer of 1898, plagued by a sensitive throat and chest pains. A Milwaukee doctor... found no signs of pulmonary trouble and suggested that Chap's trouble was indigestion." His problems resurfaced in January 1899 and "remembering my father's fatal bout" Chapman decided to move to the Southwest rather than endure the arduous cure at a local sanatorium. In his memoirs Chapman attributes his problems with the fumes from the engraving company where he worked. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 1, 35-37.

23. Ibid., 2, 8.

24. Ibid., 15.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 14.

The young Chapman was also an avid collector, gathering Indian artifacts that he enjoyed searching for along the nearby rivers and fields, writing:

Time after time through spring, summer, and fall, I tramped through corn fields, wheat stubbs [sic] and turnip patches, bordering the river paths, and soon as interest grew, I traded off my stamps, tobacco tags and miscellany and concentrated on Indian relics.

One of the outstanding events in the life of a budding archaeologist was the County Fair where the veteran relic hunters used to set up their collections in glass cases, amid displays of needlework, jams and cake, in the main exhibition hall.²⁷

The Chapmans traveled extensively, and he was exposed to Native arts on several of these trips. He recalled a “pre-1893 visit to Chicago with his mother” to visit the World’s Columbian Exposition buildings before the fair opened, where he saw a professional collection of Indian relics and beadwork.²⁸ He also accompanied his father on business trips to New York, Philadelphia, , Detroit, Niagara Falls and Washington, DC. In the capital, father and son visited the Smithsonian Museum, which housed, among other things, extensive collections from the museum’s first anthropology teams, including that of Frank Hamilton Cushing (who collected objects from the Hopi, Acoma, Zuni and

27. “Kenneth Chapman Memoirs,” Kenneth Chapman Papers, folder AC2:141, 15, School for Advanced Research.

28. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 16.

Zia peoples from 1879 to 1887).²⁹ On this trip, Chapman told his father, “I knew that I would be sick when I looked in on my little collection at home.”³⁰

He continued studying drawing through high school, frequenting the library to find the peace and quiet to sketch and read comics, including *Puck*, *Judge* and *Texas Siftings* (figure 7.7). As staff artist on the high school annual, Chapman recalls this period as the time he started thinking of a career in art.³¹

When Chapman was graduated from high school in 1893, his father gave him a two-week trip to the Chicago World’s Fair. There, the anthropology building held multiple collections of Native arts (arranged by such prominent anthropologists as Fewkes, Richard Wetherill, John Wesley Powell and Frank Hamilton Cushing). The fair also featured reconstructions of Hopi, Acoma and Taos villages, along with craft demonstrations by the famed Hopi potter Nampeyo, as well as Navajo silversmiths and Zuni potters.

In the fine arts building, Chapman:

Saw the new, strange paintings of the Impressionists... But more than the paintings, I enjoyed the original sketches of the leading book and magazine illustrators.³²

In this statement Chapman indicates his area of interest in art as illustration, not modern painting. He moved to Chicago and, in November 1893, began studies at the Art Institute. While there, he studied both drawing and anatomy, and was greatly encouraged

29. Ibid., 16.

30. “Chapman Memoirs,” AC2.142.

31. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 18.

32. Ibid., 20.

by his teachers (at least one of these teachers, illustrator John H. Vanderpoel, later taught O’Keeffe). Of his training there, Chapman’s biography notes that it was “distinctly European in style, with the basis of study being the human figure.” In addition, “The large and fine set of plaster casts from which Chap[man] worked were acquired early in the school's history.”³³

Chapman’s time at the Art Institute was cut short when his father died in April 1894.³⁴ He took several jobs as an illustrator, first in Chicago and later in New Mexico. There, he painted watercolors for sale to tourists. Apropos this experience he wrote:

I soon learned that the paintings that sold readily, had all the essentials; an old adobe house on a hillside, with an outdoor oven, a string of chile peppers hanging beside the door, and for good measure, a native and a burro loaded with wood. All this of course, under a blue sky with a few fleecy clouds, and a background of distant mountains. This became the accepted formula, buyers would notice a missing detail in a composition that otherwise pleased them, and ask that it be inserted. Who was I to object? I did a thriving business that first summer.³⁵

In 1899 Chapman met Hewett in Las Vegas, New Mexico, when the latter arrived in the town to serve as president of Las Vegas Normal University. Hewett invited him to set up a classroom for teaching art.³⁶ According to his biographers, Chapman “conducted his art classes primarily by individual instruction similar to the way he had been taught at

33. Ibid., 22–26.

34. Marit K. Munson, ed., *Kenneth Chapman’s Santa Fe: Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007), 12.

35. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 38.

36. Chauvenet, *Hewett and Friends*, 38.

the Art Institute....”³⁷ Hewett employed Chapman to sketch, photograph and map the Parjarito Plateau (where the graphic work of potter Maria Martinez came to their attention) and Chaco Canyon during summer archaeological excavations. In 1902, at Chaco, Chapman photographed Apie Begay, a Navajo artist, with two of his paintings³⁸ (figure 7.8). On these trips Chapman became enamored of precolonial Pueblo pottery designs. His biographers posit that Chapman equated the master potters of the pueblos with the Arts and Crafts concept of the master craftsman:

Sensitive to artistic paradigms, Chap would likely have evaluated the sherds and broken pots within the context of the movement’s core principle, which declared that decoration must be true to the material and form of the object so that aesthetic and utilitarian components were perfectly balanced. Pottery as craft – rather than fine art – would also have conformed to his perspective then. Although the arts and crafts movement helped to blur the distinction between fine art and craft, in general, popular perception still identified fine art as non-utilitarian and as the province of white males. Domestic art, or craft, was usually the work of minorities – women, laborers, or native peoples – and was functional only. Chap brought Indian pots into his classroom at Normal, using them for forms in drawing and as decorative elements.³⁹

Thus Chapman was helping to create the new paradigm of a pan-Indian aesthetic, indeed a bridge between Indian craft and fine art, by including Indian pots in teaching formal art instruction. He himself noted in a 1965 interview, “I can say truthfully I am

37. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 41, 48.

38. Munson, *Kenneth Chapman’s Santa Fe*, 41.

39. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 52.

probably the first one to use Indian art in school instruction in the United States,”⁴⁰ (although not much later, a photograph purported to be of Georgia O’Keeffe’s circa 1916–17 West Texas Normal School classroom, shows a wall of Native works on display) (figure 2.8). This approach to art instruction indicates both Chapman’s acceptance of Native works as fine art, and his subsequent appropriation of it in an unequivocal manner.

Chapman’s duties at the New Mexico Museum of Art included managing staff at the new museum, helping to develop exhibitions in the Palace of the Governors, and setting up the new offices and galleries in a building that was in such disarray that he said, “[t]rash and manure reached well above the rear windowsills.”⁴¹ The museum’s “open-door” exhibition policy, permitting anyone (white?) to apply for wall space, must have offered him some novel challenges. In fact, about this practice Oliver La Farge writes that “Hewett's crazy ideas” caused exhibits that were “sometimes laughable, sometimes fine.”⁴²

In many ways, Kabotie’s conversations with Chapman may have impacted the development of the Santa Fe Style as much as Hewett. With his background in commercial art, Chapman was more interested in graphic and illustrative than fine arts, and this becomes evident in the illustrative quality of the works produced by the Native

40. Ibid. But Dow preceded Chapman in this, at Pratt and the Ipswich Summer School of Art. Nancy E. Green, ed., *Arthur Wesley Dow, 1857–1922: His Art and His Influence* (New York: Spanierman Gallery, 1999), 47.

41. Santa Fe’s Palace of the Governor’s has a rich history of displaying Native arts, which is traced in Karl A. Hoerig, *Under the Palace Portal: Native American Artists in Santa Fe* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

42. Chapman and Barrie, *Chapman*, 124.

artists working under the museum's auspices and Chapman's specific guidance.⁴³

Whereas Chapman was the only key figure informing the Santa Fe Style who had any formal art training, it is important to understand how and when his authority may have been exerted.

Chapman supervised, directly or indirectly, Kabotie's work at the museum on *El Palacio* and binding magazines. Kabotie also worked on archaeological excavations for Hewett on which Chapman was involved. Kabotie's opinion about the art excavated would surely have been valued, as he was both an artist and a Puebloan. Additionally, Kabotie benefited from Chapman's initiative to provide Native artists studio space alongside Anglo artists. In 1945 Kabotie wrote a note thanking "Chap for his friendship and support in helping him to receive a Guggenheim fellowship that year," stating, "Both my wife and I felt proud, but without the willing support of my friends this is not possible for the Hopi Reservation Indian."⁴⁴ Thus this dissertation has at the very least uncovered one specific interaction between Kabotie and Chapman, and one that indicates they had a warm and friendly relationship. Their early acquaintance is further established in Kabotie's autobiography, in which he writes:

In 1926 my good friend Dr. Harry Mera⁴⁵ was helping Kenneth Chapman set up the Indian Arts fund, whose aim was to preserve and make available to Indians the finest examples of their arts and crafts. Dr. Mera and I met occasionally to talk about the various artists and analyze

43. Although several of the East Coast artists who shared studio space at the museum also had backgrounds in illustration and graphic art.

44. Kabotie to Chapman, April 16, 1945, Laboratory of Anthropology Archives, 89C04.054, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe.

45. Medical doctor and amateur archaeologist.

their work.⁴⁶ We enjoyed these sessions, and I admired him, respected his opinion. One day he told me something that changed my life. “Fred, your paintings are not as good as they used to be,” he said. “You’re leading too much of a city life here, and it’s affecting your work.”⁴⁷

On reflection, Kabotie took this as good advice. He left Santa Fe, Luhan, Hewett and Chapman behind and moved to the Grand Canyon, where his work for the Fred Harvey Company included focusing the telescope for tourists looking out from the South Rim (figure 7.9). For this, he earned twenty dollars a week plus room and board. Still concerned that he was drinking too heavily, Kabotie moved home to Hopi. But he found making a living on the reservation very challenging, especially after having become accustomed to a steady income and a non-reservation life. Kabotie writes that he used this time to consider where and how he wanted to live, as well as how to weave the best of the Anglo world into his own Hopi culture.⁴⁸ Then he accepted the invitation of John Louw Nelson, collector for George Gustav Heye’s museum, and sequestered himself on the Nelson family ranch to paint.

John Louw Nelson Brings the Patronage of George Gustav Heye

Very little has been published about John Louw Nelson (1895–1963), who traveled the Southwest collecting Native arts for George Gustav Heye (a collection that is now foundational for the Smithsonian Institution’s Museum of the American Indian)

46. So at least as early as 1926, Kabotie was studying other artists and discussing their work with his white patrons.

47. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 52.

48. *Ibid.*, 43–44.

(figure 7.10). His son, Peter Louw Nelson,⁴⁹ has fortunately provided essential information for this study. John Louw Nelson was born in Connecticut, the son of an Episcopalian bishop. His family moved to Philadelphia when he was two, and he later left to attend the Albany Academy for Boys. He studied music; Peter Nelson recalls tales of his father playing the piano and singing for the troops in France during World War I.⁵⁰ Apparently Nelson was both a performer and a composer; he wrote at least one comic musical performed on Broadway. He also provided scores for several plays, and his music itself was popular enough to engender at least one public performance, which was unfortunately less than stellar according to a *New York Times* review.⁵¹ Numerous

49. Now residing in Hawaii. Nelson's son, Peter Louw Nelson, writes in an email, "John was born in 1895, the son of Richard Henry Nelson, an Episcopalian priest (and later Bishop of Albany NY) and Harriet Schuyler Anderson. John went to France in 1918, and played the piano and sang for the troops. While there, he wrote a musical called *Come Along* - a light-hearted look at WW I...produced in NYC about 1920. He seems to have contracted a lung ailment, and he and his parents started to spend time in AZ & NM. He was living in Santa Fe when he met Tora Selander, a Swedish artist and journalist. They married and I was born in 1930. In his book Fred Kabotie called my mother, Dora, and said she was a good cook - that really bothered her!... Much of what I know about my father, I learned in my mid-years from my mother. I lived in Honolulu in those years but would visit her in California and Utah. I know that they found blankets, and pottery in caves and excavations. I understand that in those days it was 'First come, first served;'" e-mail to author, May 20. Nelson writes further, "John & his future wife, Tora, met in 1928 when she and two friends...sub-leased his residence in Santa Fe. From that time until 1937, their involvement with the Pueblo Indians was intense and mutual. Tora brought an artist's sensibility to the search for knowledge and material; John, who spoke Hopi, supplied the text...I have some drawings of katsina by John - real junk. Thank goodness he had Tora and the Hopi boys."

The story of *Hopi* is that of a traditional Hopi tale, the legend of the Hopi brother and sister who have to overcome many obstacles to bring rain for their people, a parable pivotal to the Hopi survival in the Arizona desert and one the author has heard from several contemporary sources.

50. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 44.

51. "Songs of John Louw Nelson: A concert devoted to the songs of John Louw Nelson was given yesterday afternoon in Aeolian Hall," *New York Times*, March 9, 1921. Loew is also listed in the *Times* as having written the music for a play entitled *Come Along* (April 6, 1919) as well as for incorporating three new theatricals (January 16, 1920). His musical scores for several plays are mentioned in the *Times* as well. Nelson's play *Return of the Sun God*, was performed at Julia Richmond High School on East Sixty Seventh Street (December 26, 1939) and also received a brief note. His silent film, *Hopi*, debuted at the town hall in 1936, and earned a short paragraph in the *New York Times* on March 28, 1935, which noted he employed an all-Native cast.

newspaper and trade articles show that Nelson continued remain active in the New York City music community, to write music and perform at Carnegie Hall in New York during the years 1921 to 1935, but achieved no long-lasting acclaim.⁵²

It is unknown how Nelson came to be Director of Modern American Indian Art at the Museum of the American Indian, a museum created by George Gustav Heye and incorporated into the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian beginning in 1989. By 1927 Nelson was in Heye's employ, and apparently he was still working for Heye in 1937, since a *Time* magazine review of Nelson's novel about Hopi life, *Rhythm for Rain*, refers to him as Research Director for the Heye Foundation⁵³ (although Oliver La Farge, in a review the same year, states that Nelson "has not been connected with the museum since November, 1936.")⁵⁴ Because of these discrepancies, Nelson's exact title (director or research director) and the precise years of his employment are unclear. Files at the Smithsonian indicate he and Heye may have had a less than amicable separation.

In his autobiography, Kabotie notes, "John Louw Nelson...was a musician and a collector. And he was collecting all those old pieces and old blankets for the Heye Foundation...."⁵⁵ The fact that he worked for Heye is significant, for unlike many wealthy

52. Peter L. Nelson, e-mail to author, May 20, 2011. Some of the newspapers and journals following Louw's career were: *New York Tribune*, March 20, 1921, 7; *Musical America*, May 21, 1921; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 3, 1935.

53. "Fiction: Recent Books," *Time*, May 3, 1937, accessed November 5, 2013, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,931631,00.html>.

54. Oliver La Farge, "Alien Races in Fiction," *The North American Review* 244, no. 1 (1937), 202-5.

55. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1" folder 5, 174.

collectors of Native arts, Heye kept records of where and from whom most items were purchased. While there is no documentary material explaining how or why Nelson made the transition from music to collecting art for Heye, or what inspired him to do so, in the preface to *Rhythm for Rain*, Nelson credits Austin with starting him on “my Indian trail,” but he doesn’t reveal how he met her or how she did so.⁵⁶ In the preface he also writes fondly of, “Kabotie, Quoyavema...and Mootzka, who worked for me for many years and added to my own endeavor the rich substance of their talents.” Again, Nelson offers no details about how they did so or even how he came to know them.⁵⁷ Mootzka was Hopi, and Quoyavema a Kiowa living in Hopi; both were painters who collaborated with Kabotie to illustrate *Rhythm for Rain* (Peter Nelson recalls little of Kabotie or Mootzka, but his memory of Quoyavema is vivid).

In the spring of 1927, Nelson and Kabotie became reacquainted in the village of Songóopavi, where Kabotie had moved after working at the Grand Canyon. Kabotie recalls Nelson coming there for years to gather arts and artifacts, especially “fine old blankets and rare items.”⁵⁸ Kabotie records:

He and I had some long talks about how I might paint important Hopi ceremonies, under Heye Foundation sponsorship, to preserve the details for future generations. For a long time it had concerned me that as the older Hopis passed away, more and more of these things were being lost, and after talking with John Louw Nelson, I knew that I must record them. He was returning to Santa Fe, and since

56. Nelson, *Rhythm for Rain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937), vii.

57. Ibid.

58. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 44.

Mrs. De Huff [sic] had already asked me to come, I went with him.⁵⁹

Kabotie moved back to Santa Fe to begin work on illustrations for Willis DeHuff's book, *Swift Eagle of the Rio Grande*, in 1928 and 1929 (figure 7.11). Shortly thereafter, Nelson received approval from Heye for Kabotie to "do as many paintings as possible of Hopi ceremonial dances." Kabotie writes:

So for the summer of 1929 I moved up in the mountains to Cowles, New Mexico, where the Nelsons had a ranch.... I think this was my most productive time. I'd paint most of the day for the Heye Foundation [and apparently John Louw Nelson as well], then...work on *Five Little Kachinas* [another Willis DeHuff book] (figure 7.12), and in the evenings I'd paint single kachina figures to fill orders. They sold for fifteen dollars, and I could do one per night. And of course I was being paid by the Heye Foundation (figures 7.13–7.14).⁶⁰

This "most productive time" resulted in dozens of Kabotie paintings, (see also figures 7.13–7.17), many of which are now in the collection of the National Museum of the American Indian. It also provided Kabotie with enough money to buy his first car, "a brand-new Chevy coupe, which the dealer delivered to the ranch."⁶¹ Kabotie's stay at the Nelson ranch offered him intellectual stimulation as well (figure 7.18). At least one prominent academician visited: Dr. Frederick Webb Hodge of the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition and later director of the Southwest American Indian Museum in Los Angeles. According to Kabotie, Hodge "knew a lot about the

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 47.

Hopis...he excavated the village of Hawikuh, near Zuñi, and wrote a report.”⁶² In late September, the Nelsons departed for a vacation in Florida, leaving Kabotie alone in their home to paint.

In the introduction to *Rhythm for Rain*, a novel about a Hopi boy in the time of a three-year drought, Nelson asserts that that he lived with the Hopi for close to ten years; Peter writes that his father spoke Hopi fluently. During this period Nelson wrote a play based on Hopi legends, *Reward of the Sun God*. He also made the film, *Hopi* (c.1936), focusing on a theme which, according to his son, parallels *Rhythm for Rain* (figure 7.19).

Nelson was clearly fascinated by the Hopi people, and his patronage of Kabotie seems a natural outgrowth of this interest, as does Nelson’s novel, which reflects many of the romanticized notions of American Indian life of the day. In it he echoes Willis DeHuff’s fascination with Native dances. Nelson writes:

From the time when I first saw the Katchina dances, I knew that the pounded rhythm of their footsteps was an echoed tapping from the ancient past; an insistent message summoning forth something in me as well as calling together the rain clouds for the mating of sky and earth.⁶³

A December 20, 1937 *Time* magazine article, entitled “Education: Purer Piping,” also mentions *Reward of the Sun God*, a play Nelson apparently created for the

62. Ibid., 46–47. According to Kabotie, Hawikuh is the village where Estevanico, a “black man who came over with the Spaniards” was murdered in 1539. One of the Hopi and Zuñi Katsinas, Cha-kwaina, is said to represent this man, “with the whites of his eyes like half moons, and the long, red tongue hanging down.” Fred also recalls, in talking about Hodges, that “up in the mountains the Nelsons and the Hodges wanted an excuse for a party,” and as Kabotie did not know his birthday, decided to make it the next day, so they could celebrate. Kabotie does not relate what day, but it was in the month of September (he does write on the first page of his biography that he believes he was born in February). Kabotie attributes Hodge’s interest in Southwestern history as catalyzing his own.

63. Nelson, *Rhythm for Rain*, viii.

Chautauqua Opera Association's Junior Opera series.⁶⁴ From all of this, one appreciates Nelson's great interest in Hopi cultural tradition.

Support of the New Mexico Art Community

Hewett, Chapman and Nelson were each in their own way fundamental to Kabotie's development and reception as an artist. Each brought his unique background and personal ambitions to the process. Their conversations with Kabotie became a major component in the creation of the Santa Fe Style, and this is remarkable in light of the fact that among them, only Chapman had any formal art training at all (and that was just five months at the Art Institute of Chicago). But Kabotie clearly benefitted from the support and encouragement of people trained in the academic arts as well. Prominent American intellectuals and artists, including several nationally recognized modern painters, first became aware of such Native artists as Kabotie through the efforts of patrons like Luhan and Hewett. Without uncovering their multivalent ties via the Museum of New Mexico, it would be impossible to understand their contributions. Even with no details of specific communication between these prominent people and Kabotie, it is possible to establish definite underlying relations in spaces "permeated by the colonial tension of mimesis and alterity, in which it is far from easy to say who is the imitator and who is the imitated."⁶⁵

64. Accessed January 21, 2013, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,758698,00.html>.

65. Michael T. Taussig, *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 78. See also Kendall L. Walton. *Mimesis as Make-Believe: On the Foundations of the Representational Arts*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Clive Hazell also has written a concise, yet comprehensive, book on alterity, entitled *Alterity: The Experience of the Other* (Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2009).

After Willis DeHuff, Mabel Dodge Luhan (1879–1962) (figure 7.20) may have played the most important role in Kabotie’s development of the Santa Fe Style. While there is no concrete evidence the two ever met, Mabel Sterne, as she was known when she arrived in Taos, no doubt would have wanted to meet the young man whose art she collected and exhibited. She definitely played a starring role in introducing his work to an influential and sophisticated group of artists, writers, museum specialists and collectors in both New York and New Mexico. Luhan was at the forefront of modern thinking of her time and she brought new and liberal ideas to Taos (as well as some that bordered on paternalism). She was pivotal in Kabotie’s development of the Santa Fe Style, since his work would have remained a local phenomenon without her support.⁶⁶

Luhan, a dynamic and energetic advocate of the arts, was once described as “the most peculiar common denominator that society, literature, art and radical revolutionaries ever found in New York and Europe.”⁶⁷ She was an intelligent, strong-willed woman who both earned and enjoyed her reputation. She loved and championed the rugged and primitive simplicity of Taos and its Native people, but she was not satisfied with bringing New York elements to Taos: she wished to export Native American culture to the East Coast. Sterne was also an extremely enthusiastic woman, with a voracious appetite for the new and the unusual. For instance, when she admired the Willis DeHuff collection of

66. Lois Rudnick has written several interesting biographies on Luhan, and Luhan’s own writings are voluminous. Many of these volumes are cited in the bibliography for further reading.

67. Untitled newspaper article, n.d., Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers, YCAL MSS 196, scrapbooks, vol. 17, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

student paintings at the Museum of New Mexico,⁶⁸ she convinced Willis DeHuff to sell the works to her so that they might be shown in New York at the *Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists* (March 11–April 1, 1920) at the Waldorf Astoria.⁶⁹ Willis DeHuff describes the sale, writing in an unpublished manuscript somewhat peevishly:

Mabel Luhan, of Taos and New York, Mrs. Maurice Sterne at that time, saw the paintings and told Mrs. Wilson, then Curator of Art in the Museum [of New Mexico], to get in touch with Mrs. DeHuff and tell her that she must have those paintings to take to New York to be exhibited there.... Mabel showed them to John Sloan. He exhibited them in the Independent Art Show in New York City....⁷⁰

Willis DeHuff was irritated at being pushed to sell the paintings to Sterne, and complained that Sterne only paid the students “about two dollars for each picture.”⁷¹ However, the works would most likely not have received such exposure, attention and acclaim had Sterne not purchased them.

68. “The entire exhibit seems to prove that with the Pueblo Indian art is racial, rather than individual, and that beautiful results are obtained if the Indian is given free reign [sic] to express himself.” “Exhibit by Indian Pupils,” 143.

69. The Museum of New Mexico displayed Willis DeHuff’s students’ work in an alcove at the Museum of New Mexico in 1919. According to J. J. Brody, Hewett had collected Crescencio Martinez’s work for the museum since June, 1917 and very probably paintings by Tonita Peña; Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 47. Willis DeHuff also notes that Hewett was collecting Martinez’s work in 1917 in “Static Kachinas Come to Life.”

70. Willis DeHuff, “Static Kachinas,” 7–8.

71. Willis DeHuff, “Renaissance of Southwestern Indian Art.”

With John Sloan's considerable support,⁷² Luhan shipped her collected Native student artworks East to be exhibited.⁷³ Among the artists whose work was shown were

72. John Sloan's, and other early modern painters, involvement in the Santa Fe artist community has been well documented. To aid those unfamiliar with the story, a brief recounting follows.

Among these nationally recognized artists was Maynard Dixon, who had spent considerable amounts of time on the Hopi Reservation before 1915 when Kabotie moved to Santa Fe. Dixon held a one-man exhibition at the Museum of New Mexico in September of 1918, however there is no extant record of what works were displayed. Email to the author from Erica Prater, Collections Manager, New Mexico Museum of Art, June 9, 2014.

In 1929 Dixon developed what he believed to be his most successful murals for the Arizona Biltmore hotel in Phoenix, a new resort designed by Frank Lloyd Wright's student Arthur Chase McArthur (figure 10). These were painted after Kabotie moved home to Hopi, got married, and was initiated into the Wuwuchim Society. It would be fascinating to know if Kabotie saw them before he painted his own first murals in 1932 at the Grand Canyon's Desert View Watchtower.

Comparing Dixon's painting (figures 7.21 and 7.22) with Kabotie's, there is little apparent correlation, with one exception, to Kabotie's future work. Kabotie's c. 1954 watercolor *Flute Ceremony* (figure 8) bears a strong resemblance to the aforementioned Dixon murals at the Arizona Biltmore. In fact this watercolor points to the notion that Kabotie, at least by 1954, was thoroughly familiar with Dixon's work.

Santa Fe captivated Dixon's friend, Robert Henri (1865–1929), from his first trip there in 1916. In a thank you note to Hewett, who had invited him, Henri pens, "There is a place in America—and that place is Santa Fe—where an artist can feel that he is in a place that invites him." Robert Henri to Edgar Hewett, Santa Fe, November 29, 1917; and Hartley to Hewett, Taos, January 26, 1917, Hewett Collection, AC105 box 3, folder 4, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe.

In his book entitled *The Art Spirit*, Henri makes it clear that he was seeking fresh material for a new American art in the Southwest and while in Santa Fe, Henri lectured on several occasions about his art theories, including this belief in a new American art. He also became heavily vested in Hewett's new museum, writing to fellow artist Bellows that he needed to come right away, "in time to do something it would be a great addition to the [opening] show and we are anxious to see it a great success." Valerie Ann Leeds, *Robert Henri in Santa Fe: His Work and Influence* (Santa Fe: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1998), 31.

In a letter germane to this study, Henri wrote his mother in October 1917, telling her:

We have been going everyday for the last week out to the Indian school to get little Indians to paint. It is a big government school about three miles out of town. Marjorie and I drive out in the Ford, pick out a youngster and get back at one o'clock. When work is over about 5 PM and when too dark in the studio but still light outside we drive back to the school. Henri to Theresa Gatewood Lee, October 21, 1917, Robert Henri Papers, American Literature Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Henri probably was describing the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, which lies two-and-a-half miles southwest of the Santa Fe Plaza. (The DeHuffs' first year at the school was not until 1918.)

Kabotie (whose name is misspelled in the catalog), as well as Awa Tsireh, Ma Pe Wi, and Crescencio Martinez, three other artists encouraged and supported by the Santa Fe and Taos Anglos.⁷⁴ For the exhibition's program,⁷⁵ Hewett writes:

It must be borne upon the consciousness of the people of this country that we have a priceless inheritance of genuinely American culture which we have been blindly destroying instead of fostering.⁷⁶

Henri gave his painting *Dieguito* to the museum for their opening exhibition. He had painted it while working in the museum studios, and as such is a most important work in their collection and on prominent display to this day. One envisions Kabotie carefully studying this image of the San Ildefonso pueblo drummer.

Henri made his last visit to Santa Fe in 1922, a year when Kabotie was working at the museum and possibly even in the studios there; Broder, *American West*, 42. In light of this, and the fact that Santa Fe was a very small town, it is conceivable that Kabotie was in attendance at one or more of Henri's lectures. He would certainly have found Henri's new American art concepts very interesting, and it is easy to imagine Kabotie engaging in conversations with Henri at the museum, although regrettably there is no evidence of such interactions.

Perhaps of even greater significance to this study, Henri was instrumental in bringing John Sloan (1871–1951) to Santa Fe, in the summer of 1919. Sloan so enjoyed Santa Fe he summered there four months of each year, with one exception, for the rest of his life. Upon arriving, Sloan found that Henri had arranged for him to use a studio on the museum courtyard (apparently the same one Henri had used). John Sloan Manuscript Collection, 1920 correspondence, Delaware Art Museum.

Like Henri, Sloan was fascinated with Indian ceremonies and dances, which he drew and painted repeatedly (from memory, as the Natives no longer allowed sketching at ceremonies); St. John, *John Sloan*, 46. He writes "I have tried to assume a real understanding of their spiritual life. Some artists have painted picturesque portraits of Indians, treated them like costume models. I find that point of view very offensive;" Broder, *American West*, 55–56. Sloan held a solo exhibit at the Museum of New Mexico in the fall of 1922: this exhibit contained thirteen canvases, including *El Gallo Race at Santa Domingo* and *San Ildefonso Dance*; "Exhibit by John Sloan," *El Palacio* 13 (November 1, 1922): 114–15.

73. And perhaps Walter Pach's. According to Pach's biographer, Laurette E. McCarthy, Pach arranged for Hewett to meet with Sloan and Henri to discuss including the Indian watercolors in the exhibition. McCarthy, *Walter Pach*, 84.

74. *1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*, Beinecke Library, Yale University, ZA, D813, Zz920D; and Pach, "Indian Water-Colours," 343–45.

75. Later Hewett wrote, "The Indian is by nature an artist. . . among the artists a Kabotie, a Velino, an Awa Tsira, taking rank with the painters of the white race." Edgar L. Hewett, *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930), 48.

76. *1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*.

While Sterne's reasons for pursuing and promoting Native art probably are complicated, she clearly felt great respect for the material. She enjoyed being a trendsetter in collecting it, and saw promoting Native painting as a way of perpetuating an interest in Native American culture that was at the core of modernist philosophies.⁷⁷

At the Society exhibition Kabotie's work was highly praised; it received an enthusiastic reception from the *New York Times*, and Walter Pach wrote that the small collection was the apotheosis of the show. In a letter to the curator, Mrs. Wilson, Sterne writes:

When I went to the Independent Art Exhibition soon after the opening, Walter Pach exclaimed to me: "Ah—Mrs. Sterne—we can't thank you enough for sending these things to us. They have been the success of the show. All of the artists and art critics are enthusiastic over them and the public is too. Everybody—for once—agrees on this one thing—that the Indian paintings are wonderful...etc. etc. There were many attempts to buy them but of course I did not care to sell them. All the galleries wanted them for special exhibitions but I felt that as thousands of people had already seen them—that I was justified in getting them back—to fill the empty spaces here that belong to them. ...all the daily newspapers commented upon them and

77. Flannery Burke questions the idea of modernism as it relates to Luhan in her book, *From Greenwich Village to Taos*, 7.

What the Dodge salon meant by "modern" present a terminological quandary. The salon's members called themselves modern...patronized the abstract art and pared-down literature scholars today still associate with modernism...The [Luhan Taos] art colony's later interest in places without factories, skyscrapers, and dense populations, however, present the possibility that the colony's interest were not modern...And, like earlier antimodernists, Dodge and her friends were obsessed with authenticity...

In 1921, according to Herbert E. Bolton, the Indian population of Taos was about 425, living alongside a "small but noted school of American painters." Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 102.

several of the magazines reproduced them.... Also several people conjured me to keep a watch out for Fred Kabotie's work...I would like to go on collecting these paintings with your help and would like to send another lot of them to some exhibitions next year—or else arrange a special show of them by themselves in New York.⁷⁸

One work by “Fred Kobotie” and one by a “Pueblo Indian of New Mexico” are the first two illustrations in the catalogue, on the page facing the foreword. No explanation is given until later in the booklet, in a section titled “Exhibitors and their Exhibits.” This section starts out, “The exhibition is hung in alphabetical order, beginning at the entrance with the letter A which was drawn by lot.” In both the exhibition and the catalog, however, the Indian art was shown separately; for instance, in the catalog the two pieces are shown before the foreword, but the artists are not listed alphabetically with the others. In fact, other than the captions of the two pieces mentioned, no Indian artist's name is chronicled.⁷⁹ Reviews of the exhibition also all indicate that the Indian work was shown in a space apart from the main exhibition, and exactly what paintings were displayed by which artists is difficult to determine. An article in the *New York Times*

78. Mabel Dodge Sterne to Mrs. Wilson (then curator of art at the Museum of New Mexico), April 21, 1920, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99BC, box 7, folder 24), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Despite this enthusiastic support, it has been noted that:

Even the most avid European-American admirers of Indian painting seemed to have been unable to avoid culturally defined racist beliefs that are still so much a part of European-American culture. No matter how glowing the reviews, they were filled with comments about race and Indian “instinct.” This led to a belief in what “Indian painting” was and ought to be. As a result, such artists as Albert Looking Elk, from Taos, who had modeled for Oscar Berninghaus and was influenced heavily by his style...were ignored. Wyckoff, *Visions and Voices*, 29.

79. 1920 *Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*.

announcing the show said, “One small section of the big exhibition...is given to paintings by American Indians from Arizona and New Mexico.”⁸⁰ The New York City weekly magazine, the *Outlook*, reproduced two paintings, *The Eagle Dancer* by Ta-E and *The Procession* by Awa Tsireh (Alfonso Roybal).⁸¹ Of the exhibition, it says:

Perhaps the most effective feature of the exhibit was the group of pictures by American Indians, sent to the exhibition from the collections of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of the Santa Fé Museum, and of Mrs. Mabel Dodge Sterne. The primitive vigor, the rhythm, and the sincerity of these Indian pictures made the work of many of their paleface rivals look very pale indeed.⁸²

Ta-E, which means Home of the Elk, was in fact, Crescencio Martinez,⁸³ (Hewett was a collector of his work). Kabotie is mentioned by name in the *New York Times* article, as are several of his works. Which other Natives were represented is unknown, but there were probably not many, as Bell Cohen, in the *New York Call Magazine*, refers to it as “a miniature show.”⁸⁴ Nor is it known what happened to the paintings in the exhibit, who may have loaned or bought them, or where they are now. Assumedly Luhan and Hewett’s collections were returned to them.

80. Pach, “Indian Paintings in the Exhibition of the Independents.”

81. Purchased from Alice Corbin Henderson. “The Independents Exhibit,” *Outlook*, March 31, 1920, 545–46.

82. *Ibid.*, 546.

83. Email correspondence with W. Jackson Rushing III, November 4, 2014.

84. Bell Cohen, “The Independent Artists,” *The Call*, February 27, 1921, 5.

Of the Indian work shown in New York, critic Walter Pach was said to be enthusiastic,⁸⁵ and a short essay towards the back of the Exhibition catalog subtitled “The Indian Exhibit” states:

The exhibition of a group of paintings done by young Indians of New Mexico and Arizona is the first result of the creation of the Schamberg Fund mentioned in the Foreword of this catalog.⁸⁶

(The Schamberg Fund, as explained in both the exhibition catalogue and an article in the *Dial*, was established to help fund events held by the Society of Independents.⁸⁷)

The essay on “The Indian Exhibit” continues:

The names of the artists and the titles of the works will be found attached to the pictures sent to the exhibition from the collection of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett of the Santa Fe Museum, whose devotion to the cause of the Pueblo Indians and whose cordial help with the present exhibition will make everyone who sees these paintings feel in his debt.⁸⁸

85. “Indian Paintings.”

86. *1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*.

87. *Ibid.*, and Pach, “Indian Water-Colours,” 343–45.

Although perhaps not well remembered as an artist today, Schamberg’s sculpture, entitled *God* (1917) has been described as:

In terms of form (readymade plumbing) and subject (sacrilegious title)—[it] is so powerfully iconoclastic that it has come to represent the single purest expression of Dada sensibilities in New York. “The Arensberg Circle. The Americans: Morton Schamberg,” in Francis M. Naumann, *New York Dada 1915-23* (New York: Abrams, 1994), 126–29.

88. *1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists*; and Pach, “Indian Water-Colours,” 343–45.

Unfortunately nothing has been found to date in either the Hewett papers or Luhan papers to determine what works were shown.

The essay offers further thanks to Mr. Sheldon Parsons of Santa Fe and Mrs. Mabel Dodge Sterne “who has kindly loaned a number of fine examples of this art. Two of which will be found reproduced as a frontispiece to this catalog.” It should be noted here that although other reproductions of works in the catalog were at the behest and expense of the artists, this is probably not true for the Native American art.

The essay concludes with a rationale for the showing of Indian art:

The Indians of the Southwest are probably the last representatives in the United States of the autochthonic artists of America. A casual visit to any museum of Indian art will show what magnificent results it achieved in the past, – and nowhere more fully than among the ancestors of the present-day dwellers in the pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico. At an exhibition such as that of our Society, it was thought best to leave to the museums of the past art of these people and to concentrate upon the work, produced today. Its importance is not alone that of showing works of great beauty which few persons have been able to see. There is need for our whole public to know that in the southwest these inheritors of the most ancient traditions of our continent continue to express their ideas with a vitality and with a style that shows them to be at a very far remove from anything like decline. As Dr. Hewett said recently in a letter: “It must be borne in upon the consciousness of the people of this country that we have a priceless inheritance here of genuinely American culture which we have been blindly destroying instead of fostering.”⁸⁹

Thus it is made clear that Sloan, the president of the Society of Independent Artists, and Pach, the treasurer,⁹⁰ believed Pueblo watercolors to be superior in quality, and important in mitigating the oft-publicized decline of American Natives.

89. *1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Society of Independent Artists.*

90. Rushing points out in *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, that Pach knew Sloan very well, having been his student (32). Pach was also familiar with the collections of Indian art at “the American Museum of Natural History, the Brooklyn Museum, George Heye’s Museum of the American Art, the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe and the Field Museum in

Perhaps the highest praise was the fact that one of Kabotie's *Snake Dance* paintings (figure 12) was reproduced in the first pages of the exhibition's catalog.⁹¹ Indian art proved very popular, and in the years following that exhibition's success, Sterne collaborated with Sloan to place Native paintings in Manhattan galleries and shops, such as Elizabeth White's Ishauu on Madison Avenue. At the same time, her zeal helped to propel Kabotie to the forefront of Indian watercolorists, and provided him with his first national and international recognition.

The popularity of the Indian paintings prompted several more shows that year; Mary Austin arranged a showing of her own collection of paintings by Awah Tsireh at the Museum of Natural History in New York City. In 1922 wealthy newspaper heiress Amelia Elizabeth White opened Ishauu, the aforementioned Madison Avenue art gallery dedicated to Native American works.⁹² Although the gallery attracted a handful of

Chicago;" thus he wrote of the Native Americans with "genuine experience." In Laurette E. McCarthy's noteworthy biography *Walter Pach*, McCarthy writes of Pach's many endeavors to get the European moderns show in America (Derain, Rouault, Dufy, Picasso, Braque, Duchamp, Crotti, Metzinger, Gleizes, Cézanne and Matisse among them). "Duchamp, Gleizes, and Crotti were living in New York at the time, and all were friends with Pach" (73). She also notes that Pach was also very interested in Native Art; in 1918 he visited Santa Fe, met Hewett, and purchased several Native made tiles "for himself and his friends Morton Schamberg and Charles Sheeler." Upon returning to New York he proposed to Bryson Burroughs, Curator of Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum, that they put together an exhibit of Indian art. Dr. Robinson, the museum's director, wrote Pach that the "idea was a very interesting one but that lack of space combined with an agreement made with the Museum of Natural History to leave Indian matters to the latter institution forbade his taking up the plan" (75-76).

91. Walter Pach, "Indian Paintings in the Exhibition of Independents," *New York Times*, March 14, 1920; Rudnick, *Mabel Dodge Luhan*, 171.

92. *Ishauu* sounds vaguely Indian, but was actually a childhood pronunciation of her name. White traveled to Santa Fe as early as 1913 where she met several anthropologists and began to collect Pueblo pottery, Navajo silver and textiles. She, along with her sister, in 1923 purchased the Santa Fe property that is now the School of American Research. According to Penney and Roberts, "A society column in the *New York Evening Post* of 1926 described "Miss White" as "a generous patron of the arts of Santa Fe and [the agent] for Indian productions here in New York." Sarah D. Lowrie, *New York Evening Post*, January 28, 1976.

knowledgeable buyers, most customers were simple curio seekers (figure 7.23). One patron wrote asking for “some interesting black pottery jars from San Ildefonso” to use to make a lamp, according to Gregory Stark and E. Catherine Rayne's book, *El Delirio: The Santa Fe World of Elizabeth White*.⁹³

Eventually the paintings returned from New York, and other unspecified locations, to the Museum of New Mexico, where they were displayed in the Acoma Alcove of the Keresan Gallery. The museum publication, *El Palacio* notes, “With it has been hung a color page supplement from the *New York World*,⁹⁴ in which several of the pictures are reproduced.”⁹⁵ The July 1920 issue of *El Palacio* states in a short piece entitled “Indian Art and Artists,” that after the New York Society of Independents Show:

The museum has arranged with Fred Kobotie, a Hopi Pueblo [sic], at the United States Indian School, to paint a series of pictures of Indian ceremonials for the forthcoming publication of the Museum in color of the most noteworthy work of the late Crecencio Martinez, Alfonso Roybal, Fred Kobotie [sic] and a Zia boy, who have thus far shown the most conspicuous native talent. The volume will be a subscription publication of limited edition. The paintings by the Indians will be reproduced in color and the text accompanying each picture, descriptive of the Indian ceremonial represented, will be by Dr. E. L. Hewett.⁹⁶

93. Gregory Stark and E. Catherine Rayne, *El Delirio: The Santa Fe World of Elizabeth White* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1998), 69–70.

94. Extensive research by the author has yet to locate a copy of this.

95. “Indian Drawings on Exhibit,” *El Palacio* 8, nos. 7 and 8 (July 1920): 217.

96. “Indian Art and Artists,” *El Palacio* 8, nos. 7 and 8 (July 1920): 216. (This quote is copied correctly, it is full of errors.) Apparently this publication was never produced.

Luhan and her friends, most noticeably Sloan, not only promoted exhibitions of Native art, they frequently carried such works with them on trips to sell for the artists. They consistently promoted local displays of Indian art at various venues. In doing so, perhaps inadvertently, they set de facto standards for what was considered “good” in Native works (based on their own ideas of primitive art as a subset of modern art).⁹⁷ Some ten years later, as president of the 1931 *Exposition of American Indian Art*, Sloan initiated a showing of Native paintings and crafts at the Grand Central Art Gallery (an artists’ cooperative space on the sixth floor of Grand Central Terminal that opened in 1923), in which Kaboutie’s work was featured. *Parnassus* magazine (November 1931) included an advertisement for the Native works, “400 Years of American Indian Art” (figure 7.24). The popularity of this work is evidenced by Walter Pach, who later writes:

Sloan had brought home echoes of the genius surviving in the desert people: painting done by young men and women of the pueblos with colors obtained from the white men. The pictures were exhibited at the shows of the Independents and they created a sensation—one that was small, however, as compared with the one that he and Mrs. Sloan, allied with Miss A. E. White, witnessed at the Indian Tribal Arts Exhibitions when their championing of the old race on our soil led to that revelation of its art.⁹⁸

This exposition, sponsored by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of the Interior, and the College Art Association, included more than 600 pieces of pottery, jewelry, textiles, sculpture, paintings, beadwork and basketry, and traveled from New York City throughout the United States with the support of the College Art Association.

97. Burke, *Greenwich Village to Taos*, 18.

98. Walter Pach, *Queer Thing, Painting: Forty Years in the World of Art* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 53.

Unfortunately the College Art Association has no records of this, according to an email from Lauren Stark, Manager of Programs and Archivist (June 17, 2014). For the introduction to its catalog, Oliver La Farge states:

The Indian artist deserves to be classed as a Modernist, his art is old, yet alive and dynamic; but his modernism is an expression of a continuing vigor seeking new outlets and not, like ours, a search for release from exhaustion. A realist, he does not confine his art to mere photographic impression, nor does he resort to meaningless geometric design. In his decorative realism he combines the elements of esthetic and intellectual appeal. He is a natural symbolist. He is bold and versatile in the use of line and color. His work has a primitive directness and strength, yet at the same time it possesses sophistication and subtlety. Indian painting is at once classic and modern.⁹⁹

Some of these paintings went from New York to Italy to represent a new American art at the 1932 Venice Biennale. Art historian Jessica Horton writes of the American exhibition located in the US Pavilion, which is depicted in photographs in the collection at the Historical Archives of Contemporary Arts, Venice. As Horton studied the photographs, she noted three paintings by George Bellows in the foreground and a group of paintings of the American Southwest provided by the Taos Society of Artists in the next room. Horton describes a glimpse, beyond a doorway in the background, of watercolors by Native American artists. The Biennale catalogue includes the names of these participating artists: Santiago Cruz, Fred Kabotie, Ma Pe Wi, Julian Martinez, Tse Ye Mu, Oqwa Pi, Tonita Peña, Pen Yo Pin, Otis Polelonema and Awa Tsireh. Kabotie

99. La Farge, introduction to *American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value* ([New York]: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931), 15.

had three paintings listed as on display, *Mountain Sheep Dance* (n.d.), *Snake Dance* (c. 1930), and *Hopi Rain Priest* (n.d.).¹⁰⁰

How this Affected the Santa Fe Style

It is reasonable to conclude that after Kabotie began working at the museum, he continued to develop his Santa Fe Style under the watchful eyes of these nationally recognized resident and visiting artists who viewed Native painting in a much larger framework than the one traditionally used by the American popular press, and who supported Indian arts and artists in general, and Fred Kabotie in particular. Thus the Santa Fe Style matured after Kabotie departed the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School to attend the Santa Fe public high school (although he continued to live at the boarding school), and while he worked at the Museum of New Mexico. During this period Hewett substantially reduced funding for Awa Tsireh, Kabotie and Shije Herrera (in 1924), and consequently support from the modern artists at the Museum increased. Brody writes that this shift accounts for a decline in ethnographic material in Native American work,¹⁰¹ nonetheless, while little change is seen in the subject matter of Kabotie's watercolors, a decided shift to a more western style in his work occurred about this time.

While employed at the museum Kabotie was consistently exposed to the latest ideas of American art, and his art was showcased not only locally, but in national

100. Jessica L. Horton, "A Cloudburst in Venice: Fred Kabotie and the U.S. Pavilion of the Venice Biennale in 1932," *American Art* (2015), forthcoming.

101. J. J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research, 1997), 151.

publications from the *New York Times* to *Craftsman* magazine, both publications heralded the works of Native artists in general and Kabetie specifically.¹⁰²

Conclusion

Close examination of Kabetie's 1918 to 1930 watercolors offers confirmation of the theory that his earliest figures were (at least by western standards) awkward in a rather stiff and stilted manner, but over time and with increased experience leading to greater facility, they grew progressively more fluid. Likewise supporting this hypothesis is the fact that Kabetie's compositions became increasingly sophisticated (again, from the western point of view). His *Two Eagle Dancers* (figure 7.15), painted in 1925, introduces a new sense of grace in the bodies and movements of the dancers. The figures are clearly in motion, and Kabetie has captured the dancers' feet mid-footfall. The differences in this painting from those executed in the early Santa Fe Style are marked, and it is not illogical to surmise that interactions with Luhan, Hewett, Chapman, Nelson, and modern artists-- as well as exposure to the Museum of New Mexico exhibitions-- significantly changed the conversation in which Kabetie's work was participating, especially after comparing

102. On the other hand, as early as 1919 Indian Commissioner George Vaux chastised the burgeoning Taos art colony for corrupting local Natives by paying them to pose in semi-traditional dress for myriad painters, when they "should have been home working their fields, and being industrious citizens;" Gibson, *Santa Fe and Taos Colonies*, 150. See also Hassrick and Cunningham, *In Contemporary Rhythm*, which has an informative section, "Superstition and the Artist's Defense of Native Right," written by Skip Keith Miller. On the same subject, J. J. Brody, in *Pueblo Indian Painting*, writes of criticism of those Euro-American artists who taught Pueblo students academic methods of painting. "Before 1918 several Taos Pueblo men painted pictures for the Euro-American market that were radically different from those by Pueblo painters living near Santa Fe." Among the best known of these were Albert Martinez (Albert Looking Elk), friend and model to Oscar Berninghaus, who gave Looking Elk paints as early as 1917. According to Brody, Mabel Dodge Luhan did include some of these Indians "academic" paintings, including one by John Concho, in the 1920 New York exhibitions of Native work that she organized and Taos Indian artists continued to work in this style until "well into the 1930s;" J. J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 105.

this watercolor to John Sloan's *The Eagle Dance*, reproduced on the November 1, 1922 cover of *El Palacio* (Figure 7.25).

By 1925 Kabotie has developed a more three-dimensional articulation of the human figure based on the western ideal, with a classical understanding of anatomy (the head of the "average" figure is approximately one-seventh the height of the body), and the dancers' weight is firmly placed over the pivotal foot, demonstrating his understanding of the Grecian concept of contrapposto. While Kabotie apparently framed his subjects in the traditional dress of Hopi ceremonies, his audience was composed of twentieth-century Americans, and he was both selective and precise in his adaptations to their traditional approaches. His figures became more Anglo-American and less Hopi in proportion, and he employed careful modeling to give three-dimensionality to each individual. Kabotie's evolution in understanding and incorporating western devices in painting the human form is apparent, with dancers emphatically moving through the picture frame toward the viewer. Details of the dancers' adornments grew richer; and color harmonies, while accurately reflecting the natural dyes and pigments utilized throughout Hopi, developed more sophistication, probably because the quality of the paints Kabotie used improved with his proximity to the museum staff and its protégés. To this fresh pantheon of dancers, Kabotie added yet another layer of sophistication: both groupings of dancers were positioned in geometric formations (the rhythm for which his patrons had expressed admiration), but now are very natural in stance. The men in *Wuwuchim* (figure 7.16), painted about 1928, show a naturalized musculature with elaborate adornment; the dancers are not only facing each other, but are clearly looking at one another, and the sense of the drum beat and foot stomp coinciding is clear. *Butterfly*

(Water Drinking) Dance (figure 7.17), (1925) is as rich in rigid detail as some of the Gothic work (such as the sources for English Arts and Crafts movement), with the young women's *tablitas* (headdresses) pointing to the sky like cathedral spires. Each *tablita* is different (although not so much as in real life), and each figure is similarly, but differently, attired. Again, the viewer perceives each dancer as focused inwardly, but at the same time attentive to the others.

This maturation of the Santa Fe Style culminated during the summer of 1929, as can be seen in the watercolors collected by Nelson both before and while Kabotie lived at the Nelson family ranch.¹⁰³ Kabotie's circa 1929 *Mountain Sheep Dance* (figures 7.13), was painted at least twice, once for Heye and once again for Nelson. The close resemblance of the two images makes it almost certain they were painted together. In these two works the dancers are facing each other and interacting with one another, unlike the two figures in *Untitled* [Kohonino] (figure 7.14), which was also painted for Heye under Nelson's direction. Each *Mountain Sheep Dance* depicts two dance figures interacting with one another, a new concept in Kabotie's work. In these images he also employs much more detail than in his earlier works, although the figures are still somewhat stiff.¹⁰⁴

The evolution of Kabotie's art toward the western ideal did not end with these pieces. Although he painted little after his move back to Hopi, his later watercolors conclude the transition. For instance, one only needs to look at John Sloan's image of Pueblo dances (figures 9 and 7.26, 7.27 and 7.28), then at Kabotie's 1954 *Clowns Getting*

104. The Heye *Mountain Sheep Dance* and *Untitled* [Kohonino], are now in the collection of the Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of the American Indian.

Ready (figure 7.29) while keeping in mind Kabotie's earlier works, and the conclusion that Kabotie was looking at Sloan's work is inescapable. This and other later paintings by Kabotie have moved well beyond the early Santa Fe Style that Dunn emulated, as well as away from subject matter traditional Hopi would proscribe, and into the realm of purely western art. While this study might point to both connections and differences between pre-Columbian Hopi work and Kabotie's, or between modern western painting and his watercolors, it is in chronologically viewing the evolution in Kabotie's images that the clearest evidence of ongoing conversations between Kabotie and modern painters is found.

By 1929, Kabotie had permanently moved home to the Hopi reservation, married Alice Humiyamptewa, and been initiated into Hopi Wuwutsim society. His many supporters had enabled his development as an artist, while also informing the growth and maturity of the Santa Fe Style, yet, in the end, it was his remarkable talent and insight that is primarily responsible for its successes.

Chapter Eight

The Development of the Santa Fe Style through Kabotie's Early Watercolors (1918–1930)

This dissertation has taken scholarship concerning the development of the Santa Fe Style in several important new directions. It has uncovered Willis DeHuff's own art pedagogy and art experiences, as well as the contributions made by members of the Santa Fe community. Building on earlier chapters, this chapter concludes the process, presenting paintings that visually advance the idea of when and how the Santa Fe Style developed as Kabotie's circle of contacts grew.

This is important, for Kabotie's art later had an impact on many emerging Native artists—those working with Dorothy Dunn at the Santa Fe Studio School and his own students at the Hopi High School. Kabotie student Douglas Shupla writes:

You know we'd go in [his classroom] and just do a few things...The thing that he really stressed...was how to make your actions look like they're actions and [how to create the] roundness of their shapers...He [also] expressed to us that you should balance [your painting].¹

1. Douglas Shupla, interview with Lydia L. Wyckoff, November 1993. Quoted in Wyckoff, ed. *Visions + Voices: Native American Painting From the Philbrook Museum of Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 234.

Much as Berger and Luckmann describe in *The Social Construction of Reality*, Kabotie developed a new reality, such as the one that catalyzed the Santa Fe Style itself. In fact, the phenomena Berger and Luckmann describe as the social constructing of reality is a progression in which individuals, in the course of interacting in given social systems, generate mental concepts of one another's actions. These conceptions grow into formalized roles between individuals (or groups), and over time are available to larger segments of people, eventually becoming institutionalized and embedded into what is tacitly agreed to be "reality."²

The principal benefit of the process of the social construction of reality lies in the fact that through careful observation of the habits of someone outside your culture, one can develop the ability to predict their subsequent actions. Berger and Luckmann share an example of two people from different societies coming together in a communal situation. They are not in agreement of what everyone knows; indeed they are in ignorance of those facts and will be forced individually to develop theoretical mechanisms to enable each of them to maintain their particular universes; while at the same time developing methods making it possible for them to work together in a manner satisfactory to each.³ This process describes the social interactions Kabotie must have held, first with Willis DeHuff, and later with Hewett and Chapman; it is a testament to his intelligence and diplomacy that he achieved so much, and garnered such attention and even affection in the process. Admittedly, the members of the dominant Anglo-American culture implicitly

2. Berger and Luckmann, *Social Construction of Reality*, 106–8.

3. *Ibid.*, 56, 91.

played a more powerful role in defining these roles, but in Kabotie's case, he too performed a major role in outlining a position for interacting with white society.⁴ In doing so he created a new non-verbal and symbolic language representing the Hopi people to the Anglo society, and changed on the artistic level aspects of both cultures. While physicist and author Leonard Shlain writes, "Whether for an infant or a society on the verge of change, a new way to think about reality begins with the assimilation of unfamiliar images,"⁵ for Kabotie this process of change incorporated both Hopi history as well as an adaptation or pseudo-copying of western art. Edward Said writes that:

The triumph of *Mimesis*, as well as its inevitable tragic flaw, is that the human mind studying literary representations of the historical world can only do so as all authors do— from the limited perspective of their own time and their own work.⁶

At the same time, it is important to understand that Kabotie's Anglo mentors framed him within their personal understandings of the category "Indian." Art historian

4. How he felt about this may never be known, but presumably he experienced some ambivalence; in while using his mimicry as camouflage thereby allowing him to play the role of protégé, while at the same time he covertly maintaining his independence.

5. Shlain, *Art and Physics*, 17. Shlain also notes:

In the case of the visual arts, in addition to illuminating, imitating, and interpreting reality, a few artists create a language of symbols for things for which there are yet to be words. Just as Sigmund Freud in his *Civilization and Its Discontents* compared the progress of a civilization's entire people to the development of a single individual, I propose that the radical innovations of art embody the preverbal stages of new concepts that will eventually change a civilization (17).

6. Said, introduction to *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, by Erich Auerbach (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), xxxii. The book was originally published in 1953, Said wrote the introduction for the 2003 edition.

Margaret Lindauer makes this point by positioning, beside a fin-de-siècle photograph of a collector with his collection, a contemporary caption reading:

While native people were pushed to ever more remote and inhospitable regions, Euro-Americans amassed hundreds, then thousands, then millions of Indian artifacts.⁷

These preconceived notions and biases constitute the subtext under which the Santa Fe Style was conceived and must be understood.

This chapter illustrates this synthesis as it reviews ten early Kabotie watercolors for analysis. Ten were chosen, as described in the introduction, as a representative and manageable number. This chapter employs exegetical art historical means, especially a strong formal reading of Kabotie's compositions, supplemented with a corresponding consideration of content while focusing on individual pieces with verified dates to develop a clear chronology. These watercolors highlight the mimetic nature of Kabotie's development, as he represented again and again his vision of Hopi art.⁸ This chapter reviews the paintings and considers discourses surrounding Kabotie in order to illuminate how his works can be understood as manifesting intelligent and sophisticated responses to very different approaches.

However, while Kabotie adopted elements such as modeling and western perspective from Anglo culture in his painting, he was at the same time distancing

7. Margaret A. Lindauer, "Critical Museum Pedagogy and Exhibition Development: A Conceptual First Step," in *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, ed. Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 303-14.

8. Michael Taussig, "A Report to the Academy," *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), xii-xix.

himself—making himself the other for the collector to both admire and appropriate. University of California, Riverside art history professor Jeanette Kohl writes, “mimetic production not only reproduces the visible world but it also potentially improves, idealizes, embellishes, generalizes, or exaggerates.”⁹ Kabotie’s work corresponds to Kohl’s definition, as it both generalizes and exaggerates detail of Hopi ceremonies. Layering upon these definitions, and including the viewer and patron in his definition of mimesis, director of the Warburg Institute Peter Mack describes mimesis as depending largely on what the viewer accepts as a realistic representation. He believes that it is necessary to understand the culture or period of production, the beliefs and educational practices, and to know also what art the artist was viewing before one can comprehend what was considered to be accurate representation by any one group.¹⁰

These theories regarding mimesis as socially constructed play directly into this investigation of Kabotie and his development of the Santa Fe Style, for he was definitely relying on the visible world of his Anglo supporters, while going beyond it and embellishing it with Hopi iconography. He surely needed to understand, to the best of his ability, the Anglo culture’s ideas of visual reality and he did so early in his career, as the paintings examined in this chapter demonstrates.

The works are:

1918: *Corn Dance*, School for Advanced Research, Museum of New Mexico
(figure 8.1)

9. Kohl, “Notes from the Field: Mimesis,” *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 2 (June 2013): 205–7.

10. Mack, “Notes from the Field: Mimesis,” *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 2 (June 2013), 208–9.

1919: *Snake Dance*, whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Plains and Southwest Area* (figure 8.2)

1920: *Flute Boy*, whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Kabotie and Belknap where cited as owned by American Indian Treasures, Guilderland (figure 8.3, also 6.5) (this, and several of this chapters image are repeated for the reader's convenience)

1920–1921: *Women's Basket Dance*, Museum of Northern Arizona (figure 8.4, also figure 1.3)

c. 1920–1921: *Young Men's Spring Ceremony*, School for Advanced Research (figure 8.5)

c. 1925: *Hopi Woman Making Pottery*, School for Advanced Research (figure 8.6)

1925: *Water Drinking Dance* (or *Butterfly Drinking Dance*), Heard Museum (figure 8.7, also figure 7.17)

c. 1925: *Ho-Te Dance* (or *Ho-Ote Dance*), Amerind Foundation (Figure 8.8)

c. 1928–1930: *Zuni Shalak'o*, School for Advanced Research (figure 8.9)

1930: *The Delightmakers*, National Museum of the American Indian (figure and 8.10, also figure 13)

Each watercolor aids in the reading of shifts in Kabotie's methodology and style, specifically the ways in which he manipulated his approach during this early part of his career while his work garnered local, then national, recognition. Having determined the cultural landscape in which Kabotie was working in preceding chapters, the process of looking at these early works chronologically will aid in confirming patterns of discourse, while delineating potential visual relationships with significant devotees of American art

by examination of similarities and dissimilarities in specific motifs and stylistic approaches.¹¹

1918: *Corn Dance* (figure 8.1)

On the catalog card for this painting is a note written by Kabotie, “This is the first group picture that I painted.” Little to nothing about this particular work is reminiscent of pre-contact Hopi works. It does not appear to be derived from kiva murals, *tihu* (Katsina “dolls”), rock art or pottery iconography. The figures bear little resemblance to the work Fewkes commissioned (figures 1.34–1.37), nor to the paintings modern artists were producing in Santa Fe and Taos (for example, Henri’s *Indian Dance* (c. 1916–1917) or *Tesuque Pueblo* (1917) (figures 8.11 and 8.12). At the time *Corn Dance* was created, Kabotie had lived at the boarding school for approximately three years; the DeHuffs arrived in 1918, and Kabotie began working with Willis DeHuff that school year; thus this was one of his very first works.¹² In examining it, one suspects that the art works surrounding Kabotie for the preceding three years at school and in the DeHuffs’ home, including other students’ paintings, informed his methods and style as much or more than

11. The author is not Hopi, and makes no pretense of a deep understanding of Hopi religion or iconography, nor feels it to be necessary for the purposes of this study (which addresses the aesthetic over the ethnographical or anthropological). As art historian Babatunde Lawal states, in the introduction to *The Gèlèdè Spectacle: Art, Gender, and Social Harmony in an African Culture* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), xiii: “The religious function of the art is often emphasized at the expense of the social and aesthetic ones—which are no less important.” The author has attempted to avoid this pitfall, while offering basic background information about Kabotie’s work.

12. In Kabotie and Belknap *Fred Kabotie*, 28, he says 1916–17, but J. J. Brody, after considerable research, determines 1918 to be a more accurate date. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 10. The author’s own research coincides with Brody’s.

anything. This work alone among the group is dated: neatly printed under Kabotie's name, in what appears to be the same ink and handwriting, is the date 1918, thus giving a clear point of departure for examining Kabotie's work. Finally it should be noted that Santa Fe Indian Boarding School teacher Jens Jensen was the recorded owner of the watercolor.¹³

Corn Dance provides a glimpse of Kabotie's work before he encountered mainstream American culture and pan-Indian ideas via the Museum of New Mexico. The Hopi dancers appear to be neither Hopi nor contemporary American in style; in fact they are perhaps more amateur than anything (for a comparison, see select images from John Sloan's personal collection from the Santa Fe Indian Boarding School (figures 8.13–8.15). Although Kabotie portrays figures, including faces, feet and hands, in essentially a rudimentary style, there is precision and rhythm in the careful placement of each individual. At the same time, the drummer and singer's garments show his initial efforts at modeling in the folds of cloth.

The twelve dancers are positioned in pairs, alternating male and female. They wear Navajo style squash blossom necklaces with pendular crescent-shaped *najas* (the *naja*, a Moorish bridle ornament brought to Mexico and the Southwest by the Spanish, also can be frequently observed in early twentieth-century photographs of Hopi dancers). The drummer and singer wear silver concha belts, and the singer holds a beribboned staff. Male dancers are dressed in traditional Hopi kilts with embroidered shirts; most of the

13. "Mr. Jensen, my shop teacher became the first collector of my work....he was sending them to Denmark." Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 28.

men carry greenery in one hand and a gourd rattle in the other. The women are attired in traditional Hopi black *mantas*, or dresses, and *tablitas* (headdresses) painted predominantly blue; they carry greenery in each hand. Perspective in a western sense is non-existent; the drummer and the singer are larger than the dancers: apparently this is to fill their space on the page, not to indicate that they are closer to the viewer, or taller, than the dancers. Perhaps this is also to indicate a hierarchy of power and importance in the ceremony. The four fir trees enclosing the dancers are delightfully rendered, with branches defined and protruding from cones of green. In later interviews with Bill Belknap, Kabotie speaks of evergreen trees in ceremonies, saying:

Then all of a sudden they see a little pine tree and they all rush for it. That's because the pine tree down at the bottom, there is a *paho*, which means, well, that's life you know.

Kabotie continued this thought later, when he added:

The evergreen was representing the beginning of life.... And then all the clowns would rush over there. Then they say 'This will grow, you know. This will grow until it reaches the sky.'¹⁴

The background is empty, with not even a shadow, isolating the dancers in empty space, a vacuum perhaps as large as the one Kabotie encountered at the white man's schools he was compelled to attend.¹⁵ Syracuse University professor of art history Sascha Scott calls these empty backgrounds "silences," and describes them as possibly a choice not to represent esoteric knowledge specifically with the non-initiated, a "way to control

14. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 8, 282.

15. Foucault writes, of Manet's *Fifer*, "Manet...entirely removed the background of the picture. You see that there is no space at all behind the fifer; not only is there no space behind the fifer, but the fifer in a way is placed nowhere. Foucault, *Manet and the Object of Painting*, trans. Matthew Barr (London: Tate Publishing, 2011), 57.

the flow of knowledge.”¹⁶ Without any knowledge of the western *horror vacui*, Kabotie was never compelled to fill his paintings with backgrounds, the details of which may possibly have been too esoteric for non-initiated eyes. Or, as Sascha Scott ascertains, “Pueblo people reject the Anglo notion that space is something to be filled and conquered.”¹⁷ This desire and ability to control what the viewer sees in a painting is not a concept to be overlooked in considering early Pueblo painting. In fact, the *unheimlich*, “the name for everything that ought to have remained . . . secret and hidden but has come to light,” as Freud named it,¹⁸ was a fulcrum to Kabotie’s work, but one about which a non-Hopi viewer could only ever be able to speculate. Kabotie’s portrayal of dancers on silent backgrounds may have connections to all these ideas, but they also may be due to much simpler explanations. Reviewing school-aged art of students around the world, one observes the beginners’ tendency to simplify or leave out complicating backgrounds, and focus on what the artist perceives as the key elements (admittedly sometimes the background *is* the key element: the classic sunshine in a blue sky, shining over a house comes to mind). Generally speaking, as students learn western concepts such as

16. Scott, “Awa Tsireh,” 602. Foucault also writes of “the archaeology of silence,” saying, “He concerned himself therefore less with this or that social object than with what happened between and to them – because power is a relationship, it is not a thing.” For Foucault, the interstices are more interesting than the objects:

Apart from aligning himself with the minor, individuals and with repressed groups, it is this passion for modeling—philosophical operations which make apparent precisely, the space which exists between social and discursive groups. Foucault, *Manet*, 11.

17. Scott, “Awa Tsireh,” 605.

18. Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 10.

perspective, depth of field and dimensionality, backgrounds become more fully developed. It has been demonstrated that Kabotie did create watercolors with backgrounds, for example, *Untitled [Preparing for the Buffalo Dance]* (figure 1.5). It may be significant that this watercolor employs those aforementioned ideas of western art (perspective, depth of field and dimensionality). But on reflection, perhaps Kabotie did not continue in this simply because backgrounds were an extra effort, not needed or requested by his collectors. As practical as Kabotie was, it might have been just that simple.

The need to produce what buyers wanted, while avoiding censure at home on the reservation, was a very real one; Kabotie may not have fully realized this until he moved home to Songòopavi. In fact, when Kabotie first started painting scenes from Hopi, censure was a novel idea. But over time many Pueblo people have come to believe that recording, photographing, illustrating or writing about certain events defiles and weakens the very event, by disseminating information about it to the uninitiated.¹⁹ This tension would not have affected his earliest work, but definitely did his later ones.

1919: *Snake Dance* (figure 8.2)

Unfortunately the current owner of this work has not been located, but fortunately it is reproduced in Dorothy Dunn's *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas*. In his autobiography Kabotie writes of painting a Snake Dance for Jens

19. Sally Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," in *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. Margaret Connell Szasz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 288.

Jensen,²⁰ one that he left in a windowsill overnight, where ants ate all the sugar-based paint off the surface. He writes, “I had done a Snake Dance picture for Mrs. DeHuff, and he [Jensen] wanted one.”²¹ Dunn credits this Snake Dance painting to the collection of Jensen, so it might have been a replacement. It certainly was not Kabotie’s first Snake Dance image, but is his earliest datable Snake Dance watercolor.

In it the dancers move in pairs; in the center foreground one figure is reaching downward with a snake whip (a stick with two feathers attached) toward a snake gliding on the ground. Five Snake Priests wearing white kilts watch from the background. They stand in front of the *kisi*, or snake shrine, which is covered with brush. In this watercolor Kabotie has indicated the ground surface, a device he abandoned in subsequent works, with a few exceptions, until sometime after 1932. Details in faces, hands and feet remain sketchy, much like in the preceding image. Particulars are saved for the body decoration and apparel, not for the humans themselves. Anatomy remains weak, but a fluidity of movement is beginning to appear in this work.

Comparing this to John Sloan’s 1919 painting *Ancestral Spirits*, 1921 drawing *Snake Dance*, and 1922 painting *Dance at the Cochiti Pueblo, New Mexico* (figures 8.16–8.18),²² one observes minimal resemblances between the two men’s work. Sloan offers more detail in faces than Kabotie, and his scenes are firmly situated in definitive spaces.

20. If the *Corn Dance* was Kabotie’s first group watercolor, and it was painted in 1918, that would place these first Snake Dance paintings in 1918 at the earliest.

21. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 28.

22. Sloan’s work has been chosen for comparison, as he is the Anglo-American painter likeliest to have had the most contact with Kabotie.

In Sloan's *Snake Dance*, the dancers and snakes move fluidly and with anatomical correctness across the page, the snakes appearing with mouths open and tongues protruding. Sloan pays less attention to accurate detail and more to the human form, Kabotie to the detail of decoration. This focus on intricate detail, highly desired by his patrons, is highlighted in the following painting, *Flute Boy*.

1920: *Flute Boy* (figure 8.3)

Flute Boy, painted in 1920 while Kabotie continued to attend the Santa Fe Indian School, offers a somewhat stiff and ill-proportioned figure (again, as defined by western standards) facing the viewer,²³ frozen in the motion of shaking his rattle, both feet firmly planted on the ground. Despite appearing to be a mannequin created to display exotic Hopi paraphernalia to white patrons, Kabotie is moving toward a more western visualization. Facial features remain awkward, but are now being modeled, as opposed to drawn with paint; the use of shadow and light remains minimal, but one can see, especially in the legs, attempts to define highlights. As in his earlier works, the most elaborate features in the watercolor are found in the young man's apparel, especially in the traditional woven Hopi sash, which Kabotie illustrated accurately, apparently from memory. Perhaps this is in part due to the fact that as a young man he wove his first piece, providing him with a tactile and empirical understanding of the concepts and realities of weaving.

23. Although one could argue that *Flute Boy's* proportions, stance and frontality closely resemble those of early *tihus*, which Kabotie would have been very familiar with.

Flute Boy wears a silver Navajo squash blossom necklace, complete with *naja*, as well as a necklace of heishi with a pale blue pendant. Adorning his hair are red, blue, green and yellow flower blossoms. His clothing includes a male's white kilt with black edges, a traditional Hopi red bandolier-style sash, a white sash at his waist decorated with black, red, green and blue woven designs, and also a red, green and black-edged belt. He wears turtle shells and bells below his knees, as well as brown deerskin moccasins. In his left hand he holds a branch of fir from the sacred San Francisco Mountain peaks, some twelve miles away. The Flute Dance is held every other year, alternating with the better-known Snake Dance.

This painting bears little resemblance to the works done for Fewkes, Hopi kivas, or other mural paintings. It does not particularly resemble the ledger paintings produced by Pratt's students, with their outlines and transparent colors. Kabotie's paint is thick and opaque, put down with short, firm brushstrokes, which is closer to Sloan's work in method, if nothing else.

At this time, Kabotie is only known to have worked with Willis DeHuff, although he may have met Hewett, Chapman or Sloan, and seen paintings at the museum. If so, it is not apparent that they seriously affected this watercolor in any way. It is possible that this was one of the works in Willis DeHuff's collection actually exhibited at the Museum of New Mexico, bought by Luhan, and displayed in New York. In Kabotie's autobiography it is listed as belonging to the American Indian Treasures, in Guilderland, New York.

To clarify the difference between Kabotie's work at this stage and the work of his Anglo peers, compare *Flute Boy* to Chapman's earlier 1903 gouache "Indian Portrait" (figure 8.19). This is one of Chapman's few extant paintings, and in it are displayed no obvious similarities of style to Kabotie's work. Although each portrays a Native American looking directly at the viewer, attired in Native weavings, on plain, undetailed backgrounds, there the resemblances end.

1920–1921: *Women's Basket Dance* (figure 8.4)

The Basket Dance, or *Lalakonti*, is held in autumn to encourage the hail to fall. Women of multiple clans join in, and four priestesses direct the dance, which contrary to the organized calm evidenced in this image, often disintegrates into chaos as men try to grab the baskets tossed to them at the end of the ceremony, sometimes going for them before they are even thrown.²⁴ Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva once described this culminating scuffle as "intimidating."²⁵

In this work Kabotie's sense of rhythm is fully formed. The circle of women, holding their wonderfully individual baskets,²⁶ are each dressed in a traditional *manta* and woven shawls; some are barefooted, and some wear white deerskin moccasins; this

24. Erna Fergusson, *Dancing Gods: Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1931), 168.

25. Conversation with the author, September, 2011.

26. The complexity of the designs of the baskets can be compared to the simple, almost pan-Indian designs of the pots in figure 8.6, *Hopi Woman Making Pots*. This might be expected, as Songòopavi was known for its basketry, not its pottery.

alteration breaks the almost perfect symmetry of attire, saving it from monotony. On the viewer's left stand the maidens, with their hair in the whorled hairstyle that indicates unmarried status. The last woman, on the right, is wearing a black shawl. In the center, facing two stacks of wicker plaques on two blankets, stand two women opposite one another, dressed in colorfully woven *mantas*, trimmed in blue with flower iconography. They wear feather headdresses, with two horns. The women stand calm and poised, ready to begin the dance; unlike figures in, for instance, Sloan's *Ancestral Spirits* (figure 8.16) who cavort across the page. In this sense Kabotie's early works are frequently much closer to the pre-contact and early Hopi figures, including those painted for Fewkes; they remain static and are shown in a frozen moment, almost as though posed for a camera with a slow shutter. But the fact remains that they are not. And, while contemporaries tended to see Kabotie's work as traditional Indian painting, there is no such thing as traditional Indian watercolor, and Kabotie was clearly not a traditional Hopi at that time he made this work. In it, he did not draw on pre-Columbian art forms he saw as a child, even though he did return to the culture of his upbringing.

This watercolor offers a similar composition and sense of calm focus to Maynard Dixon's oil painting *Circle of Shimaikuli* (1923) (figure 8.20), although, unlike Kabotie, Dixon offers a background, and details such as shadows. Dixon's figures are on the move, approaching the kiva ladder. They stand in contrapposto, with graceful elegance, and are dressed for the most part alike, a device that both men employ to create an

increased sense of rhythm and harmony.²⁷ This is a technique carried to its fullest in *Young Men's Spring Ceremony*.

c. 1920–21: Young Men's Spring Ceremony (figure 8.5)

Young Men's Spring Ceremony is more difficult to apprehend than the preceding *Women's Basket Dance*, as twenty-six figures (plus the drummer) overlap to the extent that they are challenging to distinguish from one another. Here, unlike at an actual Hopi dance, each individual is attired exactly alike, with no deviation except minor variations in the squash blossom necklaces and coloration in the foxtails worn. The lines of figures overlap, a device that does not work as well as in the previous watercolor in which each figure is placed against a plain background. The young men hold hands and sing; the drummer walks between the two lines, also chanting. In this painting Kabotie employs a more western-style modeling in the depiction of the dancers' legs, especially the calf muscles, as well as shadowing under the arms, eyes and chins of the dancers.

These first works were painted while Kabotie attended the Indian Boarding School through the time he moved on to the local public high school. During the latter part of this period he worked for the Museum of New Mexico and with Hewett on archaeological excavations, and also attended local Pueblo dances, giving him the opportunity to observe minute detail with the eye of a painter for the first time.

27. See Kabotie's much later paintings (figures 8.21 and 8.22 for example) to understand how his work moved closer to Sloan's.

The next group of images reflects Kabotie's growing body of knowledge and awareness of the details of Pueblo paraphernalia as well as of western art. At the same time, after 1924 Hewett substantially reduced funding for Awa Tsireh, Kabotie and Shije Herrera. Concurrently, support from the modern artists at the Museum increased. Brody writes that this shift accounts for the decline in ethnographic material in their work;²⁸ although little change is seen in the subject matter of Kabotie's paintings, a decided shift in style begins.

Kabotie attended the Santa Fe High School from 1921 until 1925. During this time he resided at the Indian School, although he was no longer studying with Willis DeHuff. Additionally, in 1922 he returned briefly to Hopi on an expedition with Hewett, which gave him an opportunity to study actual Hopi ceremonies as an adult artist. Of this trip Kabotie wrote:

I remember a lady with a girl and some Indian, an older Indian man and Dr. Hewett and his wife...we started from Santa Fe and spent the night at Grants...Gallup...Window Rock, but there was no Window Rock at that time. ...Steamboat Canyon, we spent the night there. And the next...at Mishongnovy...there was a Flute Dance there at Mishongnovy, and a Snake Dance at Hotevilla.²⁹

Kabotie stayed at Hopi for a month, but states, "I had no friends here. I hardly knew anybody,"³⁰ a sentiment echoed again and again by Indian boarding school students

28. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 151.

29. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 5, 159.

30. *Ibid.*, 161.

returning to their homelands.³¹ As a direct result of this consequent alienation from his homeland, with encouragement from Willis DeHuff and Hewett, Kabotie chose to return to Santa Fe.

c. 1925: *Hopi Woman Making Pottery* (figure 8.6)

In this watercolor, Kabotie depicts a young Hopi woman painting a pot; she is surrounded by seven other pieces, six of which are painted and the seventh awaiting decoration. The woman smiles as she works, focusing on the brush in her hand and the line she is painting. She wears a traditional *manta* and heishi necklace, and one white-deerskin-booted foot peaks out from her skirt. Although her dress is traditional Hopi in style, her haircut is not, as Hopi women do not wear bangs (the women of some Eastern Pueblos do); in fact, her haircut looks much like that of Maria Martinez in figure 8.23. She sits on a blue cushion. The potter has no paints in sight, a detail Kabotie apparently found unimportant compared to the work she was creating. The pot decorations are pan-Indian; Kabotie attempts nothing as complex as Nampeyo's work. Instead he utilizes simplistic designs of the sort he might have encountered at local markets. The woman is isolated, with no background indicated, lost in her own world, serenely painting. Here one can see a hand encompassing a pot, and the woman's arms have tendons and defined shadows. No drawing lines at all appear in her face; all detail is painted in, as Kabotie had made the transition to becoming a painter, instead of someone simply drawing with paint. Despite

31. John Mark, *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), xvi.

the lack of a background, the work has a definite sense of place, and shows a scene, or an excerpt, from the woman's life.

Jesse Nusbaum made a c.1912 photograph of Julian and Maria Martinez (figure 8.23), in which Maria Martinez bears a strong resemblance to Kabotie's potter. Perhaps the photograph was a source for Kabotie, or at least he was familiar with it. And, although Kabotie's potter's posture appears slightly stiff, when compared to Nusbaum's photograph, it is not unnaturally so.

Looking at this painting next to Maynard Dixon's 1923 oil painting *Kachina Maker* (figure 8.24), one sees a similar scenario: the man intent upon his work, the background simple, his paints and another *tihu* at his feet. The two paintings remain far removed in style, with Dixon's work firmly rooted in western ideas of realism, and Kabotie striving to present his Hopi traditions in a manner a western-trained viewer could apprehend.

1925: *Water Drinking Dance* (or *Butterfly Drinking Dance*) (figure 8.7)

In this lovely painting of the late-summer social dance, commonly known as the Butterfly Dance, one sees the mature Kabotie emerging, and it is obvious from this work it appears that he may have been closely studying western paintings available to him in Santa Fe.

Kabotie portrays the young women as they bend into the circle and stomp their feet with real emotion. He displays a clear understanding of western concepts of anatomy while doing so. Fingers and toes are now individual appendages, and they flex and bend

appropriately; each individual views the world independently of the others, some looking down, some at the other dancers.

In this image Kabotie demonstrates his remarkable ability to reproduce the detail that so delighted his patrons, and this painting demonstrates his highly developed use of the figures themselves to aid in the creation of rhythm via repetition and colorful body decoration, which help to direct the viewer's eye across the surface of the painting. Each dancer is an individual despite the fact that their accouterments remain similar, if not the same; for instance, one can take note of the identical headdresses, or *kopatsoki*, worn by the women.³² This particular watercolor was made the year Kabotie graduated from the Santa Fe public high school; by this time he had worked several seasons at excavations for Hewett, and in the museum where he had been given use of a studio (although the exact dates of this cannot be determined, it was while he was at the public high school.)³³ By this time Kabotie's watercolors had been exhibited both locally and in New York, and Chapman, Luhan and Sloan had shown interest in his development as an artist.

c. 1925: *Ho-Te Dance* (or *Ho-Ote Dance*) (figure 8.8)

Kabotie's increasingly naturalistic style is apparent in this work, with the figures confidently stomping their feet in rhythm. The drummer sits comfortably on a red cushion, his drum beautifully rendered in a realistic manner; the instrument's head is

32. In the two Butterfly Dances the author recalls observing, each *kopatsoki* was different, as her dance partner makes it for the specific girl.

33. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 5, 140.

tipped toward the viewer. The wear pattern where the drum has been beaten is evident, and the rawhide strips stretching along its sides are taut. Compare this to the drum in his 1920–21 painting, *Young Men's Spring Ceremony* (figure 8.5), which shows only an intimation of such detailed renderings.

The black-faced *Ho-Ote* figures wear the sign of Venus, representing the Hopi twin warriors, on one cheek (which varies from figure to figure); this is an indicator of status as a warrior or guardian.³⁴ Their snouts, with the red mouths and bright white teeth, are fearsome. The *Ho-te* figure's face is light, he has eyes popping out over his long snout, and his face and chest are embellished with red and yellow stars. In this image the figures not only dance, their sashes and necklaces flex and swing with their movement as they also interact among themselves. Each *Ho-Ote* carries a bow and arrows along with a rattle. The light-faced *Ho-te* (sometimes named as *Ahote*) is a hunter Katsina, and he is wearing a concha belt. At least one *Ho-Ote* wears a squash blossom necklace, although both of these items are seen less and less frequently in Kabotie's work (perhaps because they grew to be identified as Navajo, something Anglo collectors might have perceived as inauthentic).

The two mudheads (*Koyemsis*, or clown Katsinas) have clearly defined features; the one on the viewer's left has a defined spine in an anatomically accurate body, and the figure on the right even has defined pectorals and navel. *Koyemsi* are probably the most

34. Barton Wright, *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1977), 44.

Harold Colton recorded *Ho-Ote* as also having a crescent moon on the opposite cheek. Colton, *Hopi Kachina Dolls: With a Key to Their Identification* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 44.

common of the Katsinas; many consider them sacred for their psychological role employing both satire and sarcasm in social commentary that parallel those of today's political comedians and commentators, such as Jon Stewart, Rachel Maddow and Bill Maher. They are known for playing games with the audience, from guessing games to games of balance, with prizes of goods and clothing offered, but among the Hopi they are frequently most respected for their unflinching use of humor to control members of the tribe who are pushing acceptable boundaries.³⁵

c. 1928–30: Zuni *Shalak'o* (figure 8.9)

In his autobiography Kabotie writes of his excitement at discovering Hopi *Shalak'o Mana* (Maiden) “masks” in the basement of the Museum of New Mexico while employed there:

I asked where they'd come from, and was told that they belonged to a couple named Applegate, artists, who had bought them from a Hopi policeman, Pat Tawawani—the very one who had caught me at Shungopavi and tried to send me down to the day school.

These masks impressed me so much that I did a painting of the ten-foot-high Hopi *Shalak'o* figures, with the shingled skirts of brown-and-white eagle feathers and the two kachinas that are supposed to lead them *Eototo* and *Hahai-i Mana*. The paint of the masks was faded, but with a knife I

35. Michael Kabotie spoke once of arriving at a dance to find the clowns parodying the group known as *Artist Hopid*, to which he belonged. The five members of Artist Hopid (Neil David, Sr., Delbridge Honanie, Michael Kabotie, Milland Lomakema and Terrance Talaswaima,) developed a community with the outside world of painters and writers, and traveled throughout the United States giving talks about Hopi life and beliefs. They also drank quite a bit, and were perhaps too full of themselves. The clowns apparently thought so, as they proceeded to put the five young men firmly in their places and let them know the Hopi clowns didn't find anything at all exceptional about them or their work—a humiliation the artists still talk about in abashed tones.

scraped off small spots and could see the true colors underneath.

...My grandfather explained that the ceremony hadn't been performed for at least seventy-five years, and that he had taken part in it as a young man. After that had come the terrible drought and famine of the early 1860s, when so many people died that it took years to re-establish some of the ceremonies.

After they saw the painting, my grandfather and Andrew, my uncle, felt that the Hopi *Shalak'o* should be revived. My grandfather remembered enough of the details, and even some of the songs, to act as consultant, and Andrew wanted to sponsor the dance. But by the time they got ready to put it on, the painting had been sold. Fortunately someone remembered that on a cliff, down under the mesa, was a pictograph of the *Shalak'o*; the tablita was different but it gave them enough help to make the new headpieces....So on a July afternoon in 1937, after the Niman Kachinas had left the plaza, the towering *Shalak'os* danced...³⁶

This account of Kabotie makes it clear that at the time he painted this work, he did not know much about the Hopi *Shalak'os'* appearance, other than the "mask" he had discovered. He depicts the *Shalak'os* dressed in kilts and shawls, not the eagle feathers described and painted by him in later versions. This work depicts a ceremony full of ritual drama, and Kabotie injects the ten-foot-tall *Shalak'o* figures with dignity and life as they trot along with the two lead figures. The running figure on the left is clearing the path for the sacred *Shalak'os*, making sure their path is clear and safe, for it is an ill omen if one falls, a sight to be avoided at all costs. Here Kabotie has defined figures that would have appealed to western eyes, as the two smaller figures run with grace, classically

36. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 65–66.

balanced in motion; they are also figures with which the Santa Feans might have been more familiar than Kabotie, for in nearby Zuni the dance is still held every year.

c. 1930: *The Delightmakers* (figure 8.10)

The cover image for the 1931 *Introduction to American Indian Art* features a painting of Native clowns climbing a rainbow, painted by Awa Tsireh. Clowns were immensely popular subjects with white collectors of Native art, and Awa Tsireh was awarded one-hundred dollars for this image.³⁷ Kabotie was one of the five Native watercolorists whose work was featured in this important publication.³⁸ His piece, c. 1930 *The Delightmakers*, is a work demonstrating his mastery of western concepts of beauty, the bodies and perspective fully formed. He has introduced a representative background of pueblo homes, and situated the clowns and the spectators firmly in it. The Hopi sun shines in the sky, perhaps to lighten the realism, and offers a little Hopi warmth and humor in this lighthearted painting. The clowns dance and tumble down the ladder in a somewhat sanitized version of this ancient drama--for the Hopi, much like the mudhead clowns described earlier, these clowns are more than humorous figures, and often parody man's failing through such antics as urinating off the roof into the crowds, or sexually suggestive maneuvers including indications of bestiality--clearly not actions Kabotie's

37. "Indian Artist Picked for \$100 Prize Here," *New York Times*, November 1, 1931.

38. The List of Illustrations includes: Ma-Pe-Wi, *Buffalo Hunt* (loaned by Miss Martha R. White), Awa Tsireh, *Women Dancing* (loaned by Miss Amelia Elizabeth White) and cover illustration, *Koshare Climbing the Rainbow*, Oqwa Pi, *Koshare Climbing the Pole* (loaned by the Indian Arts Fund), Tonita Peña, *Hunting Dance* (loaned by Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.), Fred Kabotie, *Mask Dance* (loaned by Miss Amelia Elizabeth White).

collectors would want to display in their living rooms. In this painting, fifteen Longhair Katsinas stand in a semicircle, watching the clowns' antics in a formation typical of Kabotie's geometric posing of dancers.

Sascha Scott has cited an article appearing in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* on September 19, 1920 entitled "Fiesta Indians Chiefly Interested in Unique Works of the Indian Artists in Museum Exhibit," to reinforce the idea that modern Pueblo paintings had to carry cultural value to their Pueblo audiences as well, "a point obscured in studies narrowly focused on Anglo patronage." To collaborate this, the aforementioned *Santa Fe New Mexican* article notes that:

There were Indians from the pueblos of Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, San Juan, Cochiti, Santo Domingo and San Felipe, with many from farther afield. It was most interesting to watch them flock to the museum to see the paintings but it must be confessed that they manifested greater interest in the three made by their own artists exhibited in one of the alcoves than they did in the work of their white friends...Fred Kobotio (Na-ka-vo-ma) of Hopi land has also in this alcove a painting of a Hopi basket ceremony which places him in the front rank of Indian painters.³⁹

Scott also raises the strong possibility that the paintings of the Pueblo easel artists may well have been coded for Pueblo viewers with messages that western-oriented eyes might miss,⁴⁰ as well as the concept that Awa Tsireh's (and Kabotie's) role as ambassador

39. Scott, "Awa Tsireh," 610. "Fiesta Indians Chiefly Interested in Unique Works of the Indian Artists in Museum Exhibit," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 19, 1920.

40. Scott notes that this idea is not entirely new. She cites Bhabha, *Location of Culture* (64) on the subversive power of masking that can serve as a dissembling image of being. This perspective corroborates the idea that a given performance by an Indian artist might well be intended as a "highly nuanced interventions in Primitivist discourses," rather than as a simple or mercenary response to the dominant culture's ideas of Indianness. See also Ruth B. Phillips, "Performing the Native Woman: Primitivism and Mimicry in Early Twentieth-Century Visual Culture," in *Antimoderism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 43.

between the two cultures was much like the role played by the Pueblo clowns, who serve as intermediaries between the Katsinas and the Pueblo people. These men served not only as mediators, but also in the parallel position of maintaining proper boundaries between the groups, allowing the artists the opportunity to thrive within the structures of the dominant society.

The Growth of the Santa Fe Style

These ten works diagram the process in which Kabotie's paintings evolved from his first schoolboy drawings with paint to fully formed watercolors, designed from a Hopi perspective for the western eye and the Anglo-American collector. In the first, the figures are stiff, with large heads (one-fifth the figures' height) and short-legged, their features often appearing to have been drawn over the paint. By 1930 they obtained more classical anatomy and proportions while displaying a mastering of materials and techniques.⁴¹ From the very beginning, dancers' apparel and accouterments were given close attention, but by the mid-1920s, these were depicted with ease, flowing with the dancers' movements. At about the same time, the figures began interacting with one another, and eventually with the audience.

Kabotie writes in his autobiography that he felt he did some of his best work while at John Louw Nelson's ranch in New Mexico in 1929, and unquestionably he reached a major turning point in his career there. However, changes in his work did not

41. See Leonardo Da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*, c. 1490, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, Italy.

fully develop until after Kabotie moved home to Hopi, when his work experienced a polarization, leaning more definitively either toward Hopi audiences or Anglo ones. This change culminates in the 1958 murals he painted at the Grand Canyon Bright Angel Lodge, in which he employed both Hopi style and iconography.⁴² Concurrently, his later watercolors grew increasingly modern in style, with three-dimensional scenes and complete backgrounds (figures 8.21 and 8.22 for example).

Once he moved home he never strayed much beyond painting popular Katsina and dance figures, although in later years he developed these into more intricate and refined works. Historical scenes such as the *Destruction of San Bartolome* (figure 1.13) were rare exceptions in his oeuvre. It is unfortunate that neither Kabotie nor Willis DeHuff left extensive documentation about their thoughts concerning how he came to develop the Santa Fe Style, which is unquestionably a highly intelligent and sophisticated answer to the needs of artist, instructor and buyers. After his return to Hopi, pressure from the community, as well as a desire to re-immense himself in his own culture, curtailed his work as a painter. He never lost his interest in art: he thoroughly enjoyed teaching at the Hopi High School, he was immensely interested in the murals excavated at nearby Awatovi in the mid-thirties, he initiated and ran the Hopi Arts and Crafts/Silvercraft Guild, and designed and promoted the silver overlay jewelry for which the Hopi became famous. But Kabotie decreasingly found the time or inclination to paint

42. Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals," 95–101.

for a living. As a matter of fact, he discouraged his son Michael from pursuing art as a career, saying it was too difficult to earn a living through art.⁴³

Reception of Kabotie's work

This dissertation places Kabotie and his paintings within national and international landscapes, and explored early twentieth-century interest in aboriginal American painting accompanying the search for a true and pure American style. Kabotie's earliest patrons and collectors included Jensen, DeHuff, Luhan, and Austin, and by the 1920s also included prominent San Franciscans William and Leslie Van Ness Denman, Charles deYoung and Ruth Elkus, as well as John Louw Nelson (for the George Gustav Heye Collection as well as himself). Kabotie's work was reviewed and showcased by no less than prominent curator and artist Holger Cahill,⁴⁴ American art critic Walter Pach and John Sloan. By 1939 René d'Harnoncourt of the Museum of Modern Art commissioned Kabotie's work for exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City.⁴⁵ Kabotie was assigned the job of art teacher at the Hopi High School,⁴⁶ where he encouraged hundreds of Hopi students in their pursuit of the arts.

43. Which in no way is meant to downplay the importance of his later paintings; they are simply not within the scope of this study.

44. Who reproduced two Kabotie (figures 8.25 and 8.26) and two Awa Tsireh paintings in E. Holger Cahill, "American Has Its Primitives: Aboriginal Water Colorists of New Mexico Make Faithful Record of their Race," *International Studio*, March 1922, 80–83. The Hopi of today do not refer to these as "masks" but as "friends."

45. Welton, "Reinterpreting the Murals," 54–59.

46. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 65.

These relationships happened in spaces that Mary Louise Pratt, professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and Comparative Language at Stanford University,⁴⁷ calls “contact zones;” the interstices between Kabotie’s world and those of his mainstream American patrons. It was in these fissures the transculturation that was the Santa Fe Style occurred, in a process in which he adopted and invented from the materials offered him by the Anglo-American dominant culture.⁴⁸ There in the spaces of colonial encounters Kabotie depicted his story, in an attempt to represent himself in a way that enabled him to engage with the dominant society by both collaborating with and appropriating from their arts.⁴⁹ Through the signs that were his paintings, he offered his patrons a personal chance to observe Native America. He did this not only through his art, but also in offering to guide visitors to Pueblo sites for Hewett and others.⁵⁰ Thus, via both his paintings and his person, Kabotie offered a mediation between white and Pueblo

47. Per her online vita: she earned her PhD in Comparative Literature at Stanford University (and then worked there in various posts until at least 1998), and currently is a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at New York University, where she is also affiliated faculty at the Hemispheric Institute for Performance and Politics and Department of Comparative Literature. She was apparently still at Stanford when she wrote the book this book. http://silverdialogues.fas.nyu.edu/docs/CP/306/pratt_cv.pdf

48. It should be noted here that the issue of dominance is a loaded one; who and what dominated at any given time varies, most especially as to degree of dominance. An interesting work on this subject can be found in Roman Ingarden’s *The Literary Work of Art: An Investigation on the Borderlines of Ontology, Logic, and Theory of Literature*, trans. G. Grabowitz (Evanston: IL: Northwest University Press, 1973), lxii–lxiii.

49. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 6–7.

50. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 40–41.

societies; his paintings were not about the objects, but about the viewers' interpretations of them, their *mise-en-scène* secondary to their effect.

Kabotie's reception in the Anglo world, and the role that his work played in the creation of cultural artifacts, varied. Paralleling the literary reception theory of Hans Robert Jauss, the study of the early Santa Fe Style is:

not a process involving the gradual accumulation of facts and evidence bringing each successive generation closer to knowledge, [but one full of] qualitative jumps, discontinuities, and original points of departure.⁵¹

In fact, the disparate leaps of understanding made by his first collectors, who ranged from employees of the Santa Fe Indian School to regional and national museums and artists, is significant, and should be viewed in terms of an ongoing conversation. As an example of this incongruence in the more comprehensive early scholarship, Clara Lee Tanner offers insight into mid-twentieth century thinking on Native American art, noting that Kabotie was impacted by the developing Rio Grande Native American easel painters as well as by Hopi tradition, but not by his European-American patrons.⁵² In contrast, Dorothy Dunn, in *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas*, relates his Santa Fe Style to modern art, saying:

It is the first American painting in which abstract style and certain other characteristics now commonly associated with contemporary art were developed to an advanced degree.⁵³

51. Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Methuen, 1984), 1.

52. Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting*, 88–94.

53. Dunn, *American Indian Painting*, xxvi.

These two points of view collide in the desire for an exotic component in the lives of Kabotie's patrons, but this study could also argue that it was not the orientalism of Edward Said, but more so the exoticism described by Victor Segalen in his *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity*. While Said implies that Orientalism followed a plan of capitalism across the globe, initiating forced colonial expropriation;⁵⁴ Segalen finds it a much more understandable and ordinary need for diversity in life, one that allows escape from the ruthless banality of everyday contemporary life, indeed, "a mechanism for appreciating difference and recognizing difference as an aesthetic value."⁵⁵ Segalen writes that only:

those who have a strong individuality can sense Difference....
fully appreciate the wonderful sensation of feeling both what
they are and what they are not....The sensations of Exoticism
and Individualism are *complimentary*.⁵⁶

In this, he appears to be defining the likes of Luhan, Hartley and Sloan, and in his interpretation of the exotic he admires their ability to recognize and appreciate the other, in themselves as well as in their daily life.

By Segalen's definition, Hartley and Sloan were certainly two such exotics, members of a much greater number of twentieth-century American artists in the 1910s and 1920s looking at early American arts (from Navajo rugs to Connecticut Valley folk portraits and Pennsylvania Dutch Frakturs) as "primitive" sources for a new national

54. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

55. Victor Segalen, "Introduction," *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity*, trans. and ed. Yaël Rachel Schlick (Raleigh, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 1.

56. *Ibid.*, 21.

modernism. While they hoped that these sources would serve as the American equivalent for the African sculpture that was important to French cubists and German expressionists, this desire to identify indigenous sources, leading to an identifiable American art, was an aspect of post-World War I isolationism in America.⁵⁷

Oliver La Farge edited the 1931 *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*, in which it is stated:

The Indian artist deserves to be classified as a Modernist, his art is old, yet alive and dynamic; but his modernism is an expression of a continuing vigour seeking new outlets, and not, like ours, a search for release from exhaustion.⁵⁸

As the publication included a reproduction of Kabotie's *Masked Dance* (figure 8.27), it can safely be assumed that he is among the Indian artists described.⁵⁹

While his Anglo-American collectors were proclaiming Native art untouched by modern hands, ironically that same work could never have been created without substantial support from European American artists and art patrons. Conversely, the Hopi people had little objection to the depicting of Hopi iconography until members of the tribe began to take exception to the dissemination of their culture to outsiders for profit. Censorship by various Hopi individuals eventually curtailed Kabotie's imagery, and

57. Teresa A. Carbone, "Convincing Lies: Reckoning with the Modern," in Carbone, *Youth and Beauty*, 11–13.

58. La Farge, *Introduction to American Indian Art*, 7.

59. While this book portrays Indian art as fine art, the exhibition curators borrowed works from museums of natural history and science, anthropology and ethnology, but not from a single fine art museum. The fact that they were borrowing such works for an art exhibition indicates a major shift in thinking about Native American arts.

certain sections of his work at the Grand Canyon Hopi House continue to this day to be deemed controversial by tribal leaders and have consequently been removed from being seen by non-initiated and non-Hopi eyes.⁶⁰ In the midst of these controversies, Kabotie's best chance of success lay in providing secular art desired by his white patrons; he certainly understood the risks of moving outside those areas proscribed by those men and women. But paradoxically it was when he pushed the boundaries of his own Hopi world that he got into trouble socially.⁶¹

Fred Kabotie: What Was his Point of View?

For Kabotie, painting Katsinas must have been a synesthetic experience,⁶² one that took him (transcendentally) home to Hopi, to his essential being. Thus in the midst of the militaristic and alien Santa Fe Indian Boarding School, painting would have become a form of spiritual meditation. Synesthesia, in particular, is relevant to Kabotie's

60. Welton, "Watchtower Murals." See also Welton and Pearlstone, "Art of Fred And Michael Kabotie."

61. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 67. For a parallel discussion see page 25 of Carolyn Kastner and W. Jackson Rushing, III, "Pictures of Katsina Tithu: Georgia O'Keeffe and Southwest Modernism," in *Georgia O'Keeffe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land*, ed. Barbara Buhler Lynes (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2012), 19–40.

62. A synesthetic experience in the sense Bissera V. Pentcheva, assistant professor of art history at Stanford University, in "The Performative Icon," describes it, as

concomitant sensation...the experience of one sense through the stimulation of another," saying:

I will use the word synesthesia...to focus attention on consonant sensation: the simultaneity of senses...Whenever a link between the senses and the spiritual is made. *Art Bulletin* 87 no. 4 (December 2006): 631–55.

watercolors, as he spoke on several occasions about incorporating music into his art, playing it, either literally or mentally, as he worked.⁶³

Like his Anglo patrons, Kabotie probably felt, at least occasionally, alienated by the modern world. When T. J. Jackson Lears writes of “anti-modernism,” as a pervading issue in our culture, he is essentially describing the same idea that led to the popularity of Indian art in the twenties and thirties, one on which the Arts and Crafts movement was built—a tendency also called anti-industrialism, anti-urbanism and anti-mass-production. For Kabotie, meeting artists who shared his feelings of alienation, even if of a different variety and for different reasons, must have been reassuring. This would not have been a one-way event. Undeniably, Kabotie was a natural protagonist for the Santa Fe and Taos intellectuals, with his exoticism, his intelligence and, perhaps most appealing of all, his wonderful dry sense of humor.

There are a few clues to Kabotie’s feelings on the subject. A rare quote on the subject of painting is included in Tryntje Van Ness Seymour’s *When the Rainbow Touches Down*. Kabotie states in an interview:

I have never regarded myself as a good artist [a distinctly western judgment]. I say I just paint. I paint. You put your mind into it, and sometimes you put your soul into it. And sometimes when I am painting certain things, I can be humming that particular music that is what I am painting. That goes into my painting.⁶⁴

63. Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 46. Also conversations with the author and Michael Kabotie, late December 1976 and early January 1977.

64. Seymour, 241.

Kabotie's student Charles Loloma expressed a similar idea when he said, "The total expression of our work stems out from who we are – from the depth and wealth of our background."⁶⁵ Later in life, Kabotie says of Hopi painting:

When I'm giving a talk about the paintings, people will say, you know, that these painters, these Hopis, are influenced by Picasso. Then I turn around and say to them, "No, the Hopis are not influenced by Picasso. Picasso was influenced by the Hopid!" Somebody was telling me that Picasso has some Kachina dolls in his home in France.⁶⁶

Future Generations

The reception to Kabotie's work has always been complex. In 1932 Dorothy Dunn arrived in Santa Fe and established the Studio School at the Indian Boarding School. Much has been written about Dunn and her rigid examples of how to draw Indian art,⁶⁷ as well as about the school, both pros and cons.⁶⁸ Alan Houser, in the 1950s, criticized Dunn for her formalization of what he described as the Studio's stereotypical

65. Ibid., 241.

66. Kabotie, "Interview, Sess. 1," folder 14, 462.

67. For more on this subject see Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, 17.

68. W. Jackson Rushing III offers a thoughtful essay covering this subject in "Editor's Introduction to Part III," *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, 169–73. In it he writes:

For the first fifty or sixty years of this century, the actual voices of indigenous artists were largely, but not exclusively, silenced by a patronage system and a critical literature, both art historical and anthropological, that represented them as nature's children, folk artists, or the noble, if primitive other. Their resistance to this institutionalized, if unintentional, racism was seldom expressed overtly, let alone published. Instead, it was far more likely to be encoded covertly in their work

Indian watercolors; subsequently critics and art historians came to disdainfully dub Dunn's formalization of pan-Indian works "The Bambi School," in reflection of the Disney-esque deer seen in many of the early student works produced there. The pedagogy Dunn employed, and her demand for certain styles, led to the infamous 1958 rejection of a painting by Dakota Indian Oscar Howe by the Philbrook's Indian Annual jurors for not being Indian enough (a loaded and well-documented subject).⁶⁹

In 1960 the Rockefeller Foundation sponsored the Southwestern Indian Art Project, the first post-high school of the arts for American Natives, an initiative in which Kabotie's son Michael was a participant. This led to the 1962 foundation of the Institute of American Indian Arts by executive order under President John F. Kennedy, and it also marked the beginning of a formalized rebellion by students and teachers against the rigidity of the so-called "Bambi" style established by Dunn, but based, at least in some part, on the Santa Fe Style.⁷⁰ Interestingly, scholars have not directly aimed this criticism back to DeHuff, or Kabotie; nor should they, as Kabotie could never be interpreted as a follower of any rigid style as his work was constantly evolving, as this dissertation suggests. However, historiographically, Kabotie's work has been strangely absent from discussions about twentieth-century Southwest Native American painting and seen as

69. Ibid.

70. Not long afterward, several Native artists, most notably George Morrison, began to drop the word "Indian" from terms describing themselves, although "Morrison became more comfortable identifying as Native/Chippewa the further along he got. After 1970 he increasingly allowed for the possibility of indigenous content (coming out of his subconscious) in his work; W. Jackson Rushing, III, email to the author, November 4, 2014. For more on this see also W. Jackson Rushing, III, and Kristin Makholm, *Modern Spirit: The Art of George Morrison* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013).

only a side effect. His work lives on in the mere fact of its existence, or as Foucault says of Manet's work:

It seems to me that, beyond even Impressionism, what Manet made possible was all the painting *after* Impressionism, is all the painting of the twentieth century, is all the painting from which, in fact, contemporary art developed. This deep rupture or this rupture in depth which Manet brought about, is without doubt something slightly more difficult to situate than the set of modifications which made Impressionism possible.⁷¹

In much the same vein, Kabotie made possible what followed in the next fifty years of Native American painting, from informing Dunn's pedagogy to offering the possibility for an American Indian to earn a living through art (despite his later warning to his son).

However, only a small portion of the long-term implications of Kabotie's work has been bared in this study; a more fully embodied reading of his work remains to be accomplished. Kabotie's art represented such a decisive response to a number of the perspectives around him at the same time that it constituted a remarkably cohesive Native American style of painting for Dunn and then, through her teaching, hundreds of students at the Hopi High School from 1937 until 1959, when it closed.⁷² Additionally as the progenitor of the Hopi Arts and Crafts/Silvercraft Guild, he developed a new form of Hopi silverwork overlay jewelry; through the GI Bill he offered a silversmith training program to Hopi men, and provided them with designs, tools and silver. This jewelry is

71. Foucault, *Manet*, 28.

72. Where he taught art to hundreds of students, including the internationally recognized Charles Loloma.

now as linked to the Hopi people as “Katsina dolls” are, and provides a living or supplemental income to dozens of Hopi families.

The Guild also offered a sales room for other Hopi works; it sold the highest quality pottery, weaving and Katsinas, along with silverwork. Kabotie made sure the Guild offered studio space to artists, much like the Museum of New Mexico, most notably to the young group of Hopi painters named Artist Hopid, a group that in turn focused on going out in the world and sharing the Hopi culture with as many people as possible. He promoted the establishment of a museum and hotel/restaurant complex on Second Mesa, and enlisted the aid of national figures to raise the monies to build it, including Henry Allen Moe (the first director of the National Endowment for the Humanities), Harold LeClair Ickes (United States Secretary of the Interior from 1933 to 1946) and René d’Harnoncourt (Director of the Museum of Modern Art from 1949 to 1967). All in all, Kabotie impacted hundreds of Hopi, non-Hopi Natives and non-Native artists across the country, at home in Hopi, in Santa Fe and even in New York, where he was awarded a Guggenheim fellowship in 1945, and served on the board of both the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the Tiffany Foundation. The most remarkable part of his story is that so little has been written about it.

Conclusion

Although it has taken a serious look at several histories, including those of Willis DeHuff and Kabotie, this dissertation intends to be more than a simple chronicle, even though at times it has needed to provide specific backgrounds. This study's overall aim is to constitute a Foucauldian archaeology, an unearthing of the different elements, discourses and people surrounding Kabotie's development and the various conversations in which they participated, and thereby assess their contributions to the specific formation of the Santa Fe Style. Like Foucault's work, this study discerns and disentangles distinct possible genealogies by studying historical phenomena as distinctly ratified bodies of knowledge while "extracting [salient aspects of] the [ensuing] visibilities and the utterances." In the absence of concrete records, this process has enabled a series of discourses to be discerned to reveal multiple conversations about art, art education, views of tribal work and mainstream modern painting that contributed to giving Fred Kabotie "permission" to create the Santa Fe Style.

This historical process parallels at times Foucault's de-emphasis of objects in order to demonstrate the relationships between them.¹ In *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, Foucault writes:

The conditions necessary for the appearance of an object of discourse, the historical conditions required if one is to 'say anything' about it, and if several people are to say different things about it, the conditions necessary if it is to exist in relation to other objects, if it is to establish with them relations of resemblance, proximity, distance, difference, transformation - as we can see, these conditions are many and imposing.²

Among the pertinent themes underlying much of this work is the relationship between power and knowledge, and how the former is used to control and define the latter. The most visible Anglo participants in the Santa Fe Style--Willis DeHuff, Hewett, Chapman, Luhan and Sloan--can be positioned as participating in discourses that wielded power and informed and enabled Kabotie to develop this highly original art form. Foucault additionally establishes the idea that the enunciation of information in certain ongoing discourses which authorities claim as scientific knowledge is also a means of social control, a concept analogous to art knowledge. To offer a parallel example, in the eighteenth century, madness was used to categorize and stigmatize not just the mentally ill, but the poor, the sick, the homeless and, indeed, anyone whose expressions of individuality were unwelcome. In much the same manner, Fewkes and most early

1. Michel Foucault, *Manet and the Object of Painting*, trans. Matthew Barr (London: Tate Publishing, 2011), 11–12.

2. Foucault, Michel, Alan Sheridan, and Michel Foucault. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972, 44.

supporters of Native artists categorized their preferred views of Indians as only traditional, and often stigmatized innovative artists.

With these dichotomies in mind, and in a manner much like Fewkes' early excavations at Awatovi, this study undertakes to negotiate its way through an elaborate puzzle with significant clues and missing pieces, in order to offer a preliminary overview to aid in developing an understanding of the early work of this Native American painter.

The genealogy of the Santa Fe Style is both diverse and multicultural, neither Hopi nor western, but situated in the spaces between the two cultures. Furthermore, it is the genealogist, from Foucault's point of view, who determines the relations between power, knowledge and the body in a given society.³ By uncovering the underlying structure of the Santa Fe Style, and revealing relations on which it is predicated, a clearer view of the powers that guided this art has been obtained. Kabotie's art thus results from a series of ratified social and historical constructions, while his systematic adaptation and rejection of certain aspects of western art was, for both personal and financial reasons, an approach that served him well.

There is a wide range of important details uncovered by this study, including the role played by Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, especially the unexpected revelation that she was a mathematics teacher with no formal education in the arts after secondary school. To establish the information enabling her to teach Kabotie, this dissertation researches her childhood, education, and teaching experiences, from the Philippines to the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, in an attempt to further expose the foundations of the pedagogy

3. Foucault, *Manet*, 10.

she employed in teaching Kabotie. Furthermore, this study introduces the work of Richard Pratt, Angel De Cora, Edgar Lee Hewett and Kenneth Chapman as empowering and legitimizing the Santa Fe Style. Finally it has established that Kabotie's careful study and later employment of ideas gleaned from the paintings of such mainstream artists as John Sloan and Maynard Dixon enabled him to participate at times in some of the discourses informing their work. Moreover, since this study examines Kabotie's work in a contemporaneous light, the impact of western art discourses early in his career has been firmly established, and his exposure to the works of mainstream American painters, as well as to the artists themselves, is an inescapable conclusion.

Art historians have often seemed to be in a quandary as to how to position Kabotie's work. Partha Mitter, a professor emeritus at the University of Sussex, determines that the word "modernism" is commonly restricted only to western modernism, and work by such outsiders as Kabotie are frequently only understood as modern when they enforce the western art writers' point of view.⁴ Thus, while Kabotie's work has often been cited as itself foundational for mainstream modern artists, the details of its modern roots have not previously been uncovered.⁵ This study attempts to correct this omission.

4. Mitter, "Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery" *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (December 2008): 531–48.

5. W. Jackson Rushing, addresses this issue on several occasions. For instance, see: Rushing, W. Jackson., III, ed. "Influence and Invention: Native American Painting and Sculpture." In *The Eugene B. Adkins Collection: Selected Works*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011, 99-128, and W. Jackson Rushing, III and Carolyn Kastner, "Pictures of Katsina Tithu: Georgia O'Keeffe and Southwest Modernism," in *Georgia O'Keeffe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land*, by Barbara Buhler Lynes (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2012), 19-40.

This dissertation, in fact, demonstrates that Fred Kabotie played an active role in the development of his own distinctive modern style, and incorporated freely from both Hopi and Anglo sources what suited him. A member of the so-called “conquered minority,” he applied a certain alterity to his situation and established himself as an important artist of the Hopi people, albeit in a manner acceptable to the Anglo-American and European collectors; but an important consequence of his secondary socialization into the world of Santa Fe included his dis-identification with his primary social group, the Hopi people. As Berger and Luckmann put it, “The individual internalizes the new reality, but instead of it being his reality, it is a reality to be used by him for specific purposes.”⁶ This new reality offered Kabotie an enriched process of transculturation,⁷ which he accomplished with great skill by appropriating freely from mainstream culture and art. However, once he moved home to Hopi, Kabotie appears to have succumbed to local pressures to stop painting certain proscribed images considered to be sacred to the Hopi people. His paintings grew increasingly western in style, testifying to his absorption of western ideas, especially those of Sloan and Hartley.

Kabotie’s early reliance on watercolor painting was unusual at the time. That he was in attendance at the Santa Fe Boarding School when Willis DeHuff arrived was a coincidence. His talent was an incentive for their initial work together. Willis DeHuff’s

6. Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1966), 172.

7. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 6–8.

enthusiasm led to the exposure of Kabotie's work at the Museum of New Mexico, where Hewett's and Chapman's further encouragement led to Luhan's and Sloan's involvement. These facts have been uncovered and discussed in this study. The overall picture of Kabotie's artistic development may remain incomplete, but in pointing to the many diverse and significant figures surrounding him, and uncovering their individual histories and connections, this dissertation discusses and analyzes the new early twentieth-century discourse represented by the Santa Fe Style.

Figures

Figure 1. Fred Kabotie's World Agricultural Fair entry pass, 1959–60. Kabotie family papers, Songdopavi; photograph by author, 2007. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 2. Above: [The village of Songòopavi], undated. Photographer unknown. Back of photo reads, “Burros outside So-oh’s [grandmother’s] house.” Kabotie family papers, Songòopavi. Below: Jessica Welton, *Kabotie home, Songòopavi*, 2006. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 3. Above: Buffalo Meat (1847–1917), *A New Married Man Receiving His Friends*, 1876. Colored pencil, ink, and graphite on paper, 8 3/4 in x 11 1/4 in (22.2 x 28.6 cm). Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas, 1965.48.4. Below: [Portrait of Buffalo Meat], c. 1878. Photographer unknown. Tintype, 3 1/4 in x 2 1/2 in. © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Arthur & Shifra Silberman Native American Art Collection, 1996.017.0510B.



Figure 4. [Elizabeth Willis DeHuff with Katsina figures], undated. Photographer unknown. PICT 000-099-0220, box 1, folder 1, Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Pictorial Collection, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.



Figure 5. [Angel De Cora as an Indian maiden], undated. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Smith College Archives, Smith College.



Figure 6. J. N. Choat, *Cap't Pratt. Supt of Indian School, Carlisle, Pa*, undated. Albumen print mounted on card, 6 1/2in x 4 1/8in. Courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, Dickinson College, Carlisle PA, PC 2002.2, folder 1. Reproduced from Carlisle Indian Industrial School, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/richard-henry-pratt-1890> (accessed February 3, 2014).



Figure 7: Fred Kabotie, *Pueblo Green Corn Dance*, listed in Kabotie and Belknap as c. 1940 (listed by Artstor as 1947). Oil on canvas, 29 1/2 in x 25 1/2in. Courtesy of the Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8: Fred Kabotie, *Flute Ceremony*, c. 1954. Watercolor on paper (or Casein on Bristol board, per Seymour), 20 5/8in x 14 1/2in. Reproduced from Kabotie and Belknap, 116. Courtesy of the U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, B-68.56.39. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



FLUTE CEREMONY Watercolor, circa 1954

Figure 9. John Sloan (1871–1951), *Dance at the Cochiti Pueblo, New Mexico*, 1922. Oil on canvas, 22in x 30in. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, USA. Gift of the John Sloan Memorial Fund; The Bridgeman Art Library, DAM184627. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

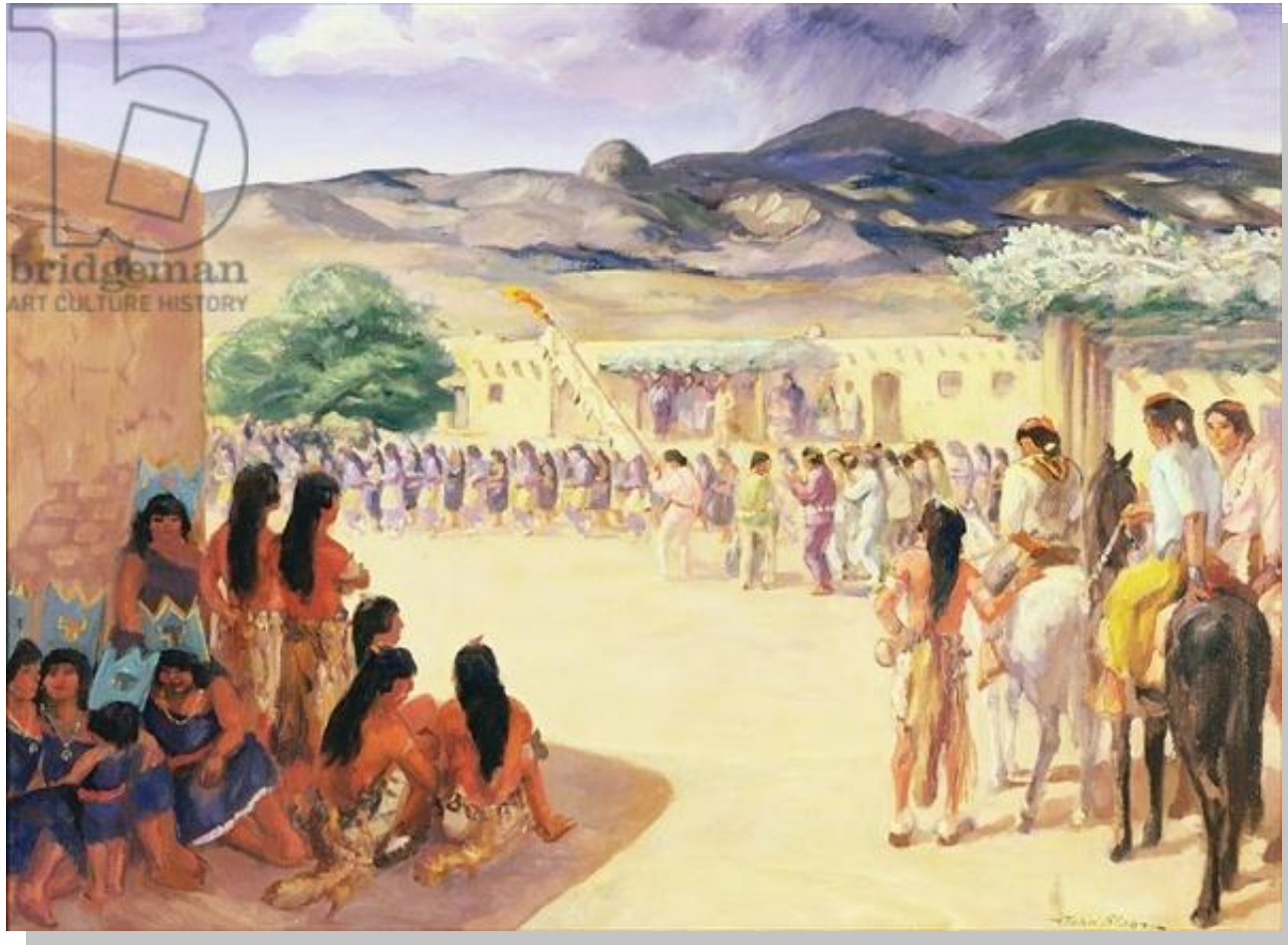


Figure 10. Maynard Dixon, *The Legend of Earth and Sun*, 1929. Painted hanger on stained fabric, 96in x 300in. Courtesy of the Arizona Biltmore Hotel, Phoenix, AZ.



Figure 12. Fred Kabotie, *Na-Ka-Vo-Ma: Hopi Snake Dance*, reprinted in the *Dial*, March 1920, opposite p. 342. This image is one of three accompanying Walter Pach's article, "Notes on the Indian Water-Colours" pp. 343–45, and was also reproduced as the first illustrated page of the 1920 *Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of The Society of Independent Artists*. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 13. Fred Kabotie, *The Delightmakers*, 1930. Watercolor, 19in x 22 1/4 in. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Catalog no. 231268.000. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 14. Charles Lummis, *Alberto and Juanito Lujan at Taos Pueblo*, November 4, 1926. There were three well-known Taos painters in the Western style in the early 1920s, of whom Albert Lujan was one. David L. Witt, Curator of the Harwood Museum of Art, has an essay available online, "Three Taos Pueblo Painters," that discusses these often ignored artists, at <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/3aa/3aa495.htm>. Courtesy Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles; P.8750.

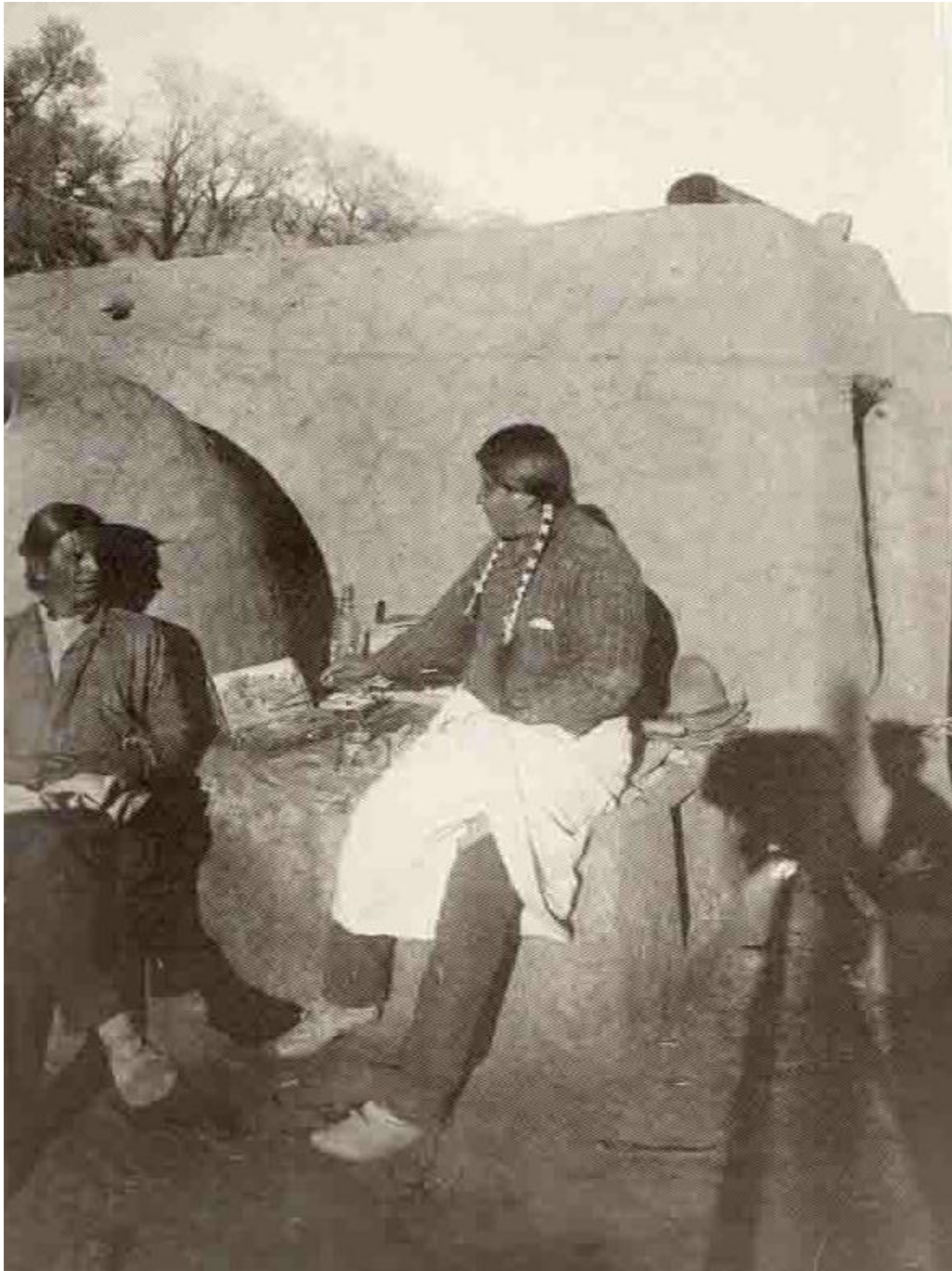


Figure 15. Fred Kabotie. Hopi Snake Dance. C.1920-1921, SAR/MNM 24272/13.

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.1. Fred Kabotie, *Dance of the Corn Maidens*, c.1920. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico/Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 35482/13. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 1.2. Fred Kabotie, *Pine Dance*, c.1920–21. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico/Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 35488/13. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 1.3. Fred Kabotie, *Hopi Women's Basket Dance*, c. 1920–22. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of Museum of Northern Arizona. C487. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 1.4. Fred Kabotie, *Women's Basket Dance* (also sometimes titled *Hopi Basket Ceremony* or *Basket Ceremony*), c.1921. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico/ Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 35485/13. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 1.5. Fred Kabotie, *Untitled [Preparing for the Buffalo Dance]*. 1921. Watercolor, 11 in x 14.75 in. School for Advanced Research, Catalog no. SAR 1989-21-40. Photograph by Addison Doty. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed December 20, 2013). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 1.6. Julian Scott, Map of Hopi Mesas, 1871. Reproduced from US Census Office, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), opposite page 176; <http://archive.org/details/reportonindianst1894unit> (accessed March 6, 2013).

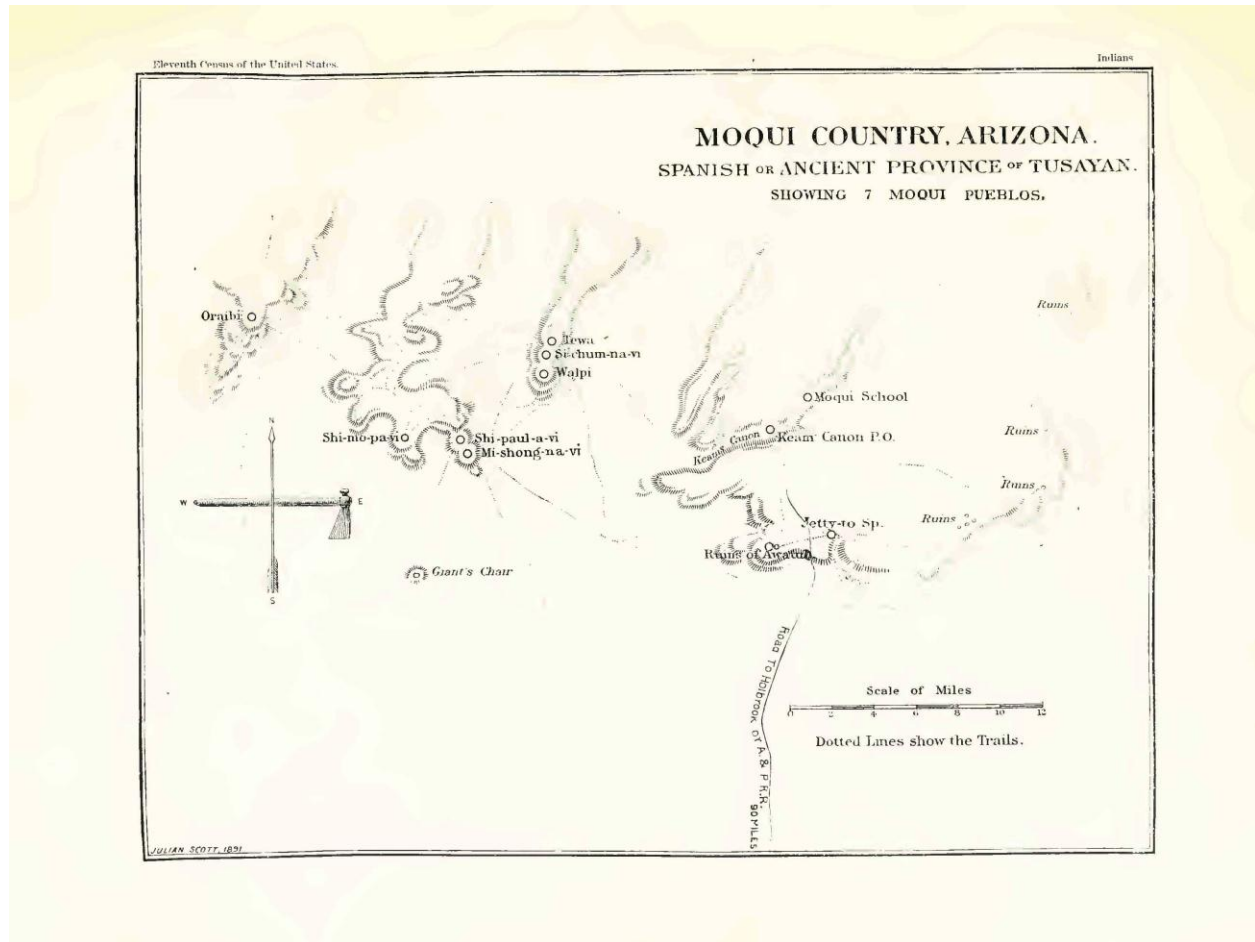


Figure 1.7. Awatovi mural fragment, early fifteenth century. Courtesy of Museum of Northern Arizona. NA820.R.788.5A and NA820.R788.5B.



Figure 1.8: Above: Awatovi mural, Test 14, Room 3, front wall B design 11 and right wall design 18, early fifteenth century. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 15, 2013). Below: Kelley Hayes-Gilpin, [Michael Kabotie and Delbridge Honanie, sitting in front of mural in Harvard Peabody Museum], 199?. Courtesy of Kelley Hays-Gilpin.

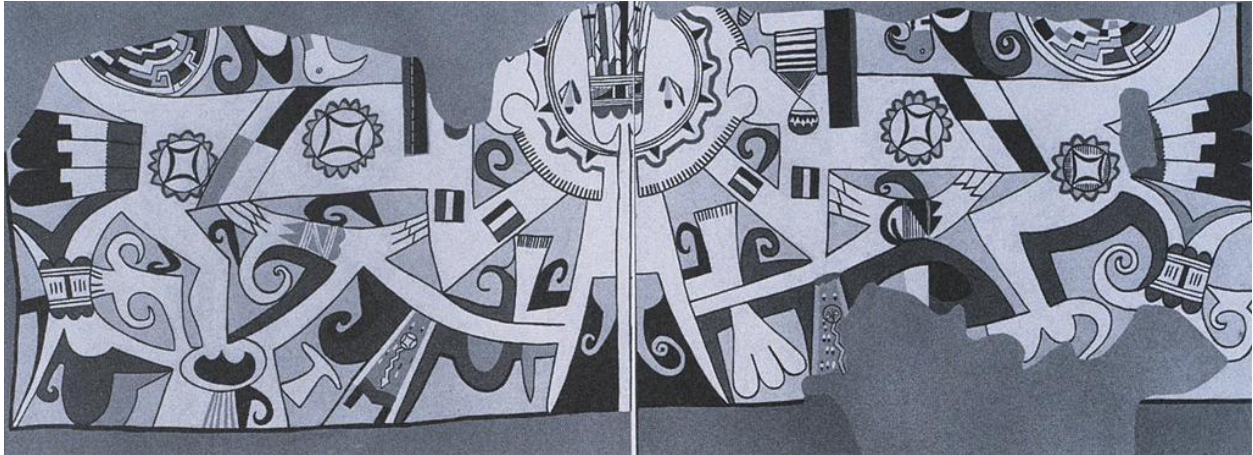


Figure 1.9. Edward S. Curtis, *Antelopes and Snakes at Oraibi*, c. 1921. Photogravure, 13 3/4in x 17 1/3in. Reproduced from Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: The Hopi, Portfolio 12* (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1922), pl. 404; courtesy of Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University, <http://memory.loc.gov/award/iencurt/cp12/cp12005v.jpg> (accessed March 6, 2014).

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisory Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.10. Edward S. Curtis, *Snake Priest*, c. 1900. Photographic print. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-97091, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/89710612/> (accessed February 3, 2014). In fact, this is not a Snake Priest, just someone Curtis dressed for his photograph.

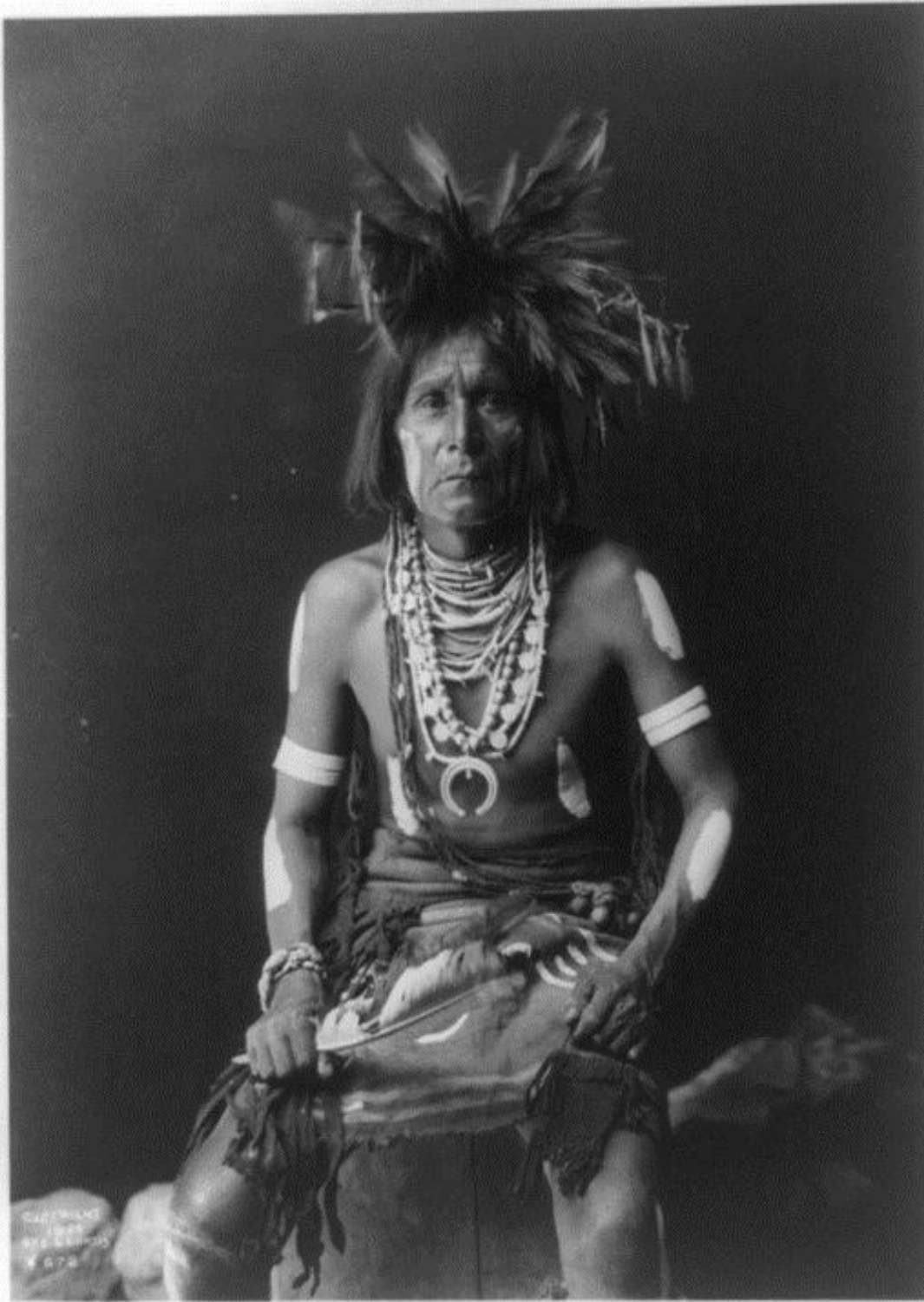


Figure 1.11. W. Taber, *The Moqui Indian Snake Dance*, c. 1891. Reproduced from Charles Lummis, *Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest* (New York: Century, 1892), 51, <http://archive.org/stream/somestrangecorne01lumm#page/50/mode/2up>, (accessed April 24, 2013). Possibly drawn from a photo by Vroman, *Circuit of Snake Priests, Wolpi*, shown below;

http://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=Page:The_Moki_snake_dance.djvu/20&oldid=4297418 (accessed February 7, 2014). Lummis did have what is “probably” a Vroman snake dance photo in his collection (now at Honnold/Mudd Library, Claremont Colleges, <http://ccdlib.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/ref/collection/gmc/id/44> (accessed February 7, 2014).

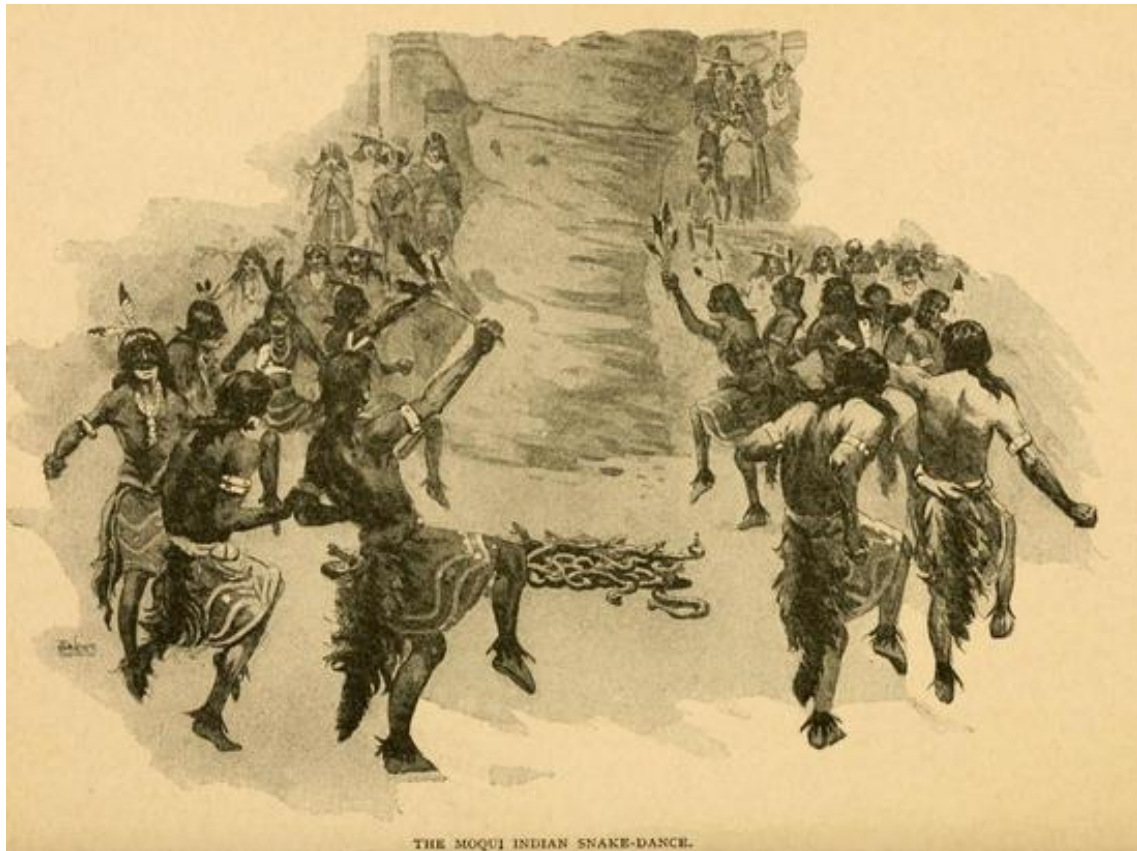


Figure 1.12. Simeon Schwemberger, *Shumopovi Prisoners*, November 1906. Arrested men from Fred Kabotie files with key. Reproduced in Kabotie and Belknap autobiography with the caption: "This picture, taken in the fall of 1906, shows our fathers and uncles after their arrest by the U.S. Army. The six who were sent to Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania are: Glen Chorswytewa, seated first on left; Archie Komaletstewa, seated fourth from left; Louis Tewanima, seated sixth from left; Washington Talayamtewa, seated first on right; Joshua Humiyistewa, standing seventh from right; and Andrew Humiquaptewa, standing third from right. The older men, including my [Fred Kabotie's] father, whose name was Lolomayoma, standing fifth from right, and Hostile leaders Tawahongniwa, seated second from left, and Youkeoma, standing ninth from left, were imprisoned for varying terms at Keams Canyon, Fort Wingate, or Florence. The man in uniform is probably the arresting officer. A Navajo policeman, left, stands with shouldered rifle." Kabotie family files. Courtesy of Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles; P.4027.



Figure 1.13. Fred Kabotie, *Destruction of San Bartolome Church at Shungopavi, Hopi*, 1976. Watercolor. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico/Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 54019/13. From Fred Kabotie and Bill Belknap, *Fred Kabotie: Hopi Indian Artist* (Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona and Northland Press, 1977), 123. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.

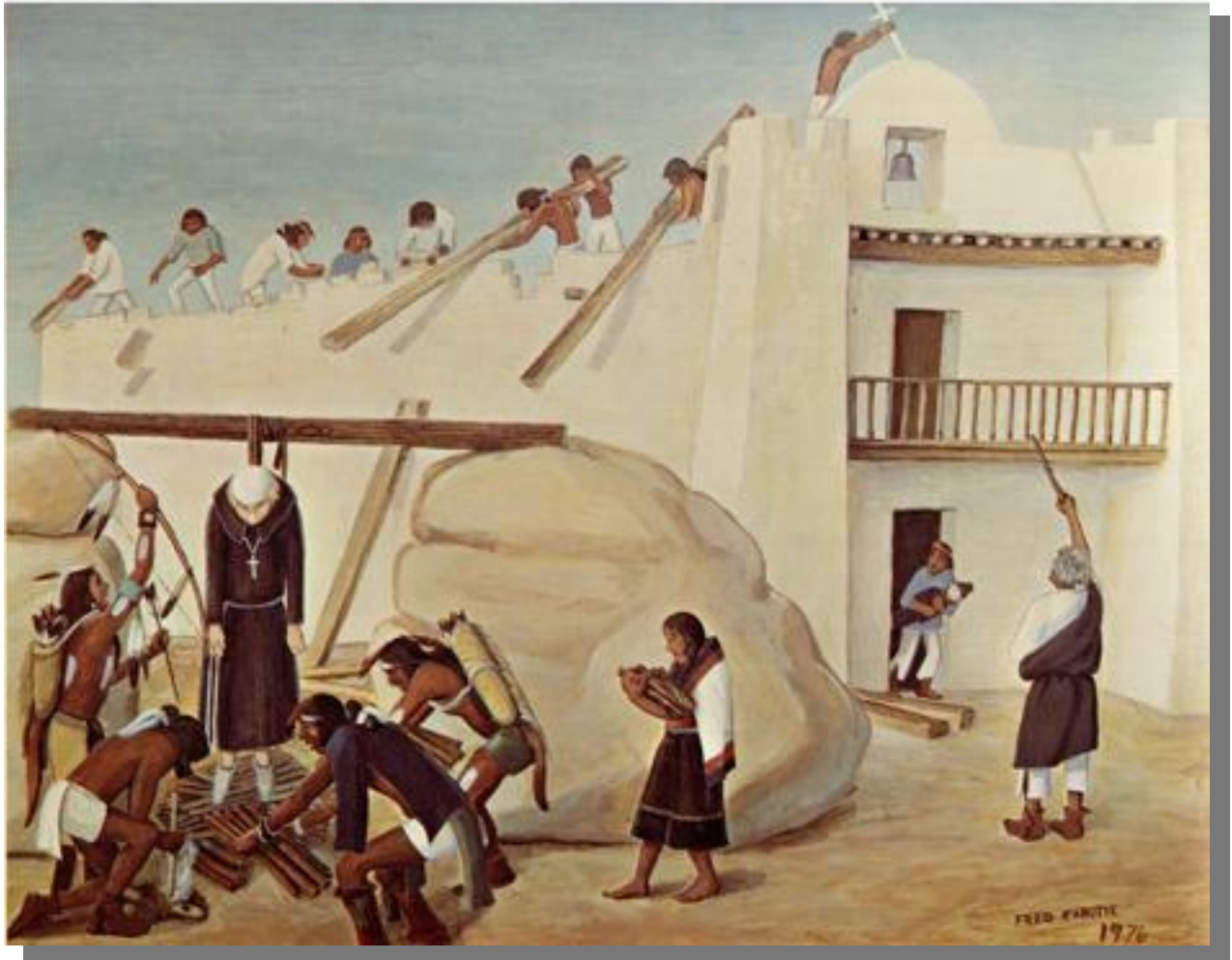


Figure 1.14. Jessica Welton, *Rock art, Hopi reservation, 2009*.



Figure 1.15. Above: [Pierce Arrow Touring Car by Fred Harvey public garage. Curly Ennis is third from left], c. 1922. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, 09045.

Below: [Fred Harvey tour buses parked in front of the Desert View Watchtower], c. 1938. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, 08141.

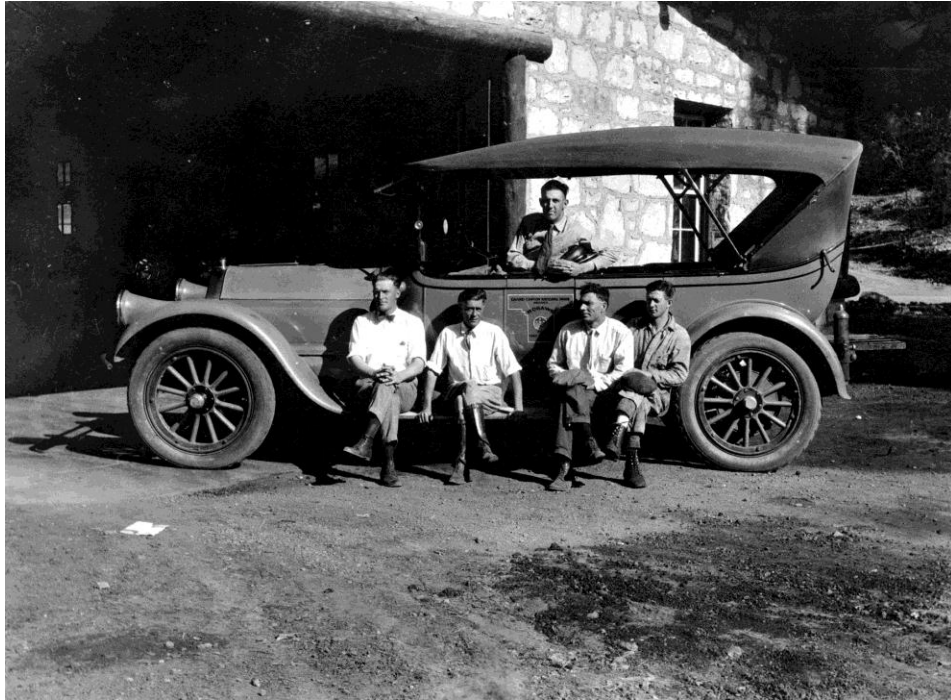


Figure 1.16. Detroit Publishing Company, [Hopi House main display rooms], c. 1905. Souvenirs could be purchased in department stores in major cities, but also at tourist stops along the railways, as well as in the growing number of Harvey gift shops. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, 25732.



Figure 1.17. Hance, [Hopi House main sales room], c. 1905. American Indian arts were bought and sold, imitated, and adapted to manufactured forms. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, 49398.



Figure 1.18. Detroit Publishing Company, [Hopi House retail display area], c. 1905. American Indian arts were bought and sold, imitated, and adapted to manufactured forms. Courtesy of Grand Canyon National Park, 49394.



Figure 1.19. Hopi weaving of Second Mesa, c. 1940s–50s. Artist unknown. Hand woven, 4 ply, embroidered design, 21 1/2in x 42in. Auctioned by R. G. Munn Auction LLC, 2007. Courtesy of R. G. Munn Auction LLC and <http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/3101413> (accessed March 12, 2012).



Figure 1.20. *Food Bowls from Shumopavi, Arizona*. Reproduced from Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins," Part 1 of *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900–1901* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), Plate LI.

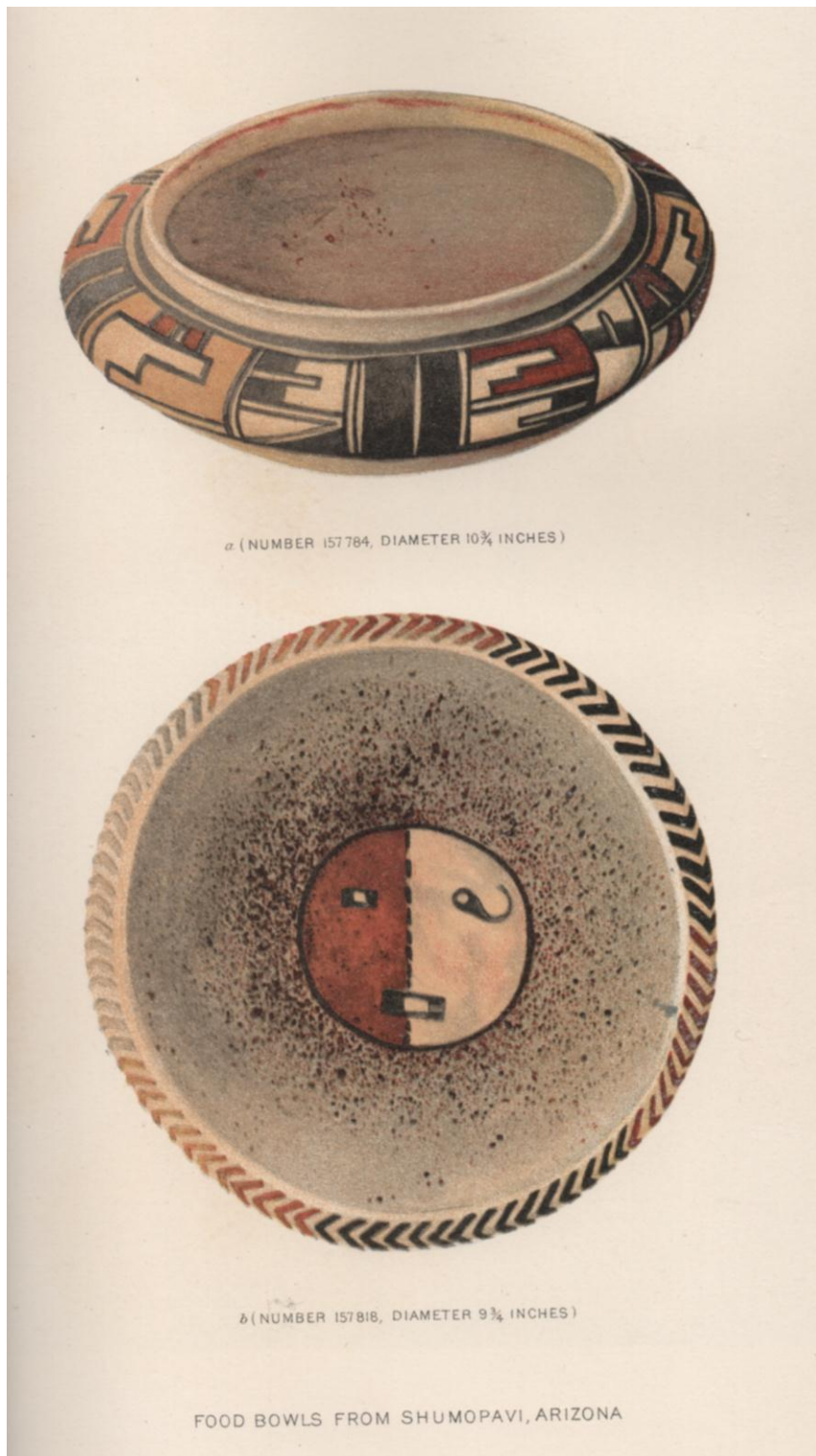


Figure 1.21. Milton Snow, *Jennes and Jean weaving Second Mesa type baskets—Mishongnovi*, April 1944. Black-and-white film, 4in x 5in. Courtesy of the Hopi Tribe, Milton Snow Collection, Northern Arizona University. HCPO.PH.2003.1.HC2.7.



Figure 1.22. Hopi, Butterfly dance headdress (tablita), undated. Painted wood, feathers; 23 1/2in. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 29, 2010).

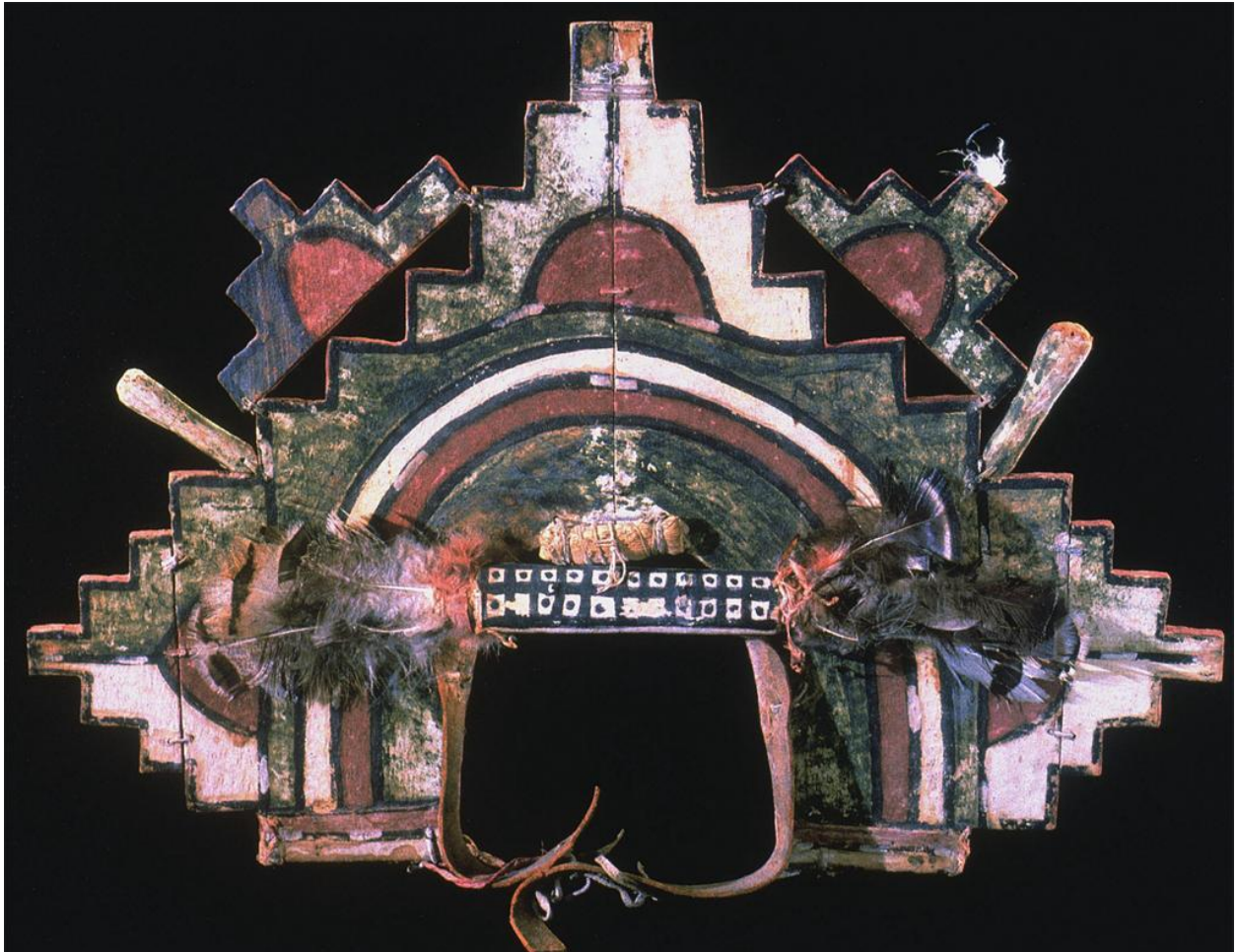


Figure 1.23. Katsina.tihu, Hopi Second Mesa version of Maak'katsina (Red Shirt Hunter Katsina), c. 1930. Artist unknown. Wood and paint, ht. 8 1/4in. From the Collection of Thomas Lull. Photograph courtesy Adobe Gallery (item #C3297C).



Figure 1.24. Emery Kolb, *Governor George W.P. Hunt and Theodore Roosevelt at Hopi Snake Dance*, 1913 or 1916. Glass plate negative, 5in x7in. Courtesy Northern Arizona University Cline Library, Emery Kolb Collection, NAU.PH.568.6227. YouTube video also available at <http://www.youtube.com/embed/mfmPGcyV7IM>

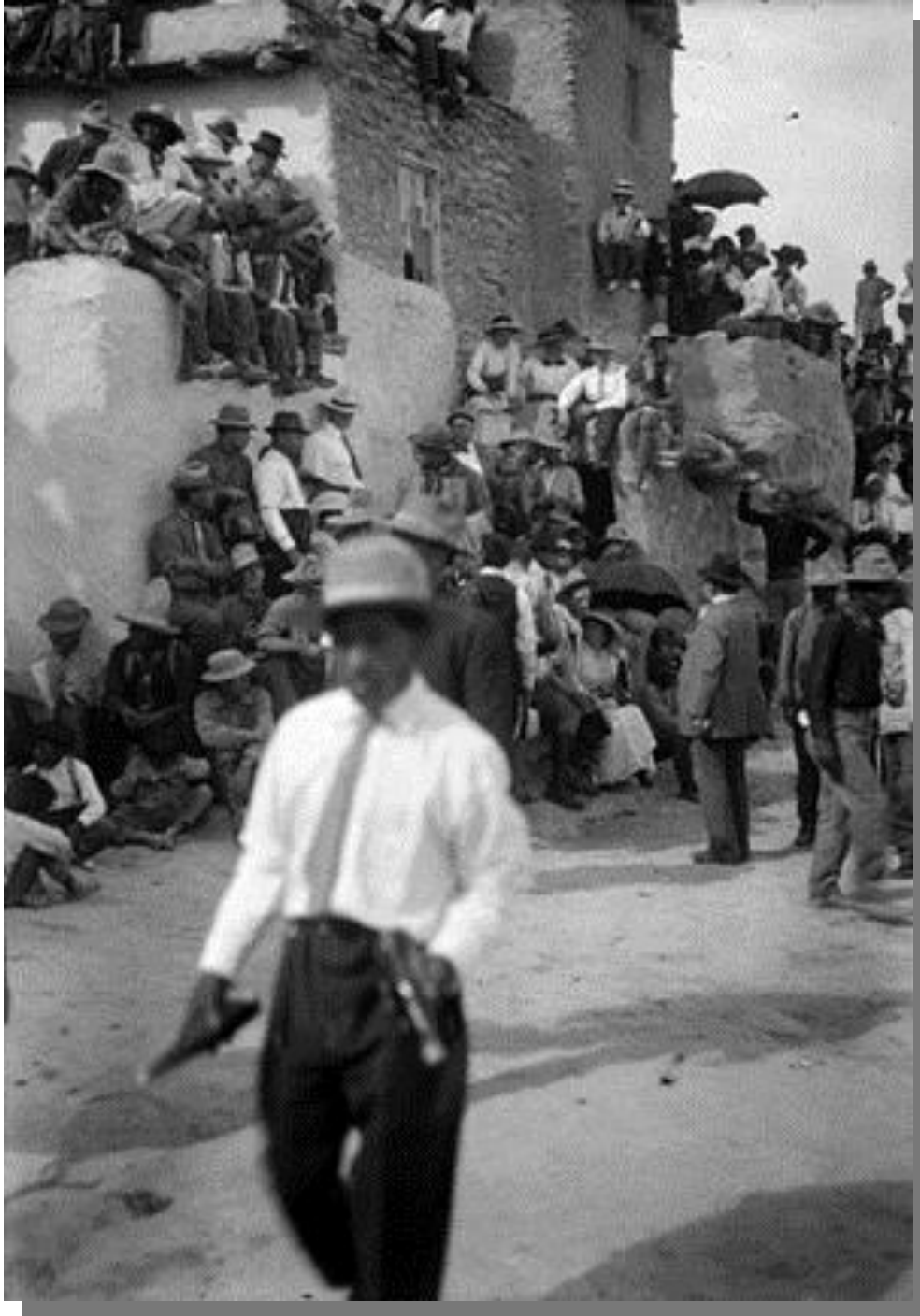


Figure 1.25. Adam Clark Vroman, *Interior of Mr. Hooker's House, Sichimovi*, 1902. Platinum print, 8 1/8in x 6 1/8in. Digital image courtesy of Getty's Open Content Program, 84.XM.472.2, <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=46427> (accessed January 3, 2014).

See also William Webb and Robert A. Weinstein, *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A.C. Vroman, 1895–1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973). Hooker was “governor” of Sichimovi, and according to Webb and Weinstein, his home depicts typical decoration in a Hopi home, with Katsinas especially noted. The author of this dissertation finds the partial mural on the left side of the photograph, showing only the rear half of a deer, painted directly on the wall, of far more interest.



Figure 1.26. Adam Clark Vroman, *An Oraibi Mother with Baby in Cradleboard*, c. 1900. Gelatin silver print, 8 1/2in x 6 1/2in. Gift of Mr. Charles F. Lummis. Courtesy of the Braun Research Library Collection, Autry National Center, Los Angeles; P.38142.



Figure 1.27. Edward S. Curtis, *The Weaver*, 1906. Photogravure, 14in x 18 1/2in. Photographs and illustrations inside Hopi homes and kivas (religious chambers) show a wealth of visual culture, including spectacular murals and elaborate altars, although again, one cannot be sure how much of this Kabotie saw before his initiation, either in person or in reproduction form. Reproduced from Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: The Hopi, Portfolio 12* (Cambridge, MA: The University Press, 1922), courtesy of Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.award/iencurt.ct12> (accessed January 23, 2014).

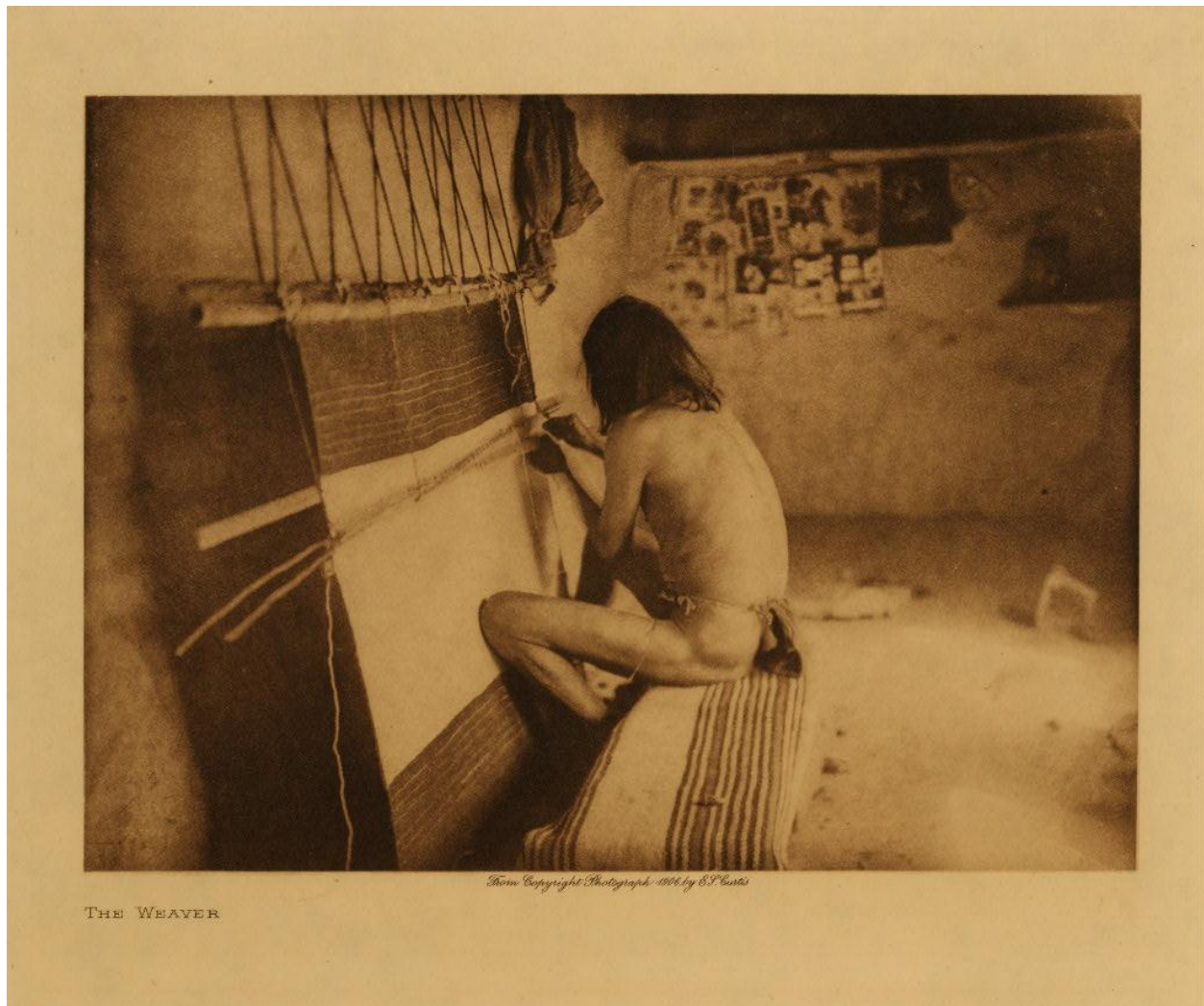


Figure 1.28. Adam Clark Vroman, *Lesho trying moccasins on Vroman*, 1901. Negative, 6 1/2in x 8 1/2in. Lesho was Nampeyo's husband, and some of her work is on display in the background. Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, V-679.



Figure 1.29. *J.J.M. in Polacca house*, 1905. Photographer unknown. Photographic print, 3 3/8in x 5 1/2in. Photographer and artist Jo Mora lived with the Hopi for several years in the early 1900s. This photograph is of him in his home there. He has assumed a Hopi decorating scheme. Courtesy of Northern Arizona University Cline Library, Jo Mora Collection, NAU.PH.86.1.414.



Figure 1.30. Adam Clark Vroman, *The Blue Flute Altar*, Mishongnovi, 1902. Photographic print. Vroman, as one of the few white men initiated into Hopi society (at least in his mind), took many important early photographs of Hopi homes and kivas. Reproduced from William Webb and Robert A. Weinstein, *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A.C. Vroman, 1895–1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 90, V-587 (53).

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisor Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.31. Horace S. Poley, *Interior of ancient snake kiva, weaver making blanket. Moki Indians, Walpi Pueblo*, 1899. Glass plate negative, 8in x 10in. Courtesy of the Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, P-99.

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisor Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.32. Hartwell & Hamaker, [Sand painting in kiva], c. 1899. Photographic print. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ds-04550, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2013650083/> (accessed January 13, 2014).

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisor Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.33. *Antelope Altar at Mishongnovi* c. 1899. Reproduced from Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Tusayan Flute and Snake Ceremonies," in *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1897–98* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900), 966, plate XLVI, <http://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu219smit> (accessed January 24, 2014).

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisor Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 1.34. Winuta, *Nakopan Personages*, c. 1900. Fewkes commissioned katsina figures. Reproduced from Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas, Drawn by Native Artists," in *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Smithsonian Institution 1899-1900* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), Plate LIV, <https://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu21smit> (accessed January 3, 2014).



Figure 1.35. *Natacka Namü, Kumbi Natacka, and Kutca Natacka*, c. 1900. Artist unknown. Fewkes commissioned katsina figures. Reproduced from Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas," Plate IX).



Figure 1.36. *Koroctû*, c. 1900. Artist unknown. Fewkes commissioned katsina figure. Reproduced from Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas," plate LXI.



Figure 1.37. *Pakiokwik, Ke Towa Bisena, and Turumsi*, c. 1900. Artist unknown. Fewkes commissioned katsina figures. Reproduced from Fewkes, "Hopi Katsinas," plate LXII.



Figure 1.38. Fred Kabotie (1900-1986), *Study for Watchtower Mural at Desert View, Grand Canyon*, c. 1932. Tempera and watercolor, 13in x 9in. Courtesy of the New Mexico Museum of Art, Gift of Steve and Dottie Diamant, 2004, 2004.12.1. See the following figure from John G. Bourke's book, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona. Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona* (London, Sampson Low, 1884), for its reproductions of Hopi altars. Kabotie was either looking at Bourke or saw similar Germinator figures elsewhere. We know he utilized images from archaeological books later in life (see Welton thesis); he may well have been doing so here.



Figure 1.39. *Decoration Upon Wall of Estúfa*, c. 1884. Artist unknown. Reproduced from Bourke, *Snake-Dance of the Moquis*, plate XXIV.

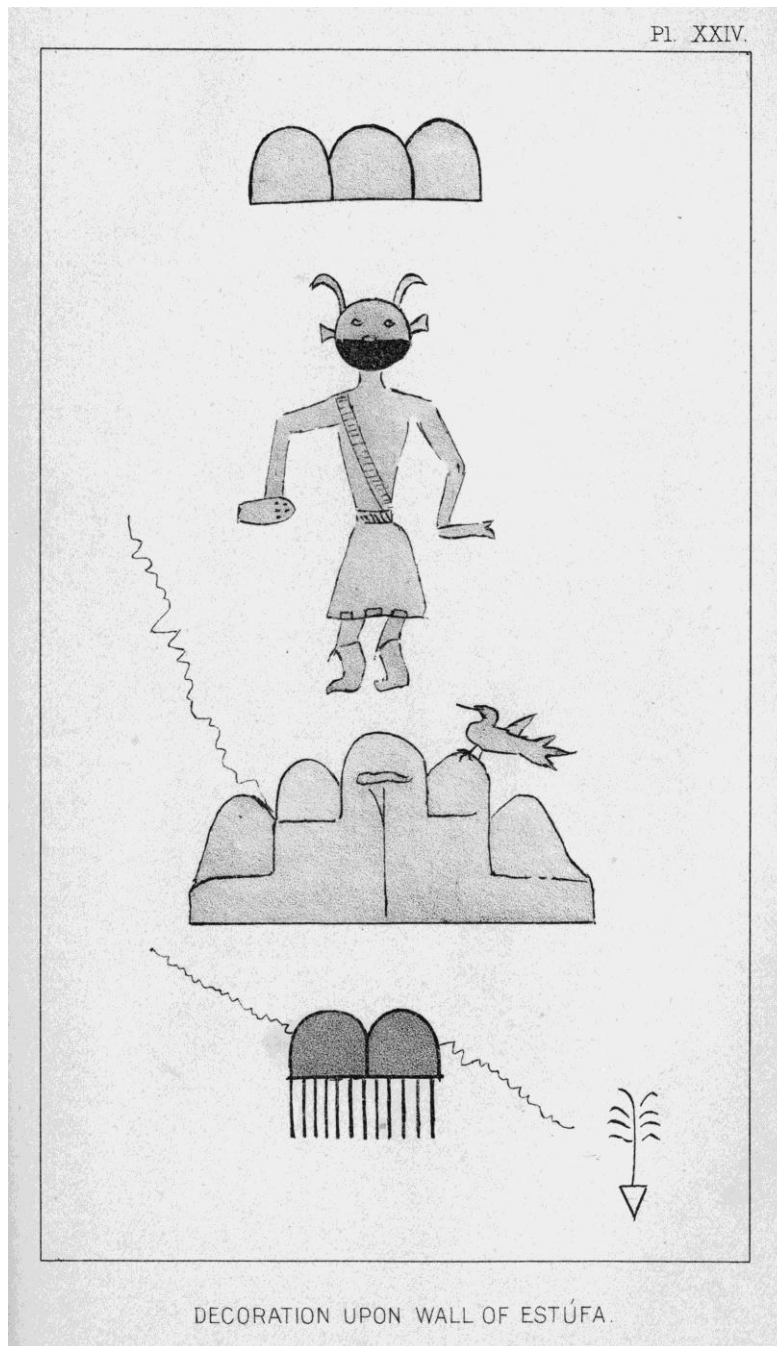


Figure 1.40. Henry Peabody, *Nampeyo, Hopi Pottery, Seated, with Examples of Her Work*, c. 1900. American Indian arts were bought and sold, imitated, and adapted to manufactured forms. Courtesy of National Archives, American Indian Select List 145, NARA 520084, reproduced from <http://research.archives.gov/description/520084> (accessed January 3, 2014).



Figure 1.41. Hopi pottery in the intricate Sikyatki style, which was adapted by potter Nampeyo, ca. 1350 to 1625. 9 29/64in. diameter. Keams Canyon, Navajo County, AZ, ASM-4138, Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, "Nampeyo Showcase." http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/nampeyo/sikyatki_2.shtml (Accessed January 16, 2014).



Figure 1.42. Hopi pottery in the intricate Sikyatki style, which was adapted by potter Nampeyo, ca. 1350–1625. 16 3/16 in. diameter. Keams Canyon, Navajo County, AZ, Gift of Gila Pueblo Foundation, 1950. Alice F. McAdams Collection, GP4730. Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, “Nampeyo Showcase.”

<http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/nampeyo/gallery.shtml> (Accessed January 16, 2014). It is interesting to also compare this to the abstract mural excavated at Awatovi / Kuwaika-a, figure 1.8.



Figure 1.43. Nampeyo (presumed), [Polychrome jar], c. 1920. 16 17/32in. diameter. Gila Pueblo Foundation purchase from Commercial Hotel, Holbrook, collected 1928, ASM 6217. Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, "Nampeyo Showcase," <http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/nampeyo/details/gp6217.shtml> (accessed August 4, 2014).

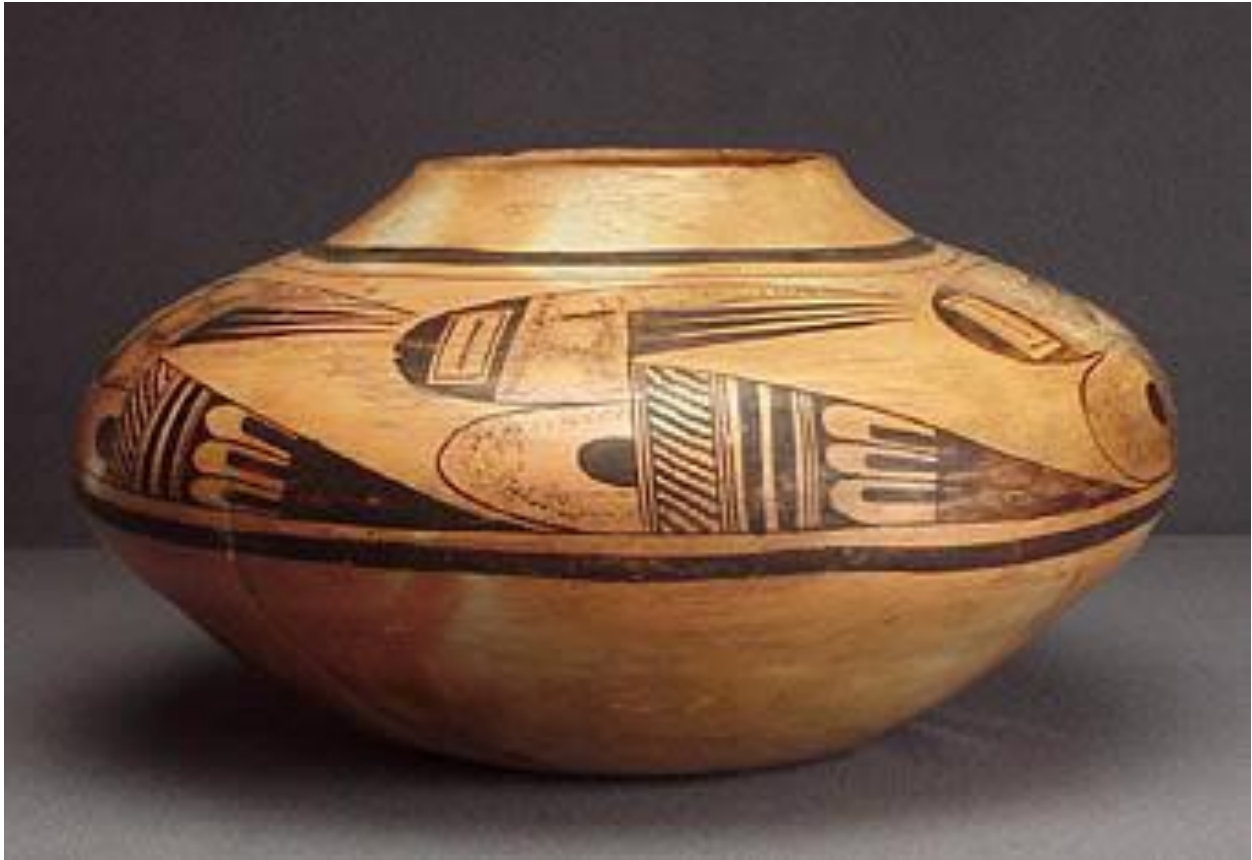


Figure 1.44. Nampeyo, Hopi Revival pottery: polychrome jar with abstracted eagle motifs], c. 1900–1910. 11 1/6in diameter. Matthew Howell Collection, ASM E-8996. Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, “Nampeyo Showcase,” <http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/nampeyo/details/e-8996.shtml> (accessed August 4, 2014).



Figure 1.45. Nampeyo, Hopi Revival, large polychrome olla with Hopi migration design], c. 1930. 19 7/8 in. diameter. Gift of Mrs. Edward Danson, ASM 792. Courtesy of Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, "Nampeyo Showcase," <http://www.statemuseum.arizona.edu/exhibits/nampeyo/details/e-792.shtml> (accessed August 4, 2014).



Figure 1.46. Nampeyo, Hano Water Jar, late 19th century. 6 1/2in x 12 1/2in. Courtesy of Faust Gallery, http://www.faustgallery.com/dynamic/artwork_detail.asp?ArtworkID=2122 (accessed March 14, 2012).



Figure 1.47. Nampeyo, Hopi Revival pottery, undated. Courtesy of the Museum of Northern Arizona, E156, Marc Gaede.



Figure 2.1. “Keep the wall covering in subdued design or solid color, and balance the pictures for each wall space in a group,” c. 1921. Photographer unknown. Reproduced from Sherril Schell, “Picture Hanging and Ornaments: The Art of Hanging Pictures,” in *Distinctive Homes of Moderate Cost*, ed. Henry H. Saylor (New York: Robert M. McBride, 1921), 99; <http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924014088987> (accessed January 17, 2014).

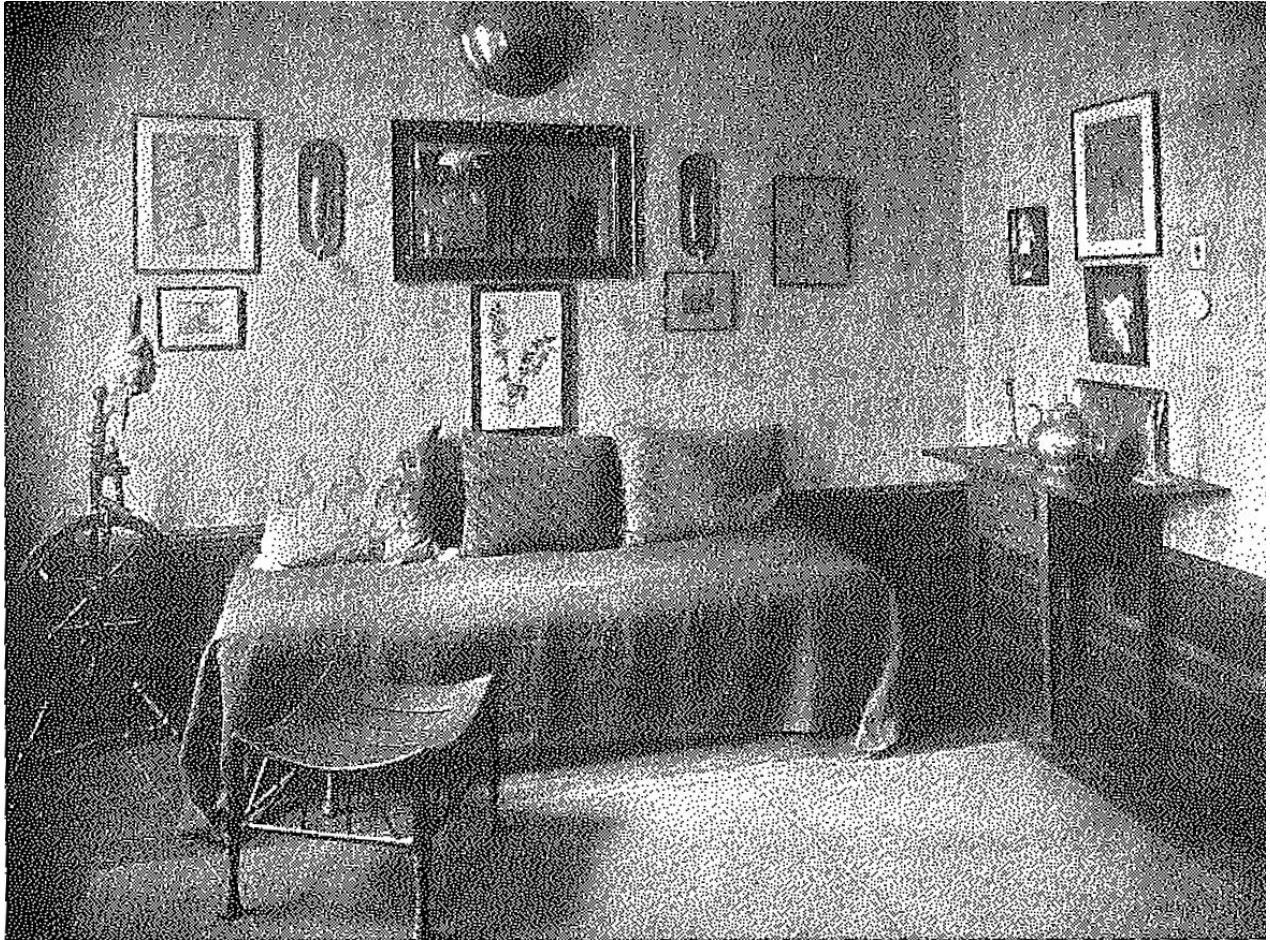
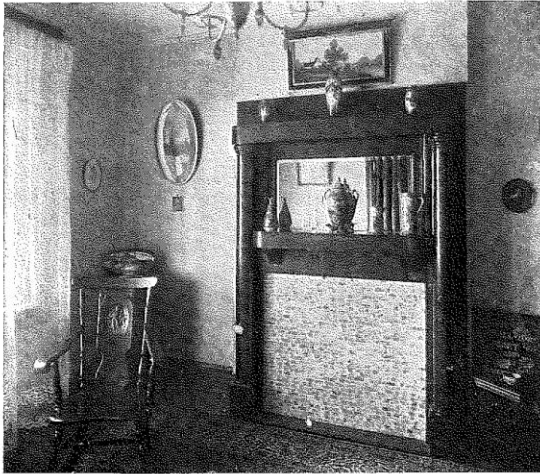
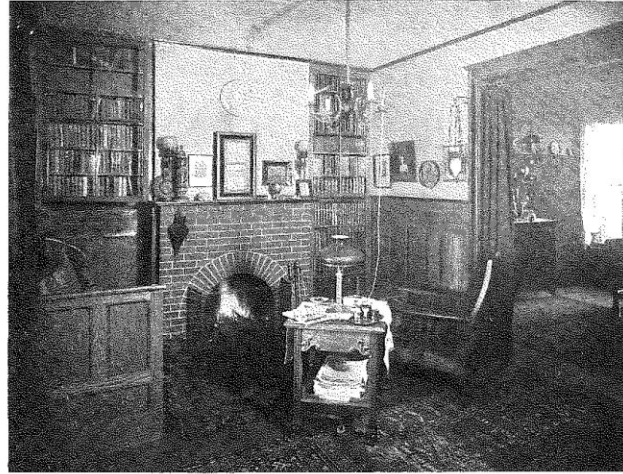


Figure 2.2. C. H. Claudy, *Interiors*, c. 1910. Reproduced from C. H. Claudy, "The City House and What Can Be Done With It," *House and Garden* (September 1910), 155.



This is the sort of monstrosity you will probably find in the "parlor" unless you insist upon a real fireplace



In the reception hall we succeeded in getting a real fireplace flanked by book-shelves and a built-in seat

Figure 2.3. Above: "View in Entrance Hall of O. W. Meysenburg, Chicago, Thomas and Rapp, Architects," *The Home Decorator and Furnisher* 2 (June 1898), 99. Below: Table of Contents, Masthead image, *House and Garden* (September 1910), 155.



VIEW OF ENTRANCE HALL IN RESIDENCE OF MR.
O. W. MEYSENBURG, CHICAGO, ILL.
THOMAS & RAPP, ARCHTS.

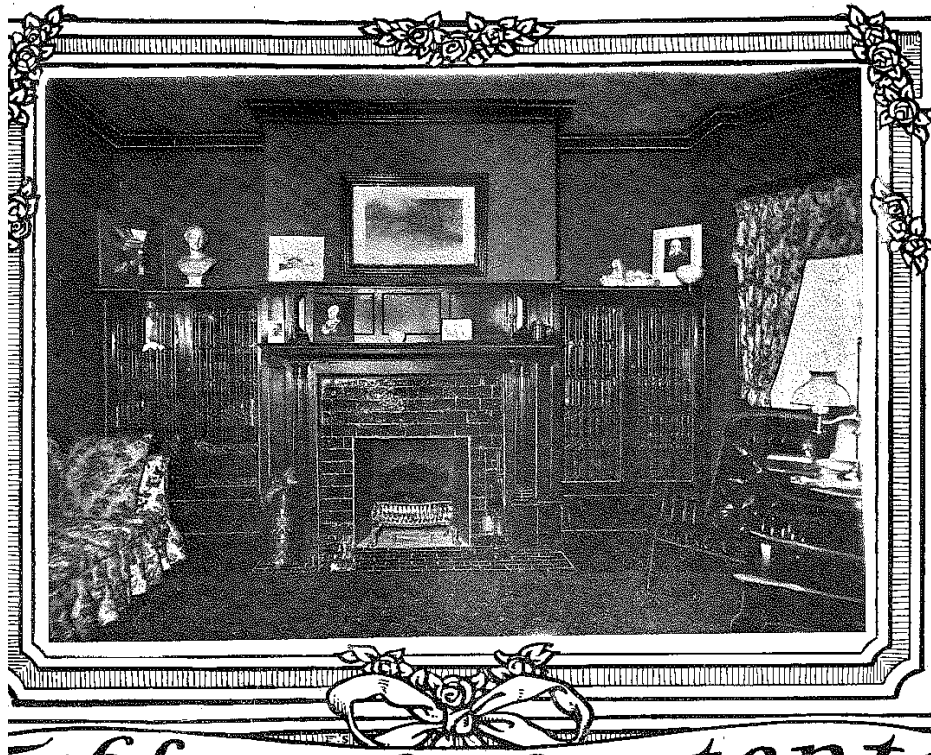


Figure 2.4. [Jennie Smith, Elizabeth Willis's art instructor at the Lucy Cobb Academy], c. 1875. Photographer unknown. Fair Use (Reproduced from Phinizy Spalding, ed., *Higher Education for Women in the South: A History of Lucy Cobb Institute, 1858–1994* (Athens: Georgia Southern Press, 1994). n.p. Friends of Lucy Cobb School, PO Box 5953, Athens, Ga 30604).



Miss Jennie Smith as a student c. 1875, long time art teacher and head of the art department at Lucy Cobb.

Figure 2.5. Pages from Elizabeth Willis DeHuff high school scrapbook, undated. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 1), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.



Figure 2.6. Page from Elizabeth Willis DeHuff high school sketchbook. undated. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 1), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. Photograph by author.

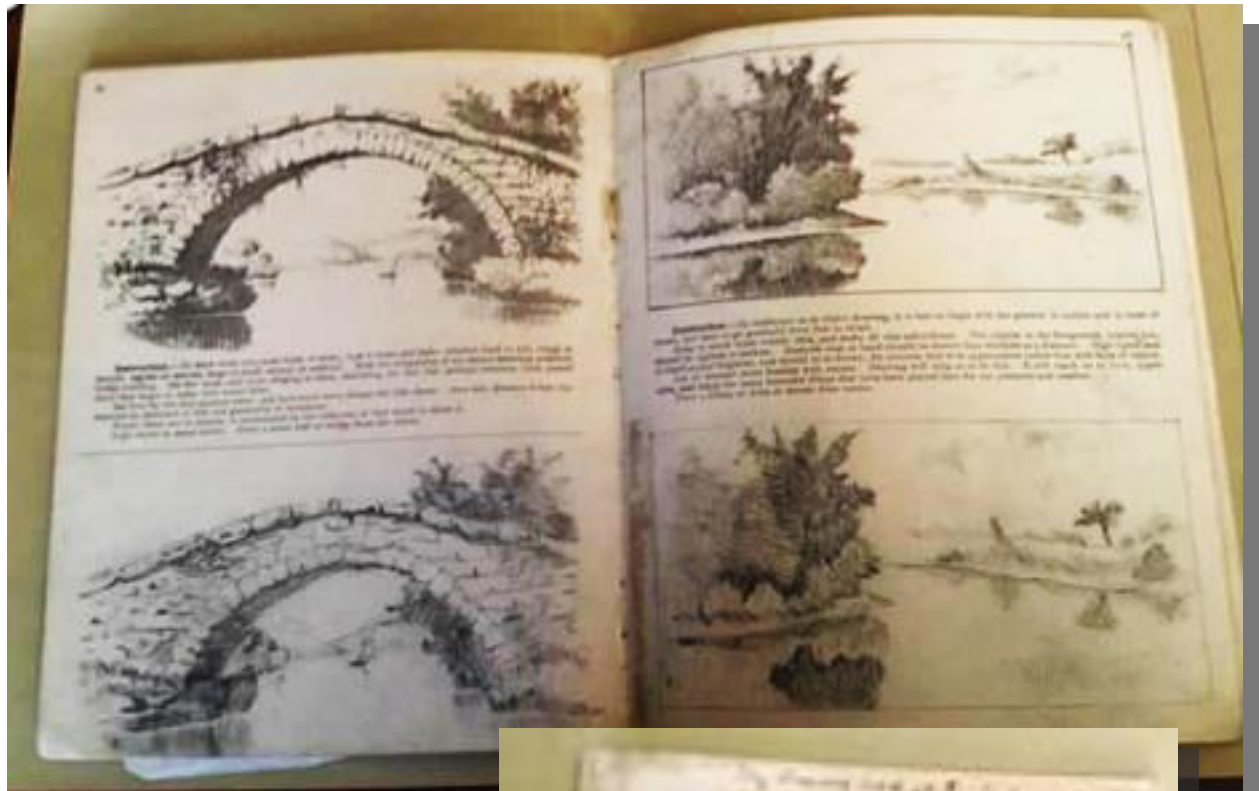


Figure 2.7. A page from Arthur Wesley Dow, *Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers* (1899), (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916), 48 (reproduced from <http://books.google.com> (accessed October 30, 2012)); alongside a complementary *The Craftsman* magazine cover.

**LINE
VI.—LAND-
SCAPE COM-
POSITION**

be brought in, as a help in arranging sizes and shapes. There is a certain beauty in a contrast of large and small. It is the opposite of Monotony. For instance, compare a street where there is variety in the sizes of buildings and trees, with another of rows of dull ugly blocks. Ranges of hills, spires and pinnacles, clumps of large and small trees, clusters of haystacks, illustrate this idea in landscape.

EXERCISE

To discover the best arrangement, and to get the utmost experience in line and

space composition, the landscape should be set into several boundaries of differing proportions, as in Chapter V, and as shown in the examples, keeping the essential lines of the subject, but varying them to fit the boundary. For instance, a tree may be made taller in a high vertical space than in a low horizontal space, (No. 37 below).

After working out this exercise the pupil may draw a landscape from nature and treat it in the same way. Let him rigorously exclude detail, drawing only the outlines of objects.



No. 37 A Landscape, in three proportions

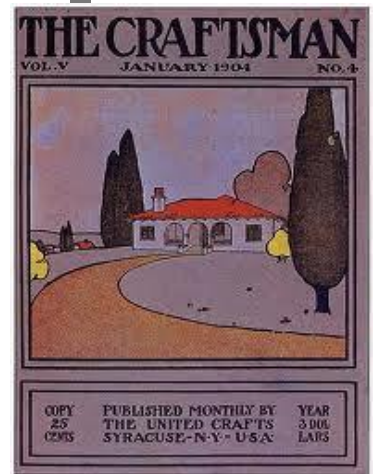


Figure 2.8: [Probably Georgia O’Keeffe’s classroom, West Texas State Normal College], c. 1917–1918. Photographer unknown. From album owned by West Texas State Normal College president Joseph A. Hill. Courtesy Panhandle-Plains Historical Society Museum, Canyon, Texas, 220/37-7.



Figure 2.9. Arthur Wesley Dow (1857–1922), *The Grand Canyon*, c. 1911–12. Oil on canvas, 26in x 36in. Signed lower right: Arthur W. Dow. Private collection. Photograph courtesy Spanierman Gallery, LLC, New York.



Figure 2.10. William Glackens, *The Green Car in Washington Square*, 1910. Oil on canvas, 24in x 32in. Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Arthur Hoppock Hearn Fund, 1937 (37.73). Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 6, 2014).



Figure 2.11. Alfred Stieglitz, *Old and New New York*, 1910. Photogravure, 8in x 6 1/4in. Courtesy of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 64.34.36.6. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 6, 2014).



Figure 3.1. Tausug people, Sulu Archipelago, Philippines, *Man's headcloth [pis siyabit]*, early 20th century. Silk, dyes. 33 1/2in x 35 1/2in. Courtesy of National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, Purchased 1984, Acc. No. 84.1225.



Figure 3.2. Punamhan (Northern Philippine Ritual Box), early 20th century. Ifugao peoples, Luzon, The Philippines. Wood, 9.5in x 26.5in x 8.5in. Purchased from Farrow Fine Art Gallery, San Rafael, CA. Courtesy of James and Eileen Lecce Ethnic Art Collection, Gregg Museum of Art & Design, Arts NC State, 2009.032.001ab.



Figure 3.3. Icon. *The Burial of Christ*, 19th century. Oil on molave wood, 40 15/16in. Bohol. San Agustin Museum, MNIL. Reproduced from <http://tumblr.co/ZbxrzvVpurzB> (accessed January 17, 2014).

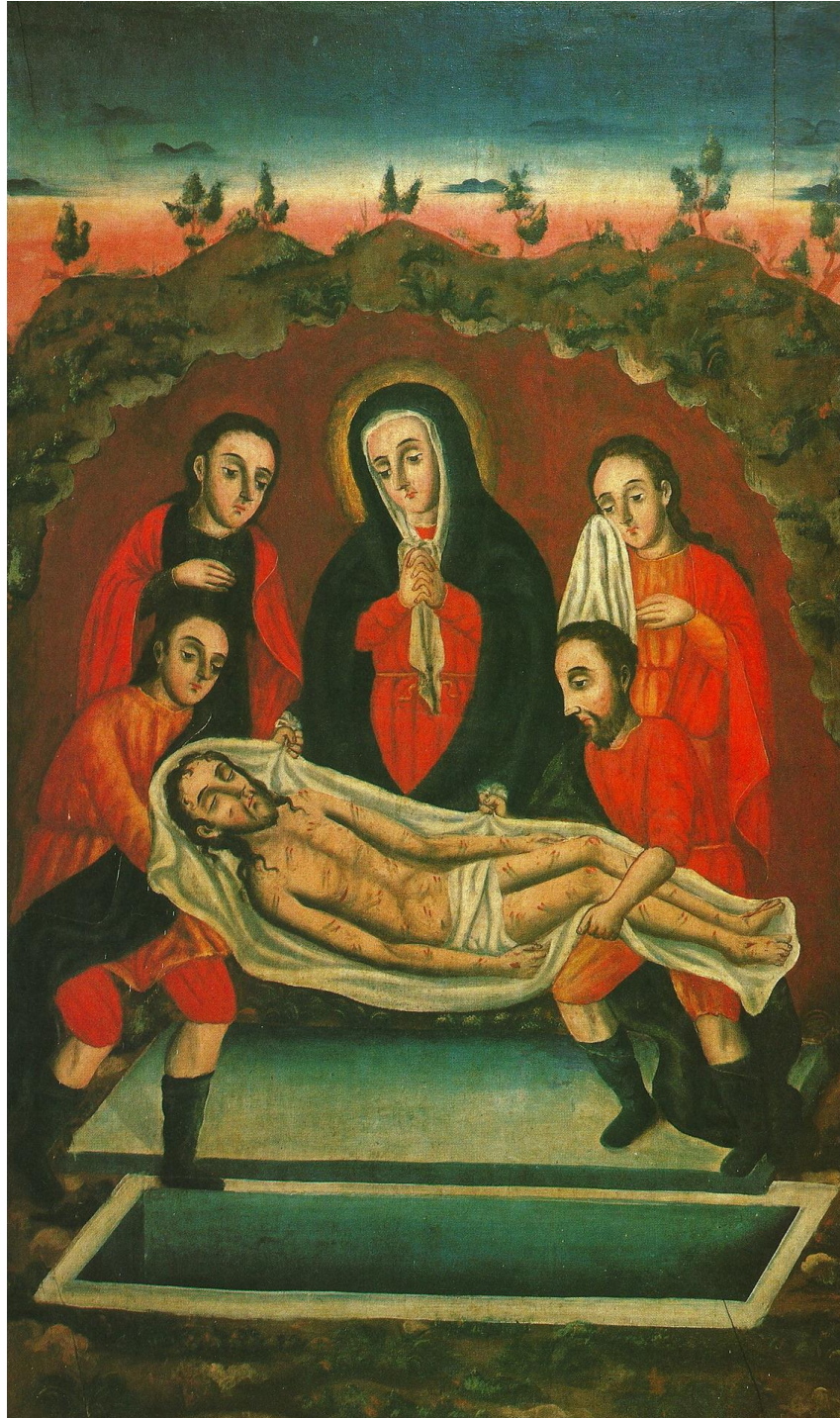


Figure 4.1. Making Medicine, *Two Young Cheyenne Warriors*, c. 1875–78. Ledger drawing; pencil, colored ink, and crayon, 6 1/4in x 7 3/4in. Courtesy of Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1996.27.0537.

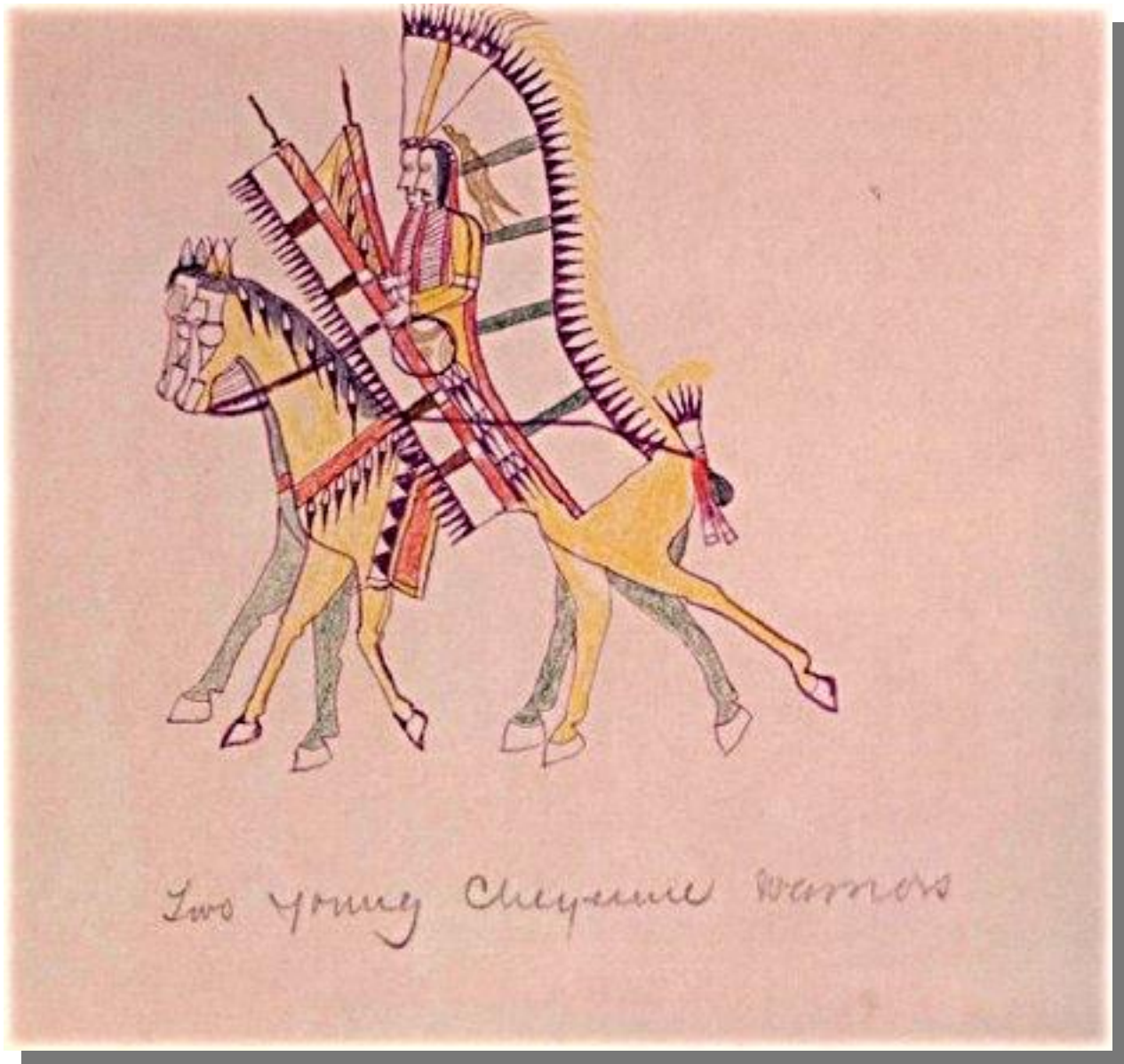


Figure 4.2. Making Medicine, *Indians Shingling Their Barracks, Ft. Marion, c. 1875–78*. Detail. Ledger drawing; pencil, colored ink, and crayon, 6 1/4in x 7 3/4in. Courtesy of Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1996.27.0525.

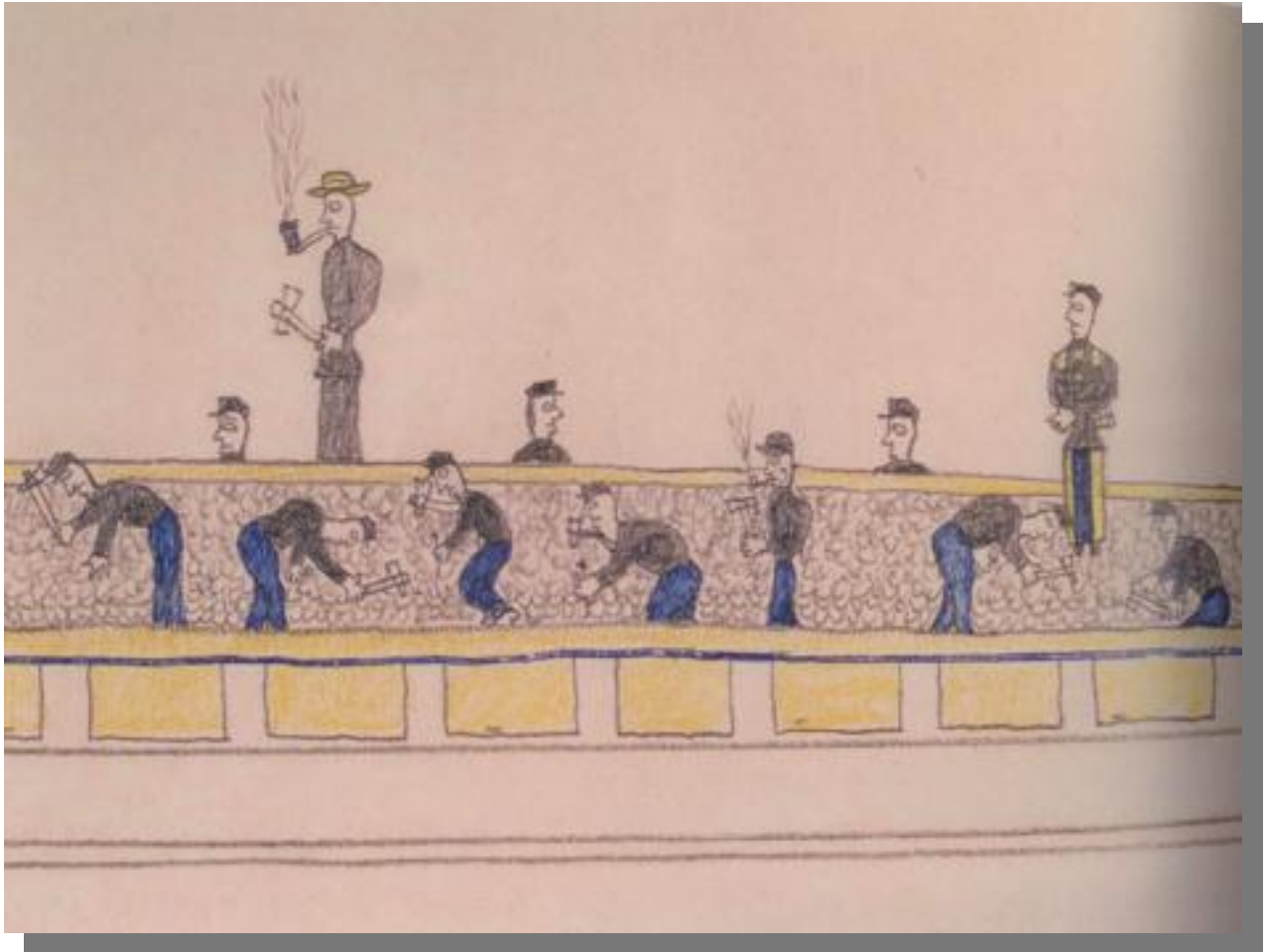


Figure 4.3 Making Medicine, *U.S. Artillery Officers*, c. 1875–78. Ledger drawing; pencil, colored ink, and crayon, 6.25in x7.75in. Courtesy of Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1996.027.0523.

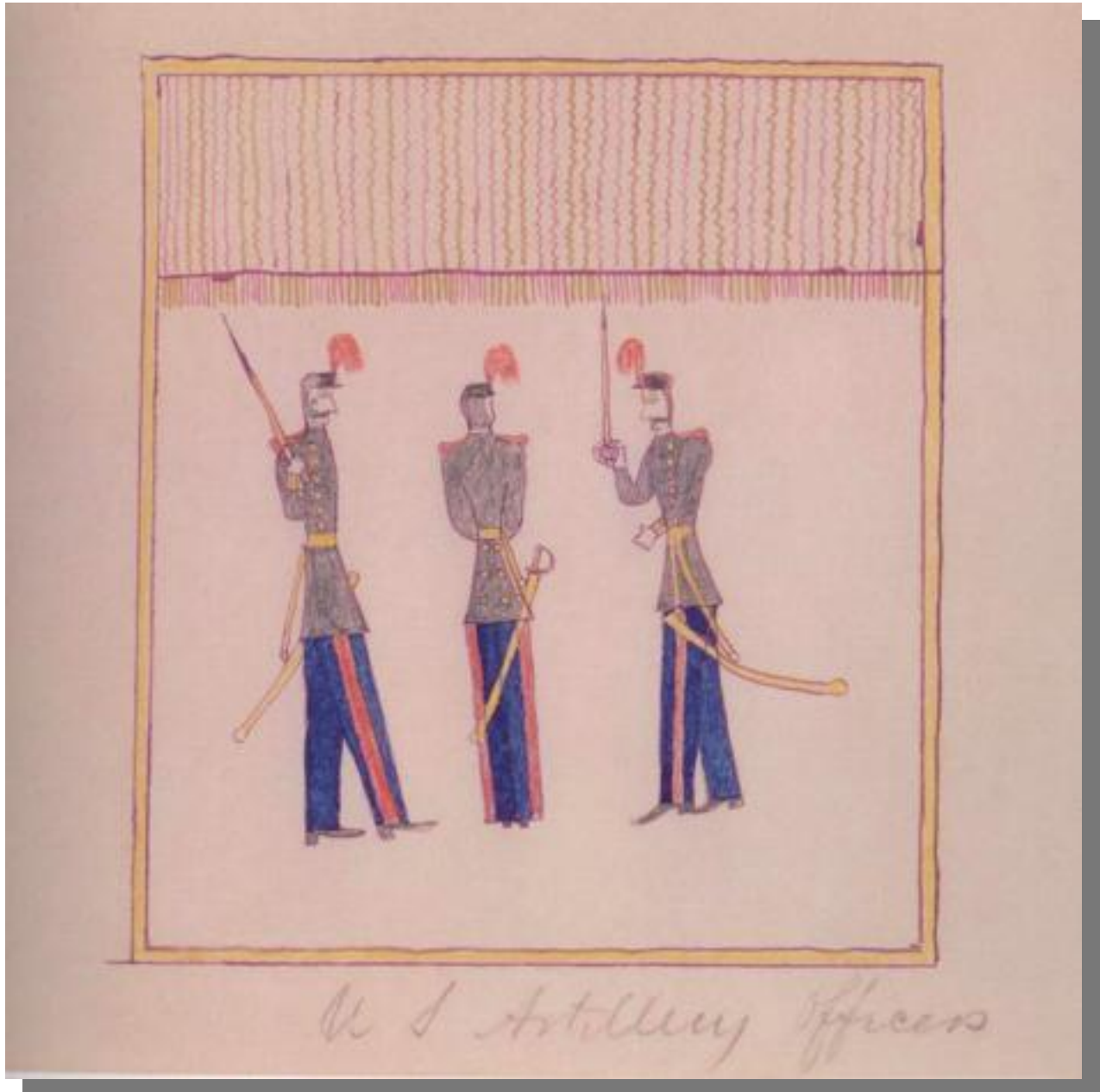


Figure 4.4. Above: Zotum, *A Dance in Ft. Marion*, c. 1875–78. Ledger drawing; pencil and crayon, 8 1/2in x 10 1/2in. Courtesy of Arthur and Shifra Silberman Collection, © Dickinson Research Center, National Cowboy & Western Heritage Museum, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1996.17.0192A. Below: Wo-Haw (Kiowa): *Classroom at Fort Marion*, 1875–77. Pencil and crayon on paper, 8 3/4in x 11 1/4in. Courtesy Missouri History Museum, St. Louis. 1882.018.0015.

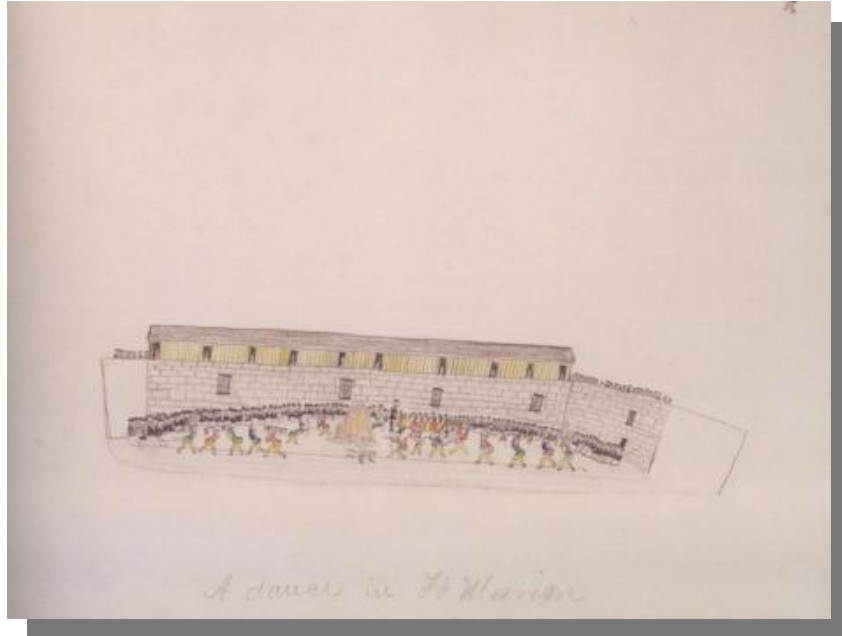


Figure 4.5. Above: [Chiricahua Apache students as they arrived from Fort Marion, Florida], November 4, 1886. Below: [The same students four months later]. Photographer unknown. Both images courtesy Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, neg. nos. 12-24-1 (above) and 12-25-1.



Figure 4.6. Photography was not the only method of showing before and after. Charles Ohetoint's Carlisle drawings of a boy in "Indian" dress and in military uniform, 1880. Drawings, 4in x 6 3/4in. Courtesy of Richard Henry Pratt papers, WA MSS S-1174, folder 768, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/> (accessed March 7, 2014).



Figure 4.7. [Three Navajo students before and after their arrival at school], undated. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, neg. nos. CS-CH-72-1 (left) and PA-CH1-30a-1.



Figure 4.8. John N. Choate, *Tom Torlino, Navajo, before and after his arrival at Carlisle Indian School, c. 1882*. Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration, RG 75, series 1327, box 18, 872. Reproduced from Carlisle Indian Industrial School web page, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/images/> (accessed March 9, 2014).



Figure 4.9 Haskell Institute students on parade floats, labeled as Indians of the Past, 1492 to 1620, and Indians of the Present, 1920, Lawrence, Kansas, 1920. Photographer unknown. Both images reproduced from kansasmemory.org, Kansas State Historical Society, #210601 and 210602 (accessed January 24, 2014).



Figure 4.10. Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Classroom instruction in art, United States Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.*, between 1901 and 1903. Black-and-white film copy negative. Courtesy of Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-11583, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c15831> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.11. Hampton Institute dorm room, c. 1881. Artist unknown. Reproduced from Helen Wilhemina Ludlow, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," *Harper's*, April 1881, 659-75.

permanent benefit of her Indian sisters. With this desire she offered her services to speak at the East in behalf of a project of some Northern friends of the school to enlarge its work by erecting a building for Indian girls, to cost, complete and furnished, \$15,000. A beautiful site adjoining the school premises, and now inclosed in them, was given as a generous send-off by a lady friend. It will give room for the training of at least fifty more Indian girls at Hampton, thus effecting the desired balance of the sexes. The Secretary of the Interior has signified his readiness to send them from the agencies with the same appropriation as for the boys, of \$150 per year apiece. There is every assurance of their readiness now to come. It is for the friends of the Indians to decide whether Hampton's work for them shall be thus rounded and established, and the timid prayer be heard, "I wish I like that."

Carlisle, Pennsylvania, like Hampton, Virginia, is classic ground in American history. Under the shade of its unbroken forests Benjamin Franklin met the red men in council. A British military post in the Revolution, and falling into the hands of the Continentals, the Hessian-built guard-house is still shown as once the place of André's confinement, before his greater disaster.

The last and greatest change of fortune, which has filled the empty armories with ploughshares and pruning-hooks, and the soldiers' quarters with a government school for Indian children—as if the spirit of the earliest and sacredest of Indian treaties still lingered in the groves of Penn.—was brought about through a bill introduced in the winter of 1879 in the House of Representatives, entitled "A bill to increase educational privileges and establish additional industrial training schools for the benefit of youth belonging to such nomadic Indian tribes as

have educational treaty claims upon the United States." It provided for the utilization for such school purposes of certain vacant military posts and barracks as long as not required for military occupation, and authorized the detail of army officers by the Secretary of War for service in such schools, without extra pay, under direction of the Secretary of the Interior.

The House Committee on Indian Affairs, in favorably reporting upon this



LITTLE INDIAN GIRL IN HER ROOM.

bill, urged that the government had made treaty stipulations specially providing for education with nomadic tribes, including about seventy-one thousand Indians, having over twelve thousand children of school age; that the treaties were made in 1868, and in ten years less than one thousand children had received schooling. It was further urged that "the effort in this direction recently undertaken and in successful progress at the Industrial and Normal Institute of Hampton, Virginia, furnishes a striking proof of the natural aptitude and capacity of the rudest savages of the plains for mechanical, scientific, and industrial education, when removed from parental and tribal surroundings and influences"; and that "the very considerable number of agents, teachers,

Figure 4.12. Hampton Institute classroom, c. 1881. Artist unknown. Reproduced from Helen Wilhemina Ludlow, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," *Harper's*, April 1881, 659-75.



NEEDS AND INDIAN BOYS AT HAMPTON.

encouragement in their power. The result of their inspection was the decision of government to take an active part in the effort it had sanctioned.

Six months after the St. Augustine were received, there was therefore a second Indian raid on Hampton Institute, consisting of forty-nine young Dakotas, chiefly Sioux, with a few Mandans, Beas, and Gros Ventres, for each of whom the United States stood pledged to appropriate \$267, reduced subsequently to \$150, yearly, while it should keep them at the school. This appropriation is the extent of United States aid to Hampton, which is not, as some have supposed, a government school, but a private corporation, supported chiefly by Northern benevolence. The school agreed on its part to supply the deficiency of the government appropriation, amounting to from \$60 to \$70 a year, on an average, for each of the Indian students who are on its hands for the whole year round, and to put up the needed buildings, which it has done, at a cost thus far of \$14,000. Nine of the sixty-dollar scholarships are given by the American Missionary Association of New York, and the rest have been made up by friends, of different sects and sections.

The school consented to undertake this large addition to the new mission which had come unsought to its hands, on condition that half of the fifty to be brought should be girls. Indian views of woman's sphere interfered with this condition for the time, however. As Captain Pratt says: "The girls, from six years of age up to marriage, are expected to help their mothers in the work. They are too valuable in the capacity of drudges during the years they should be at school to be spared to go. Another equally important obstacle is the fact that the girls constitute a part of the material wealth of the family, and bring, in open market, after arriving at marriageable age, a certain price in horses or other valuable property. The parents fully realize that education will elevate their girls away from this property consideration." The captain, who collected the party, was able, therefore, to bring only nine girls and forty boys, of ages ranging from nine to nineteen years, with one exception of a mother, who could not trust so far away the pretty little girl she wished to save from a life like her own.

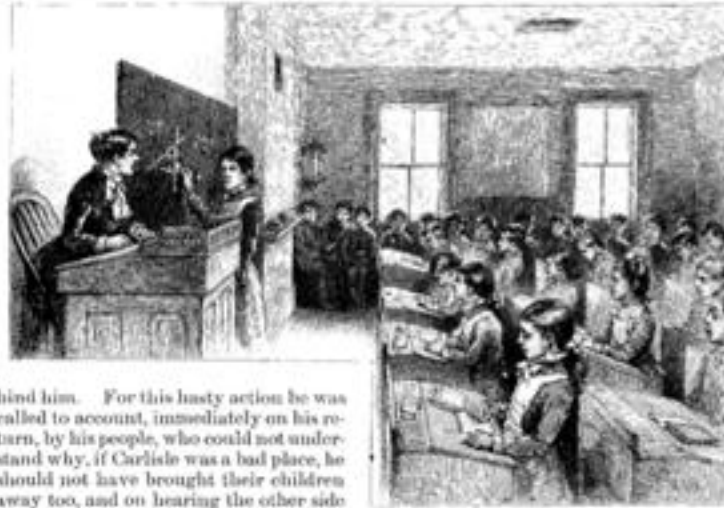
The new arrival was a new departure in Hampton's Indian work. The wild-looking set in motley mixture of Indian and citizens' dress, apparently trying to hide away altogether under their blankets, or shawls, or streaming unkempt locks, made a contrast with the soldierly St. Augustine, evidently obvious enough to the latter, whose faces betrayed some civilized disgust, as well as tribal prejudice, as they looked on in the glory of their fresh school uniforms. It was not long, however, before they were exchanging greetings in the expressive sign-language that all could understand.

A Cheyenne, Sioux, and Bee—representatives of tribes which have often been at war with each other—made up a group for statuesque pose and significant contrasts fit subject for sculptor or poet, as Comes Flying and White Wolf stood wrapped in their blankets, watching, half compliant, half suspicious, the grave and speaking gestures with which Little Chief freely offered what he had so freely received.

"I tell them, Look at me; I will give you the road."

The St. Augustine generally did good service in showing the road to the new recruits. The hospitality of the colored students, somewhat overtaxed by the in-

Figure 4.13. Hampton Institute classroom, c. 1881. Artist unknown. Reproduced from Helen Wilhemina Ludlow, "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle," *Harper's*, April 1881, 659-75.



A CLASSROOM.

hind him. For this hasty action he was called to account, immediately on his return, by his people, who could not understand why, if Carlisle was a bad place, he should not have brought their children away too, and on hearing the other side of the story from the chiefs who had accompanied him, asked to have him deposed for "double talking." One of the indignant parents, with the mild name of Milk, in writing upon the subject to Captain Pratt, says, with some lactic acidity, "Spotted Tail has been to the Great Father's house so often that he has learned to tell lies and deceive people." It is pleasant to add that a judicious letting alone had the due effect, and he has requested the government's permission to send his children back to Carlisle.

Many visitors go to Carlisle to see the Indians. Some of them, it must be acknowledged, are disappointed. After alighting at the commandant's office, and being courteously received by Captain Pratt or one of his assistants, the spokesman of the party asks politely if they may "first look about by themselves a little." Cordial permission given, they set forth, but in the course of half an hour are back again with clouded brows, and the appeal, "We thought we might see some Indians round; can you show us some?" A smile and a circular wave of the hand emphasize the assurance that a score or two of noble red men are within easy eye-range at the moment. Following the gesture with a glance over the green where the boys and girls are passing, perhaps, to their school-rooms, the shade of dissatisfaction deepens, and

they explain: "Oh, but I mean real Indians. Haven't you some real Indians—all in blankets, you know, and feathers, and long hair?"

A little allowance must be made for sentiment in human nature, and if these easily disappointed visitors stay long enough, they may be gratified with an occasional "real Indian" dance of a gentle type, or without much trouble the well-named maiden Pretty Day might be persuaded to attire herself, as becomes a high-born princess of the plains, in her cherished dress of finest dark blue blanket, embroidered deer-skin leggings, and curiously netted cape adorned with three hundred milk-white elk teeth, each pair of them the price of a pony.

Aboriginal picturesqueness is certainly sacrificed to a great extent in civilization. One who is willing to relinquish the idea, however, of a menagerie of wild creatures kept for exhibition, will not regret to find instead a school of neatly dressed boys and girls, with bright eyes and clean faces, as full of fun and frolic as if they were the descendants of the Puritans.

The barracks stand on a knoll half a mile from the town. From the upper piazza of the commandant's quarters the eye sweeps over a beautiful landscape. Spurs

Figure 4.14. Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Group portrait of teachers and students at Hampton Institute painting watercolor pictures of butterflies*, 1899 or 1900. Photographic print. Courtesy of Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-127364, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3c15831> (accessed January 14, 2014).



Figure 4.15. Howard Pyle (1853-1911), *Traveling in the Olden Time*, ca. 1886, black and white oil on board, Illustration for Edmund Kirke, "The City of Cleveleand," Harper's New Monthly, March 1886. Collection Brandywine River Museum of American Art, Museum purchase, 2001.



Figure 4.16. Howard Pyle, *An Unwelcome Toast*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 24 1/2in x 36 1/4in. Courtesy of National Museum of American Illustration, <http://americanillustration.org/artists/pyle/pyle.html> (accessed March 9, 2014).



Figure 4.17. Howard Pyle, *Death of the Indian Chief Alexander*, 1885. Print, 5 1/2in x 7 3/4in. Published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1885, 815, accompanying an article by Lucy C. Lillie, "An Indian Journey," 813–829. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, <http://nypl.org> (accessed March 9, 2014).

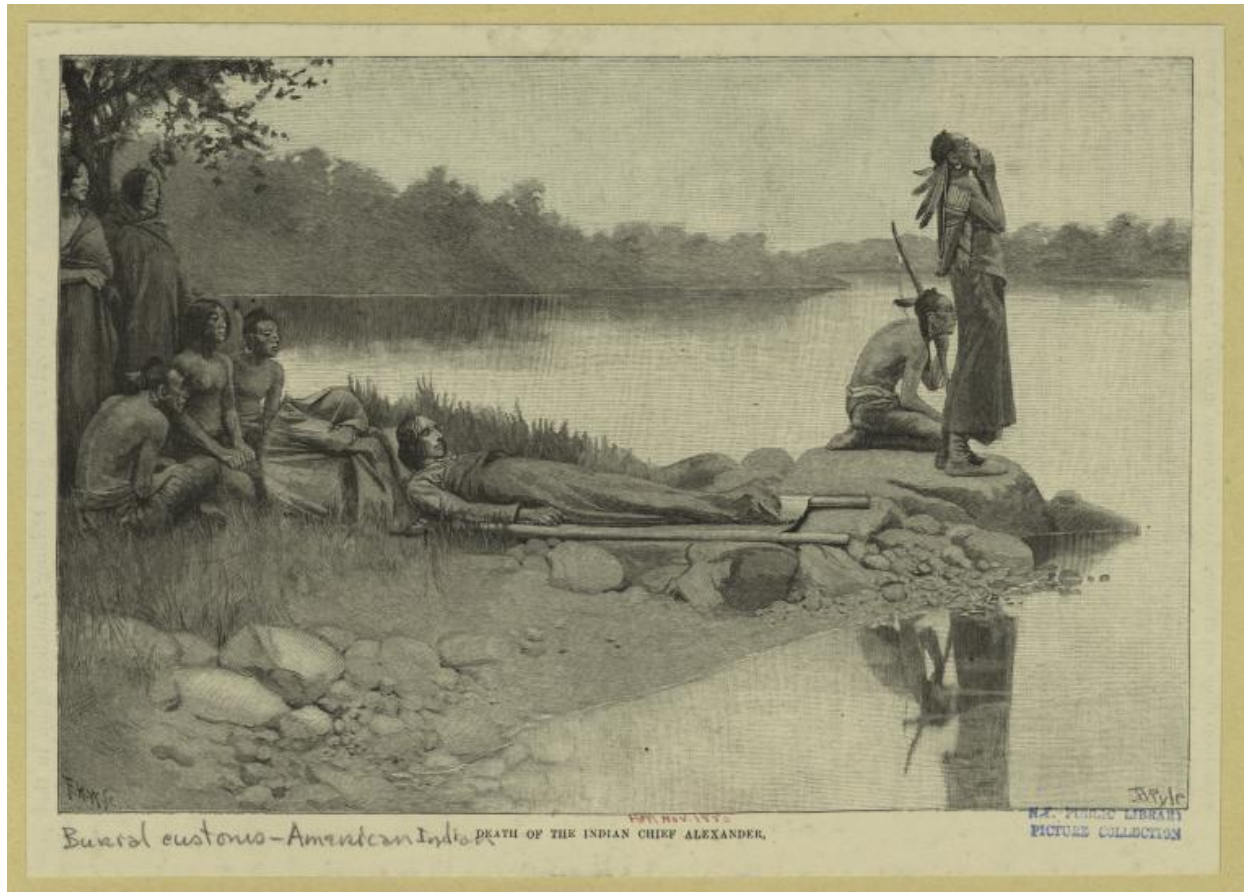


Figure 4.18. Angel De Cora, story and illustrations, "Gray Wolf's Daughter," *Harper's Monthly*, November 1899, 860.

children. A hush came upon them, for it was seen that he was intending to make some kind of an anti-mortem statement. "I—" he began. Then he vanished from the edge of the walk. The start had been unintentional—an accident.

The stupefied Jimmie saw the calamity through a haze. His first clear vision was when Horace, with a face as red as a red flag, arose howling from his tangled

velocipede. He and his retainer exchanged a glance of horror and fled the neighborhood. They did not look back until they had reached the top of the hill near the lake. They could see Horace walking slowly under the maples toward his home, pushing his shattered velocipede before him. His chin was thrown high, and the breeze bore them the sound of his howls.



GRAY WOLF'S DAUGHTER

BY HINOOK-MAHIWI-KILINAKA (ANGEL DE CORA)

THE fire was burning steadily, but the mother stirred it with a stick to a brighter flame. It snapped and crackled and sent a myriad of sparks flying upward through the opening at the top of the lodge. This roused the daughter a little as she sat gazing into the fire. Her mind had been wandering here and there to this and that one of her associates—to one who had been to school, to another who had staid at home and was a thorough Indian, comparing the life of the one with the life of the other.

She herself had for a long time desired knowledge of the white man's ways, and now her family had given their consent to her going to school. To-morrow was to be the first day of a new life in the boarding-school.

Thinking of all these things, the girl had forgotten that her father and three of the leading medicine-men were making

ready for the vapor bath, in purification for the coming sacred festival.

"Are you not going to dance with the other girls?" asked her mother. "Why do you not? Do, for the last time. It will please your father."

The grandmother was sitting on the opposite side of the fire. Now she spoke up rather sharply:

"The last time! You talk as if this was her last day on earth! Are you not going for her every festival dance? If not, she will forget how to dance before the winter is over."

So far she had spoken without looking around. Now she turned about and addressed the girl directly: "Schoolgirls can't dance, because they have to wear white men's shoes. If they ask you to wear shoes at school, don't you do it—don't you do it!"

The grandmother had been the last of the family to give her consent to the

Figure 4.19. Angel De Cora, story and illustrations, "The Sick Child," *Harper's Monthly*, February 1899, 446.

THE CLEW.

BY ROBERT MOWRY BELL.

WHAT if, O dearest heart, upon a day
When I had left thee smiling, death should break
The bonds that bind my soul, and I should wake,
And hastening to thee, lo! find but thy clay;
Thy spirit loosed as mine and fled away,—
Away into the void! Thee to o'ertake
Amid those myriad worlds were task to slake
The fires of hope, and bid the faint heart stay.
Yet whisper, Love, if to such starry quest
Through lingering ages I be doomed by fate,
Some clew, that I may know thee, dispossessed
Of fleshly features, or reincarnate
In some strange form. Ah, must I learn thus late
That but thy house I know, not thee, its guest!



THE SICK CHILD.

BY HENOOK-MAKHEWE-KELENAKA (ANGEL DE CORA)

IT was about sunset when I, a little child, was sent with a handful of powdered tobacco leaves and red feathers to make an offering to the spirit who had caused the sickness of my little sister. It had been a long, hard winter, and the snow lay deep on the prairie as far as the eye could reach. The medicine-woman's directions had been that the offering must be laid upon the naked earth, and that to find it I must face toward the setting sun.

I was taught the prayer: "Spirit grandfather, I offer this to thee. I pray thee restore my little sister to health." Full of reverence and a strong faith that I could appease the anger of the spirit, I started out to plead for the life of our little one.

But now where was a spot of earth to be found in all that white monotony? They had talked of death at the house. I hoped that my little sister would live, but I was afraid of nature.

I reached a little spring. I looked down to its pebbly bottom, wondering whether I should leave my offering there, or keep on in search of a spot of earth. If I put my offering in the water, would it reach the bottom and touch the earth, or would it float away, as it had always done when I made my offering to the water spirit?

Once more I started on in my search of the bare ground.

The surface was crusted in some places, and walking was easy; in other places I would wade through a foot or more of

Figure 4.20. Angel De Cora. Illustration for the frontispiece for Francis La Flesche's *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1900). Courtesy of J. Andrew Darling.

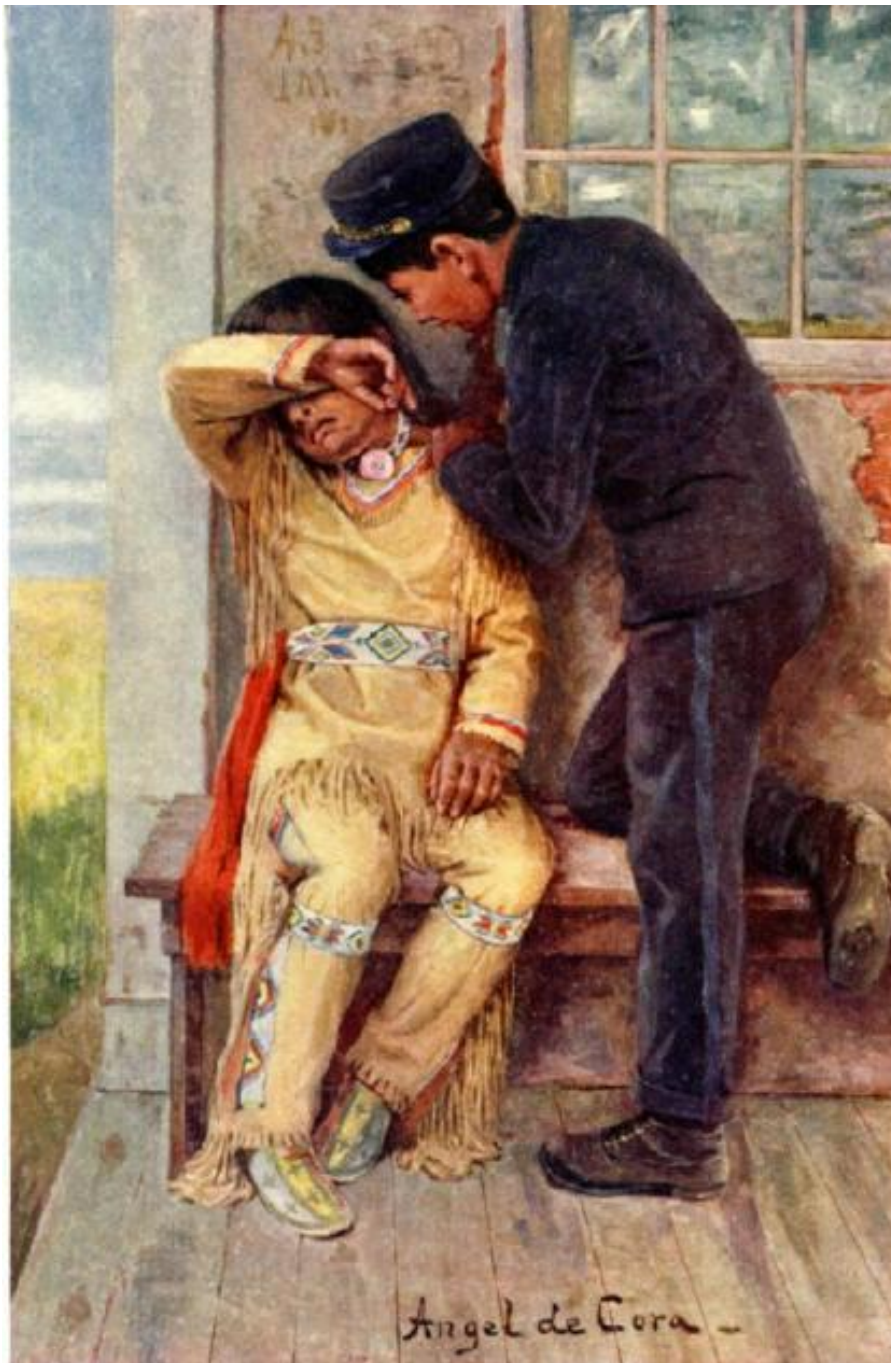


Figure 4.21. Angel De Cora, *Lafayette's Headquarters*, Summer of 1898. Oil. Photograph courtesy of John R. Schoonover. Fair use.



Figure 4.22. Frank Benson, *Dawn on the York*, 1931. Oil and canvas laid down on cradled masonite, 40in x 50in. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 396 × 313. Privately owned. Courtesy of Christies Auctions and Private Sales. © Christie's Images Limited, 2014.



Figure 4.23. Edmund C. Tarbell, *Across the Room*, c. 1899. Oil on canvas, 25in x 30 1/8in. Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot, 67.187.141. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.24. Lone Star and Angel De Cora, *The Indian Craftsman* cover design, May, 1909. Author's collection. Photograph by author.

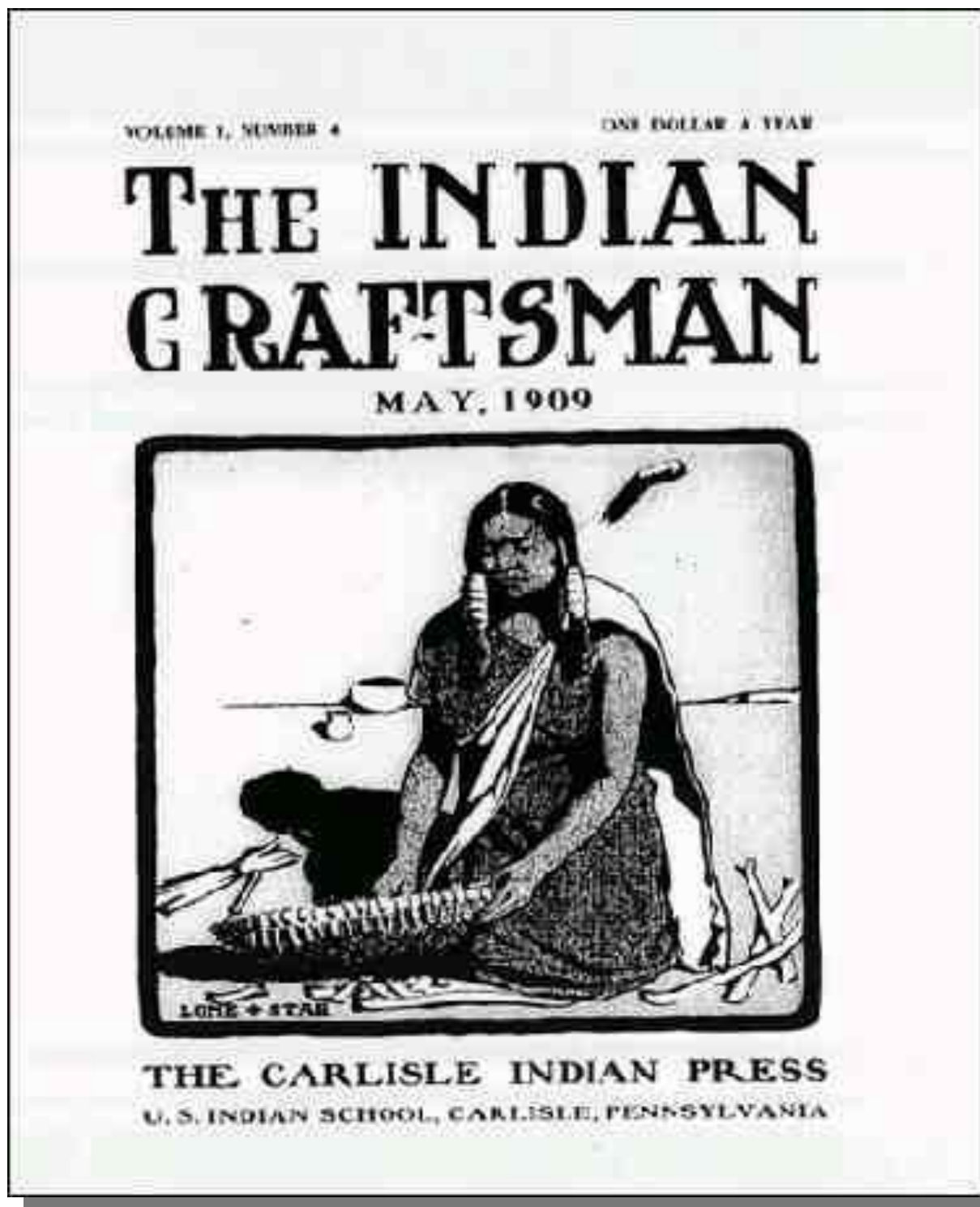


Figure 4.25. Elbert Hubbard's *Scrap Book* (New York: W. M. H. Wise, 1923). Author's collection. Photograph by author.

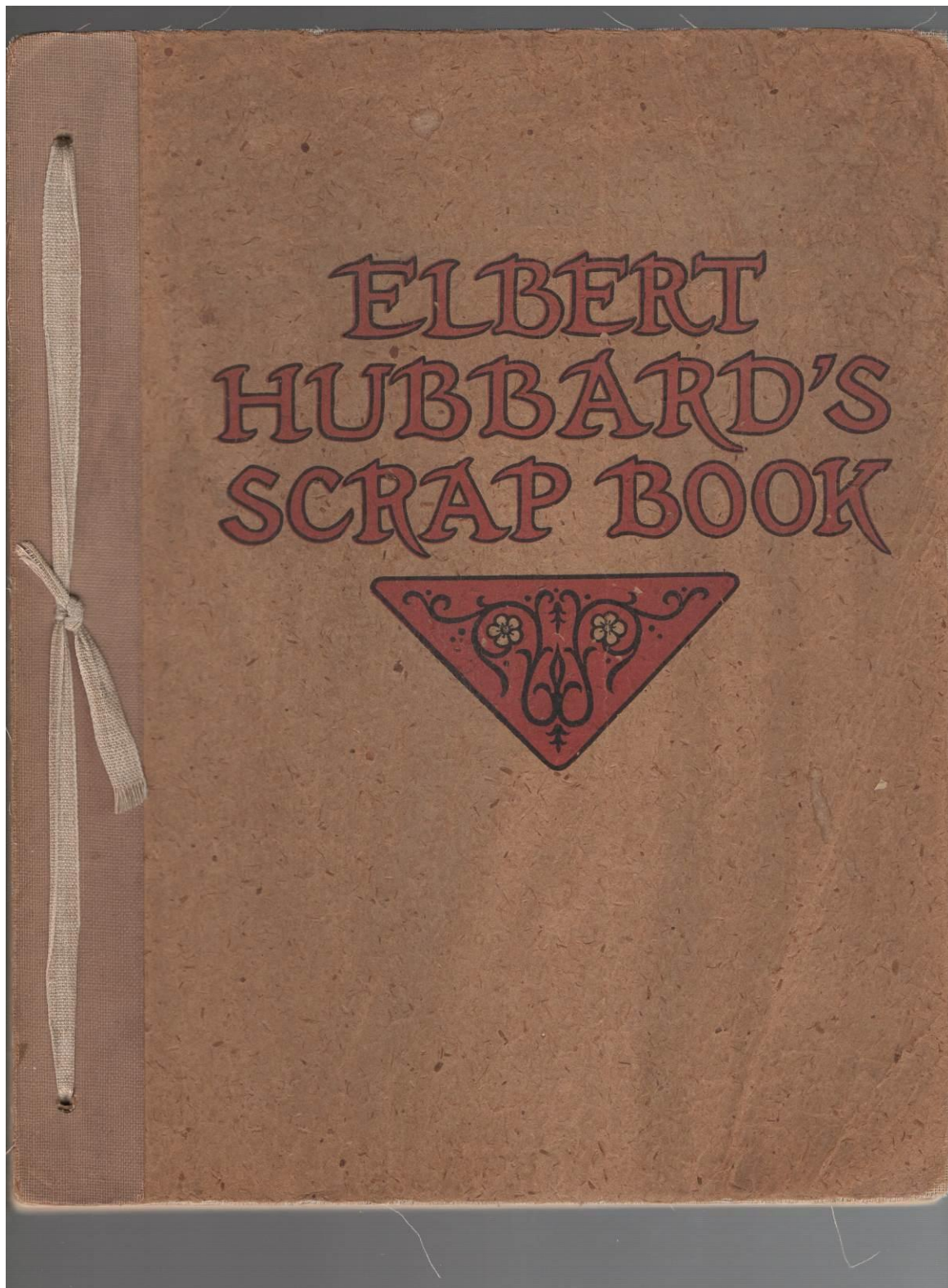


Figure 4.26. Angel De Cora, book illustration, c. 1907. Reproduced from Natalie Curtis, *The Indians' Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of their Race* (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1907), title page. Author's collection. Photograph by author.

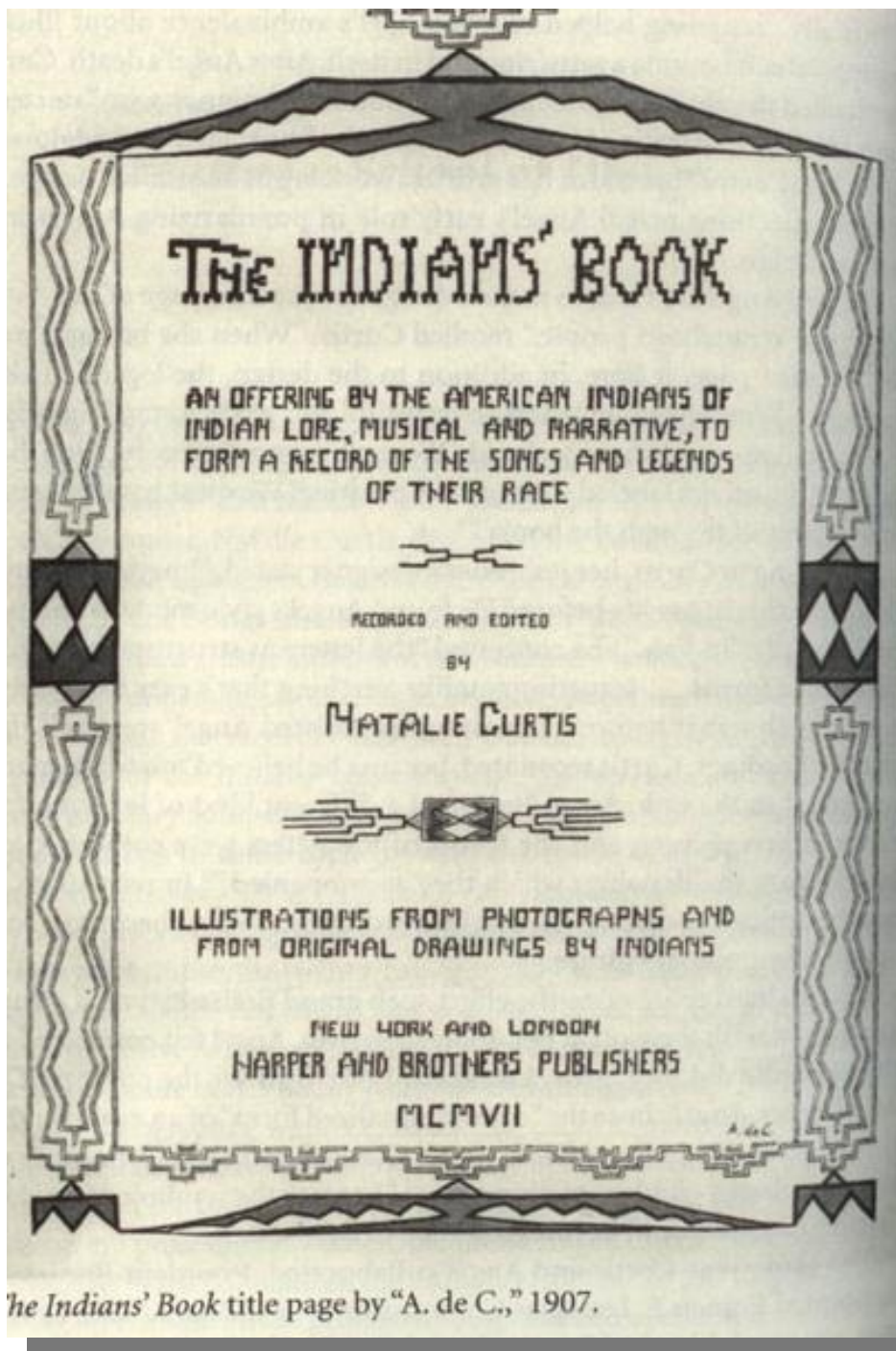


Figure 4.27. The February 1913 (volume 5 no 6) *Red Man* with article about Dehuffs.

VOLUME 5, NO. 6 FEBRUARY, 1913 DOLLAR A YEAR

An Illustrated Magazine by Indians

THE RED MAN

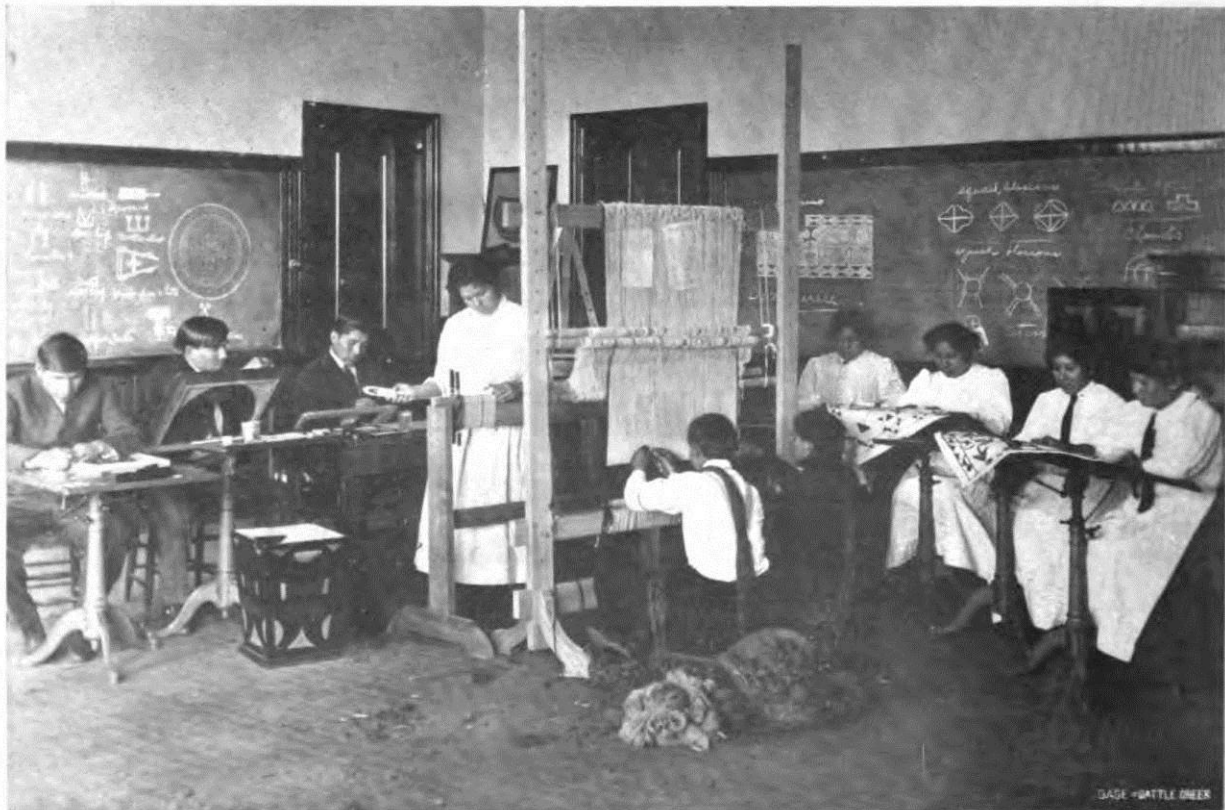


Published Monthly by THE CARLISLE INDIAN PRESS
UNITED STATES INDIAN SCHOOL, CARLISLE, PENNSYLVANIA

Figure 4.28. Carlisle Art department classroom prior to Angel De Cora's arrival, undated. Photographer unknown. Photographic card, 5 1/8in x 8 3/8in. Courtesy of Richard Henry Pratt papers, WA MSS S-1174, folder 730, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3522339> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.29. Gage/Battle Creek, Carlisle classrooms: Weaving Class at Carlisle, c. 1907. Reproduced from Frances Densmore, "Indian Education," *Bay View Magazine* 15 (October 1907): 40–47; Hathi Digital Trust, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015067932270> (accessed June 25, 2014).



AN ART CLASS, CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL.

Here all the work is in the beautiful Indian art. On the right four students are preparing the drawings for blankets and rugs, using favorite Navajo designs.

Figure 4.30. Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Children in newspaper and magazine library at Carlisle Indian School*, c. 1901. Black-and-white film copy negative. Courtesy of Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-71002, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003655521/> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.31. Frances Benjamin Johnston, *Two boys studying in dormitory room at Carlisle Indian School*, c. 1901. Cyanotype. Courtesy of Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ppmsca-18485, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2008675519/> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.32. Frances Benjamin Johnston, Learning finger songs at Carlisle Indian School c. 1890–1900. Courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, neg. no. JO-01-04.



Figure 4.33. Art classroom at Carlisle as shown in a popular magazine story, "Indian Education," by Frances Densmore. Image from *The Bay View*, c. 1907. Reproduced from Densmore, "Indian Education," 46.



AN ART CLASS, CARLISLE INDIAN SCHOOL.

Here all the work is in the beautiful Indian art. On the right four students are preparing the drawings for blankets and rugs, using favorite Navajo designs.

Figure 4.34. Frances Benjamin Johnston, [Classroom instruction in art at Carlisle Indian School], between 1901 and 1903. Cyanotype, size. Courtesy of Johnston Collection, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-115831, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96501744/> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 4.35. Above: Gage/Battle Creek, Interior shot in the Carlisle art studio, from *The Bay View*, c. 1907. Reproduced from Densmore, "Indian Education," 46. Below: Leupp Art Studio, c. 1907. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of Cumberland Historical Society, Carlisle, PA, neg. no. 10A-C-07.



A CORNER IN THE INDIAN ART STUDIO, CARLISLE SCHOOL

In American art circles much interest has been awakened by the movement in Carlisle to revive and restore the fast vanishing art of the Indian race. The effort has been undertaken by Miss Decorah, who is not only recovering Indian art, but with it, its vast treasure of history and legend.

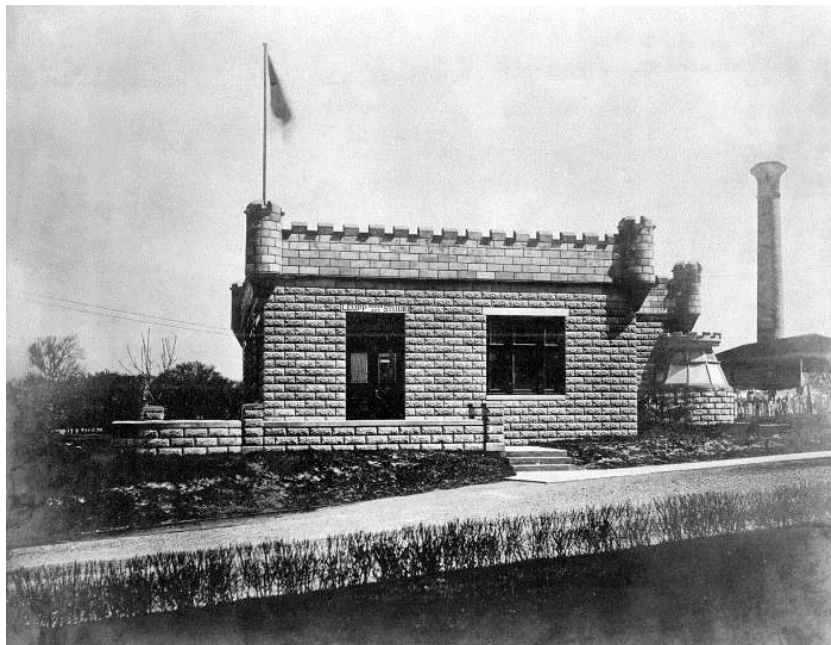


Figure 5.1. Frederic S. Remington (1861–1909), *Ridden Down*, 1905–1906. Oil on canvas, 30 1/4in x 51 1/4in (76.8 x 130.2 cm). Courtesy of the Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas, 1961.224. The card by the painting reads... “The year this painting was completed, Remington published *The Way of the Indian*, one of his most successful novels. The life story of a Cheyenne warrior, it chronicles the defeat of a people by the encroachment of white civilization...”



Figure 5.2. The *Craftsman* magazine frequently recommended the inclusion of Native American arts in home decorating, as in this April 1906 issue (“Craftsman House, the Bungalow: Series of 1906: Number III,” vol. 10, no. 1, 111, 106–13). Reproduced from University of Wisconsin Digital Library for the Decorative Arts and Material Culture, <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/DLDecArts> (accessed January 21, 2012).

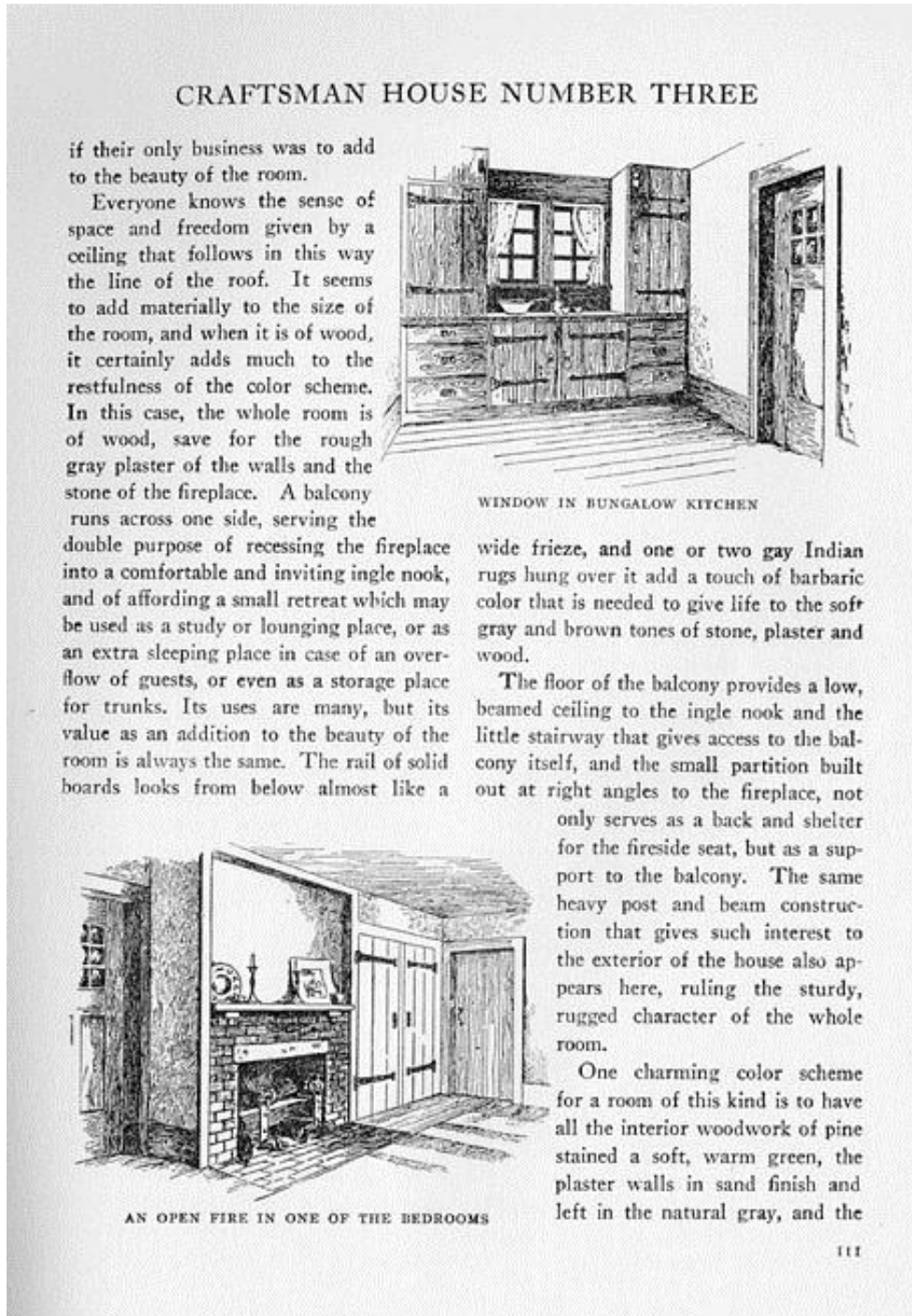


Figure 5.3. "Collection of Southern California Baskets Made by the Author," undated. Reproduced from George Wharton James, *Indian Basketry* (Pasadena, CA: Privately printed for the author, 1901), 190, fig. 272.

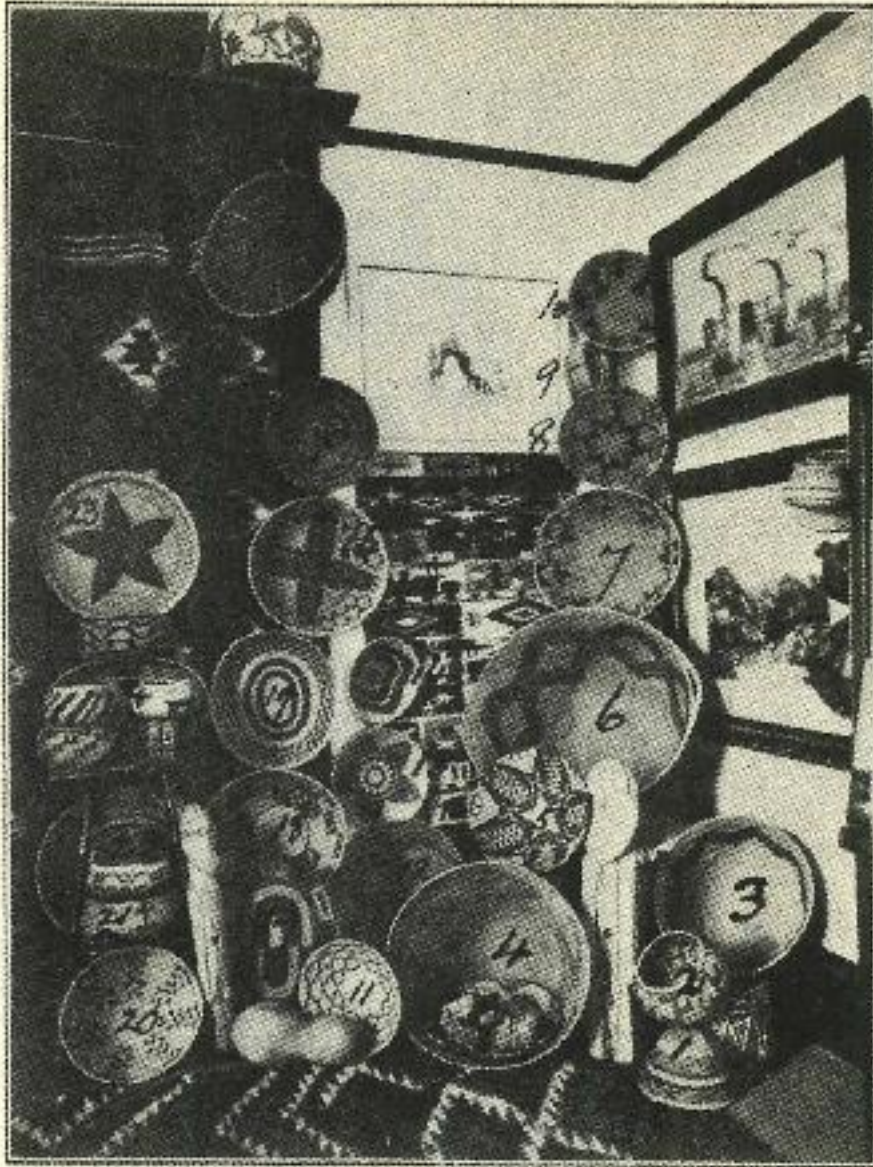


FIG. 272. COLLECTION OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA BASKETS MADE BY THE AUTHOR.

Figure 5.4. George Wharton James' Work Shop is a treasure - House of Books and Curios. H.M. Bland, Fruitvale, Cal., care of Joaquin Miller, undated. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library <http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf5d5nb40w/?order=1> (accessed January 20, 2014). James was associate editor of *The Craftsman* from 1904–1905, editor of *Out West* from 1912–1914, and lectured at the Panama-Pacific and Panama-California expositions in 1915 and 1916. James' books include *Indian Basketry*, *In and Out of the Old Missions of California* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1905) and *Through Ramona's Country* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1909).



Figure 5.5. Elbridge Ayer Burbank, *Edward Everett Ayer*, 1897. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of The Newberry Library, Chicago. Call # Ayer Art Burbank, NL012.



Figure 5.6. Articles about decorating with Indian arts *House Beautiful*. Charles Francis Saunders, "American Indian Art in the Home," *House Beautiful* 18 (October 1910), 221.



of a California bungalow the articles of Indian craft are all ornamental and some are useful. The Navajo rug is a luxurious floor covering, while the uses to which the baskets have been put show their utility

American Indian Art in the Home

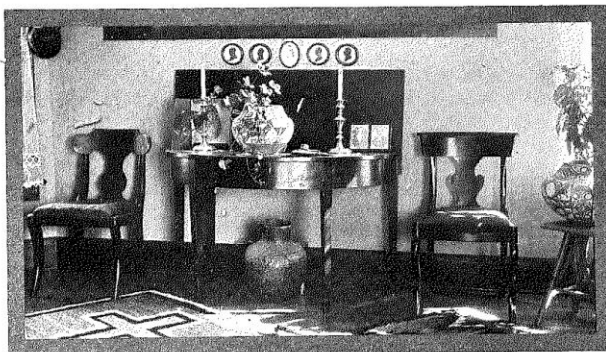
FEW REALIZE THE REAL STATUS OF INDIAN ART IN HOME DECORATION—THE PRACTICAL AND ESTHETIC VALUE OF INDIAN BASKETRY, POTTERY AND BLANKETS

BY CHARLES FRANCIS SAUNDERS

Americans ransack the Old World for the artistic ornament of their homes, there is at their very back speak, practically unknown and neglected, a native workable possibilities for interior decoration. I refer to the work of the American Indian, especially as developed in the uses of pottery making, basketry and blanket weaving. as the average knows of this, he thinks of nothing suitable for his curio collection, museum, or at an odd corner or studio. It possesses at value in the furnishing of the home. The illustrations in this article will show. Not only is it a taste in an ordinary house, a lodge or a Westwood, but it adapts itself in a remarkable way

to association with the finest and most dignified types of furniture—the quiet and harmonious coloring which unfailingly distinguishes the work of the unspoiled Indian artist, being in perfect concord with the soft browns of solid mahogany or rosewood, with copper, brass and other adornment of the house beautiful. Few ornaments are so adaptable.

Particularly do the simple shapes and designs of this primitive art comport with the simplicity of old-fashioned furniture. When an Indian jar would be out of key set upon an elaborately carved Chinese stand, it seems to the manner born when holding a potted plant upon a quaint sewing-table beneath a mirror of our grandfather's time. This ability to harmonize with the best of other days is the test of the innate worth of the American Indian's art. It is essential to remember, however, that it does not do



There is no jarring note in this juxtaposition of antique mahogany furniture, Navajo rug, and Apache wicker jar (beneath the table)

Figure 5.7. Covers of magazines with romanticized Indian from the author's collection.



Figure 5.8. Jerome Connor, *Onondaga Indians*. Reproduced from "Current Art Events," *International Studio* 24, no. 96, (February 1905), cvi.



ONONDAGA INDIANS. BY JEROME CONNER

CVI

Figure 5.9. Cyrus E. Dallin, *The Supreme Appeal to the Great Spirit*, 1913. 22 1/2in high. Reproduced in *International Studio* 58, no. 229 (March 1916), 111, Plate 15.



Figure 5.10. Artus Van Briggles, Romanticized Indians on pottery; a painted portrait of Native American Indian Lacóte, 1899. Rookwood standard glaze pillow form vase with impressed Rookwood logo, shape No 707B, incised artist initials, 5in x.5.5in. Image courtesy of Cowan's Auctions Cincinnati, OH, <http://www.cowansauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?ItemId=82165> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 5.11. Weller Louwelsa, American Indian Portrait Floor Vase signed by A. Williams, undated. 24in x 13in. In February 2012, Morphy Auctions was offering this vase for \$2,700, according to aboutart.com. By 1905, the Weller pottery plant (located in Zanesville, Ohio), founded in 1872 by Samuel A. Weller, employed over 500 people and shipped three railroad cars of pottery a day. It was the largest maker of art pottery in the world. Louwelsa was the company's art pottery line. Marion John Nelson, *Art Pottery of the Midwest: November 10, 1988–January 8, 1989* (Minneapolis: University Art Museum, University of Minnesota, 1988). Photo courtesy of Morphy Auctions, <http://morphyauctions.com> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 5.12. Rookwood American Indian Portrait Vase, *Hidatsa/Tea Caquaque*, undated. Artist unknown. Rookwood Pottery Company, standard glaze, unsigned, white clay, shape number 786 C, 447.06 painted in red, and an old gummed paper label with Museum /1900. Romanticized Indians on pottery. This vase was in Rookwood's corporate collection that was on loan to the Cincinnati Art Museum. Ex Collection Marge and Charles Schott. Image courtesy of Cowan's Auctions, Cincinnati, OH, <http://www.cowanauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?ItemId=33049> (accessed January 20, 2014).



Figure 5.13. Blanket Collection of Major L. P. Davison, USA (Collected 1890-1896) Displayed in Department Store Window. Department stores from Marshall Field's in Chicago to John Wanamaker's, 1899. Courtesy of National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 82-1428.



Figure 5.14. George Catlin, *La-dóo-ke-a, Buffalo Bull : A Grand Pawnee Warrior*, 1832. Oil on canvas, 29in x 24in. Courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum, gift of Mrs. Joseph Harrison, Jr., 1985.66.100. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 20, 2014).

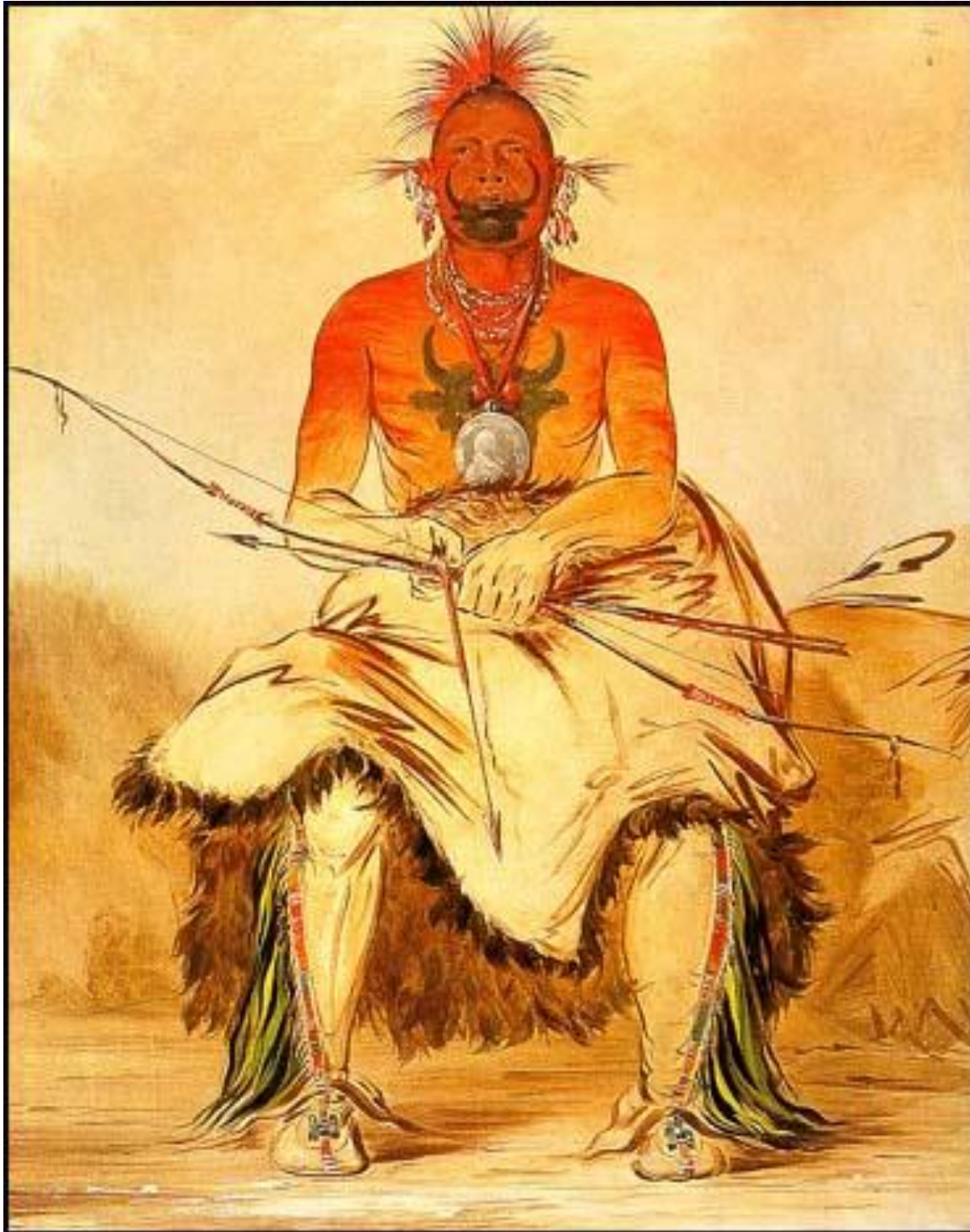


Figure 5.15. George Catlin, *Crow Chief*, c. 1850. Oil on paper mounted on board, 15 7/8in x 21 5/8in. Courtesy Buffalo Bill Center of the West, Bequest of Joseph M. Roebling, 7.80.



Figure 5.16. [Buffalo Bill Cody with a group], c. 1885–1900. Photoprint on mat, 11 1/4in x 17in. William Frederick Cody stands in the left center of a group of Native American chiefs, including, from left, Brave Chief, Eagle Chief, Knife Chief, Young Chief, Buffalo Bill, American Horse, Rocky Bear, Flys Above and Long Wolf. The photograph was taken at the Col. Fred Cummins Indian Congress at the Pan American Exposition, Buffalo, NY. Courtesy of Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, NS-132.



Figure 5.17. Courier Litho Co, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World*, c. 1899. Chromolithograph poster. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-778, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2001696164/> (accessed March 10, 2014).



Figure 5.18. Currier and Ives, *A Howling Swell on the War Path* and *A Howling Swell with With His Scalp in Danger*, originally printed 1890. Double-sided lithograph, 13in x 17.5 in. each. Currier and Ives from 1835 until 1907 produced some 7800 prints popular in American homes, including at least one series on American Indians. Courtesy of Cowan's Auctions, <http://www.cowanauctions.com/auctions/item.aspx?ItemId=78149> (accessed April 8, 2014).



Figure 5.19. Nathaniel Currier and James Merritt Ives, from 1835 until 1907, produced some 7,800 prints popular in American homes, including at least one series on American Indians. This image shows three figures: “Osage Warrior,” “Iroquois” and “Pawnee Woman,” originally printed c. 1832 or 1860. Print, 21in x 15 3/4in. These figures appear to be, at least in part, based on works by George Catlin (for example, see Catlin’s *The Black Dog*, *Seven-foot Osage Chief*, *Iroquois: The Thinker*, and *The Woman Who Strikes Many*. Fair Use, Author’s collection.



Figure 6.1. Fred Kabotie, *Snake Dance*, c. 1918. Watercolor on paper, 22in x 28in. Courtesy Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010, 2010.023.0883. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 6.2. Fred Kabotie, *Tsu'ti (Second Mesa) or Tsu'tikive (Third Mesa) (Snake Dance)*, 1919. Casein and watercolor on tan colored paper, 12 3/8in x 18 7/8in. Courtesy of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, W-68.56.27. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010).



Figure 6.3. Fred Kabotie, *Snake Dance*. 1921. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution. Catalog no. 228647.000. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 6.4. Fred Kabotie, *Untitled [Sanke Dance]*. Undated but before 1932. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution. Catalog no. 182068.000. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 6.5. Fred Kabotie, *Flute Boy*, 1920. Watercolor on paper, 11in x 7 1/2in. Whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 21, where cited as owned by American Indian Treasures, Guilderland. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Also fig. 8.3.

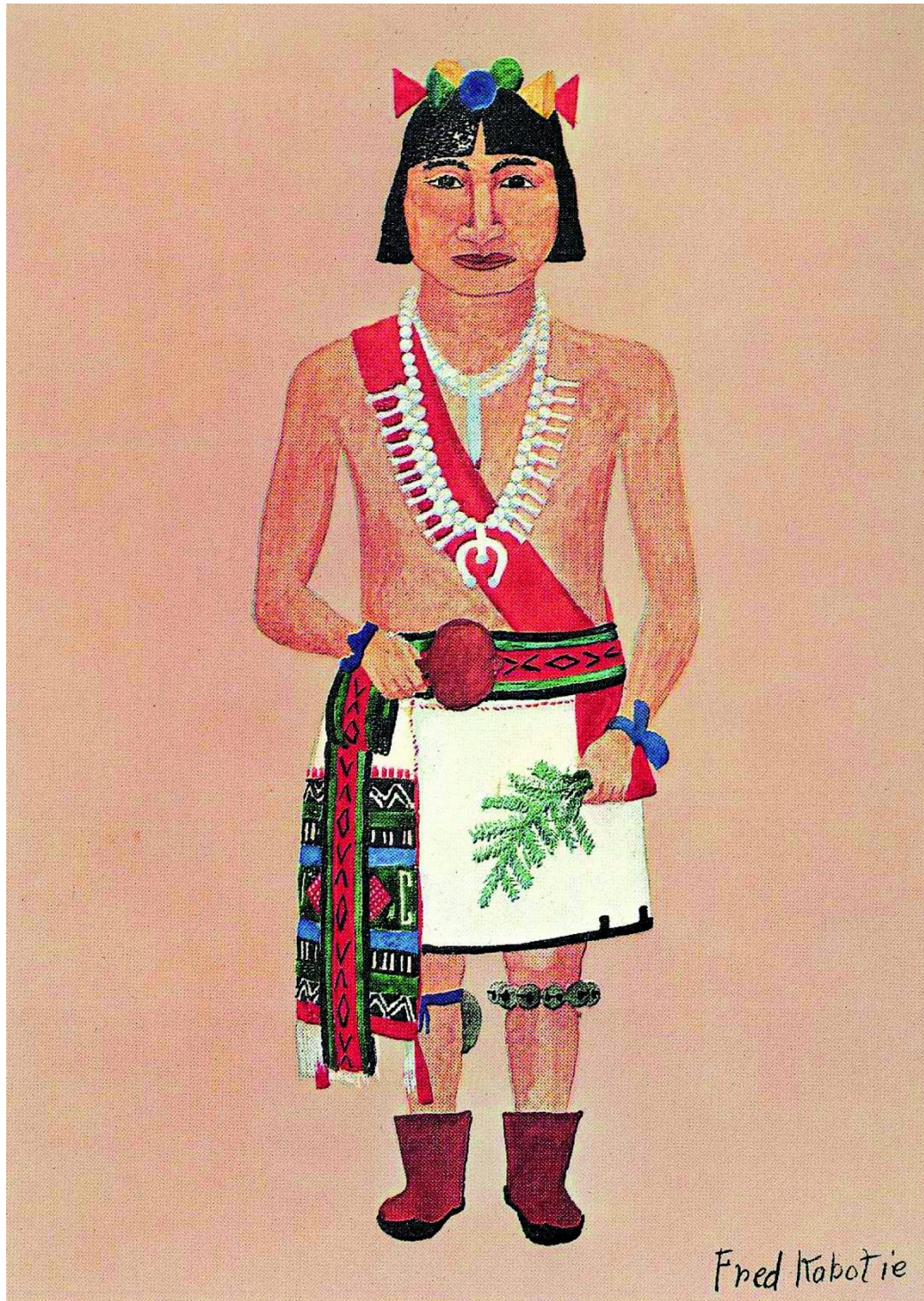


Figure 6.6. Fred Kabotie, *Ahöla Kachina*, c. 1920 OR 1926–1929. Watercolor on paper, 21 1/2in x 17 1/2in. Courtesy of Fred Jones Museum of Art, James T. Bialec Native American Art Collection, 2010. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. (Belknap & Kabotie give date as c. 1920; Fred Jones Museum of Art as 1926–29.)



Figure 6.7. Fred Kabotie, *Hopi Woman Making Piki*, c. 1920. Watercolor on paper. Credited to Fred and Alice Kabotie. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.

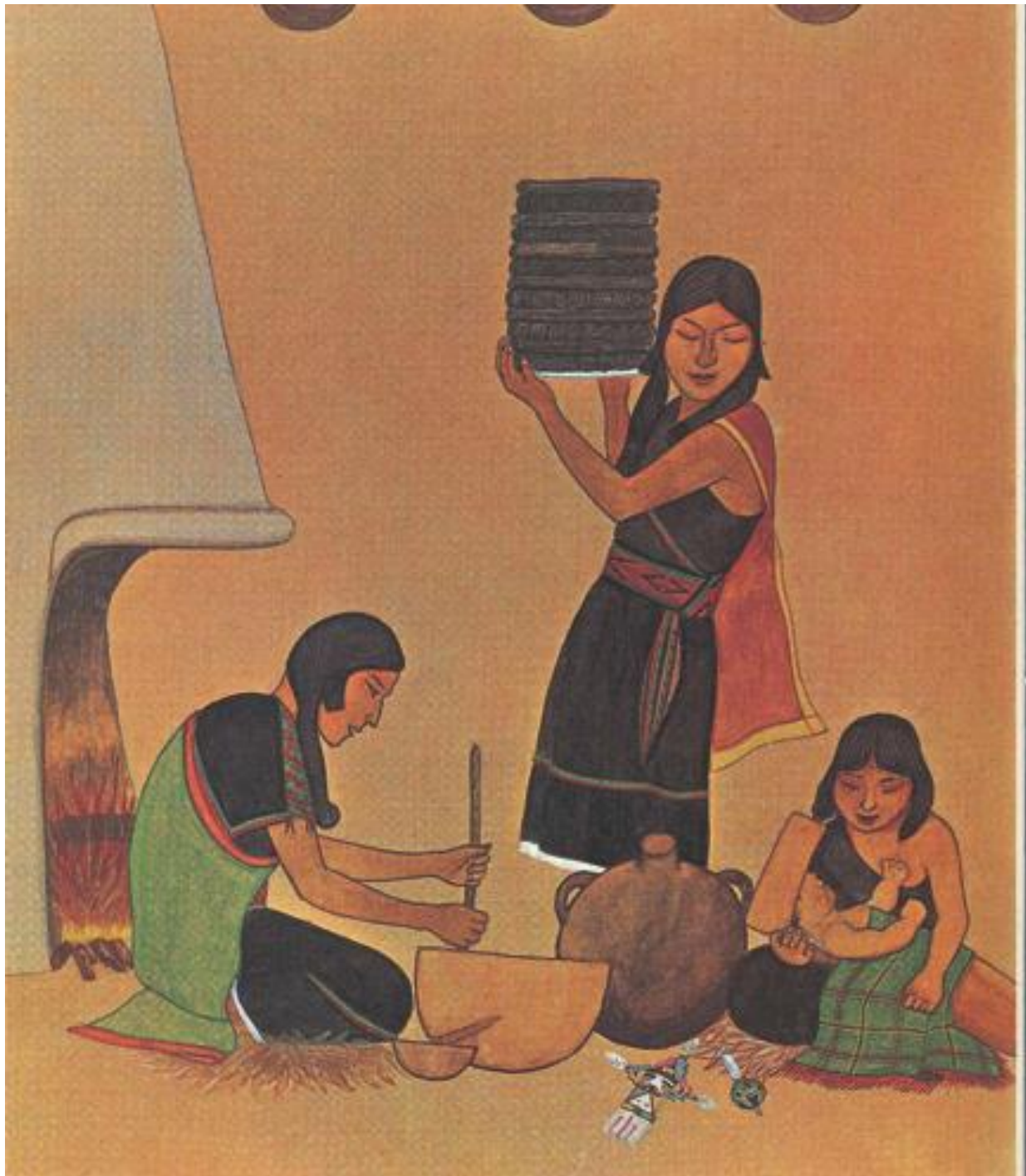


Figure 6.8. Otis Polelonema, *Preparing for the Buffalo Dance*, c. 1920–21. Watercolor on paper, 11 in x 14 in. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). Copy of Fred Kabotie's *Hopi Men Getting Ready for a Buffalo Dance*.



Figure 7.1. [Edgar Lee Hewett, author of the Antiquities Act, as first president of New Mexico Normal University], 1898. Photographer unknown. Reproduced from Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edgar_Lee_Hewett (accessed June 28, 2014).

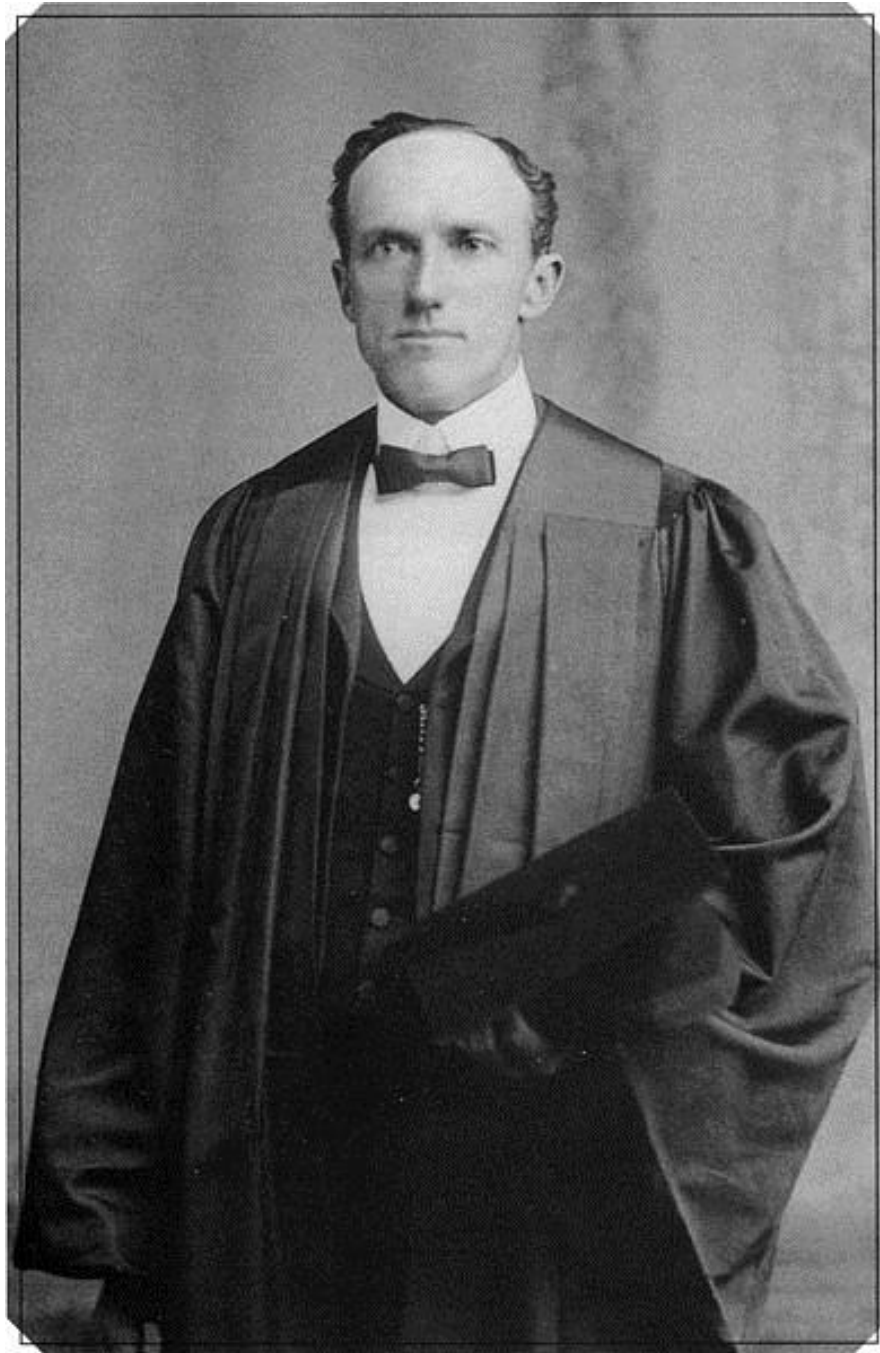


Figure 7.2. Cross Studio, [The First annual Southwest Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibit, Santa Fe, New Mexico], 1921 (*El Delirio* says 1922.) Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico/Palace of the Governors, neg. #1498.



Figure 7.3. Above: Map found in Harvey Company publication, *Indian Detours Photograph Album*, 1926. Artist unknown. PICT-2001-022, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico.

Below: Cover of *Indian-detours: Most distinctive Motor Cruise Service in the World* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1930). Artist unknown. Reproduced from "Southwestern Wonderland," http://intranet.library.arizona.edu/archives/teams/spc/pams_old1/accessp2 (accessed March 12, 2012).

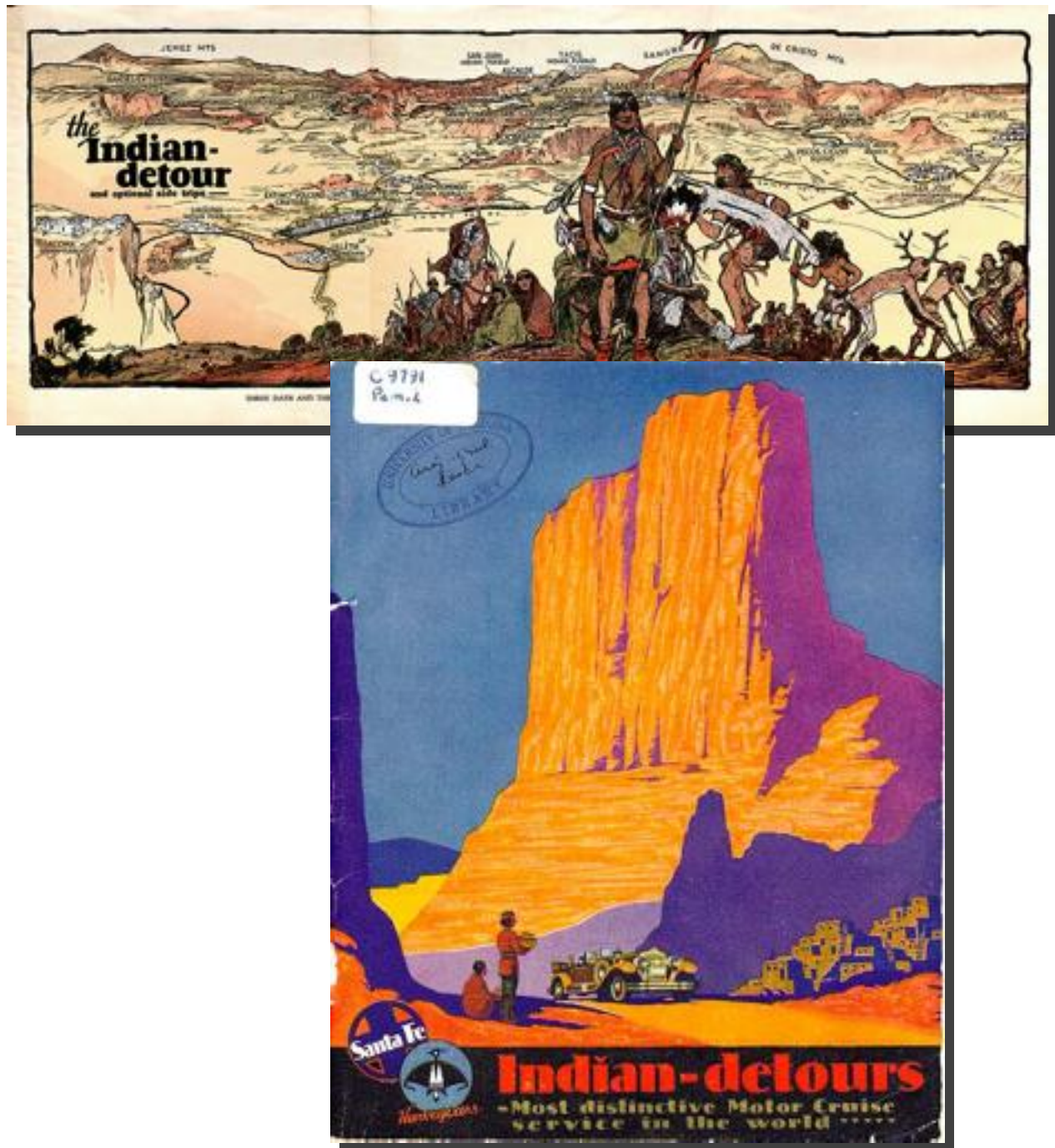


Figure 7.4. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff business card. Elizabeth Willis DeHuff Family Papers (MSS 99 BC, box 7, folder 1), Center for Southwestern Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico. Photograph by author.



Figure 7.5. Photographer is possibly Jesse L. Nusbaum, *Kenneth Chapman*, c. 1898, at about 23 years old. Glass negative, 5in x 7in. Courtesy Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), 013312.



Figure 7.6. Dwight Chapman, *John Milton, Mary Cordelia, Vera and Kenneth in the Chapman home, South Bend Indiana, c. 1892*. Courtesy of the School for Advanced Research, AC02-749b.



Figure 7.7. *Texas Siftings* humor magazine, 1895. Reproduced courtesy mycomicshop.com (accessed July 17, 2012). Texas Siftings Library #189506.

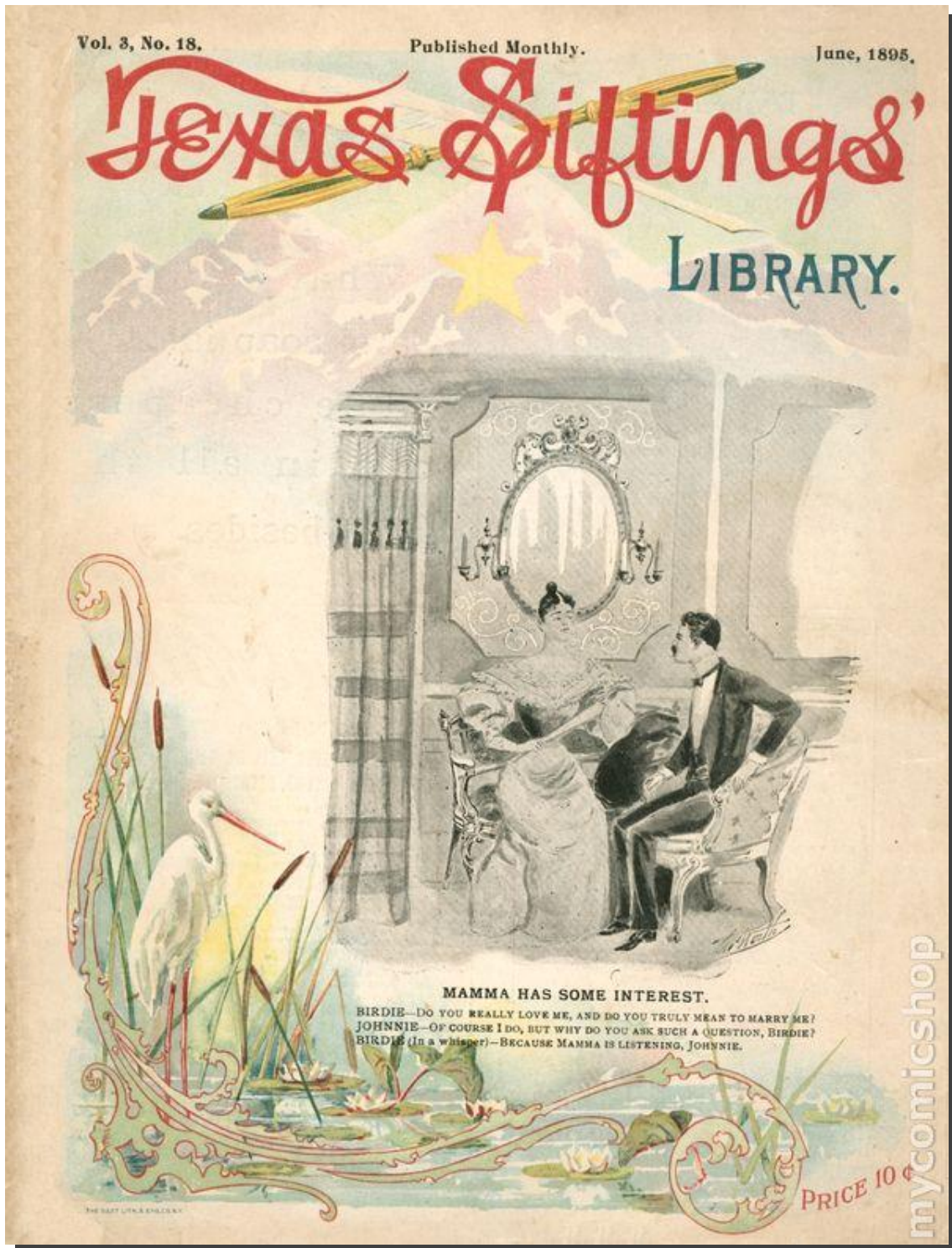


Figure 7.8. Kenneth Chapman, [Apie Begay with two of his paintings at Chaco], 1902. Courtesy of the School for Advanced Research, SAR AC02, negatives.



Figure 3.3 Apie Begay, a Navajo artist, at Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon. Photograph by Kenneth Chapman, 1902. SAR AC 02, negatives.

Figure 7.9. [Fred Kabotie and Dan McDade of the El Tovar Hotel art room, Grand Canyon], 1926. Photographer unknown. "Leading too much of a city life." Fred Kabotie papers, Second Mesa, Arizona. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 7.10. [John Louw Nelson], c. 1935. Photographer unknown. Photograph courtesy of Peter Louw Nelson, sent in an email to the author on May 11, 2011. Courtesy of Peter Louw Nelson.



Figure 7.11. Cover of *Swift Eagle of the Rio Grande*, written by Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, illustrated by Fred Kabotie. (New York: Rand McNally, 1928). Photograph by author.

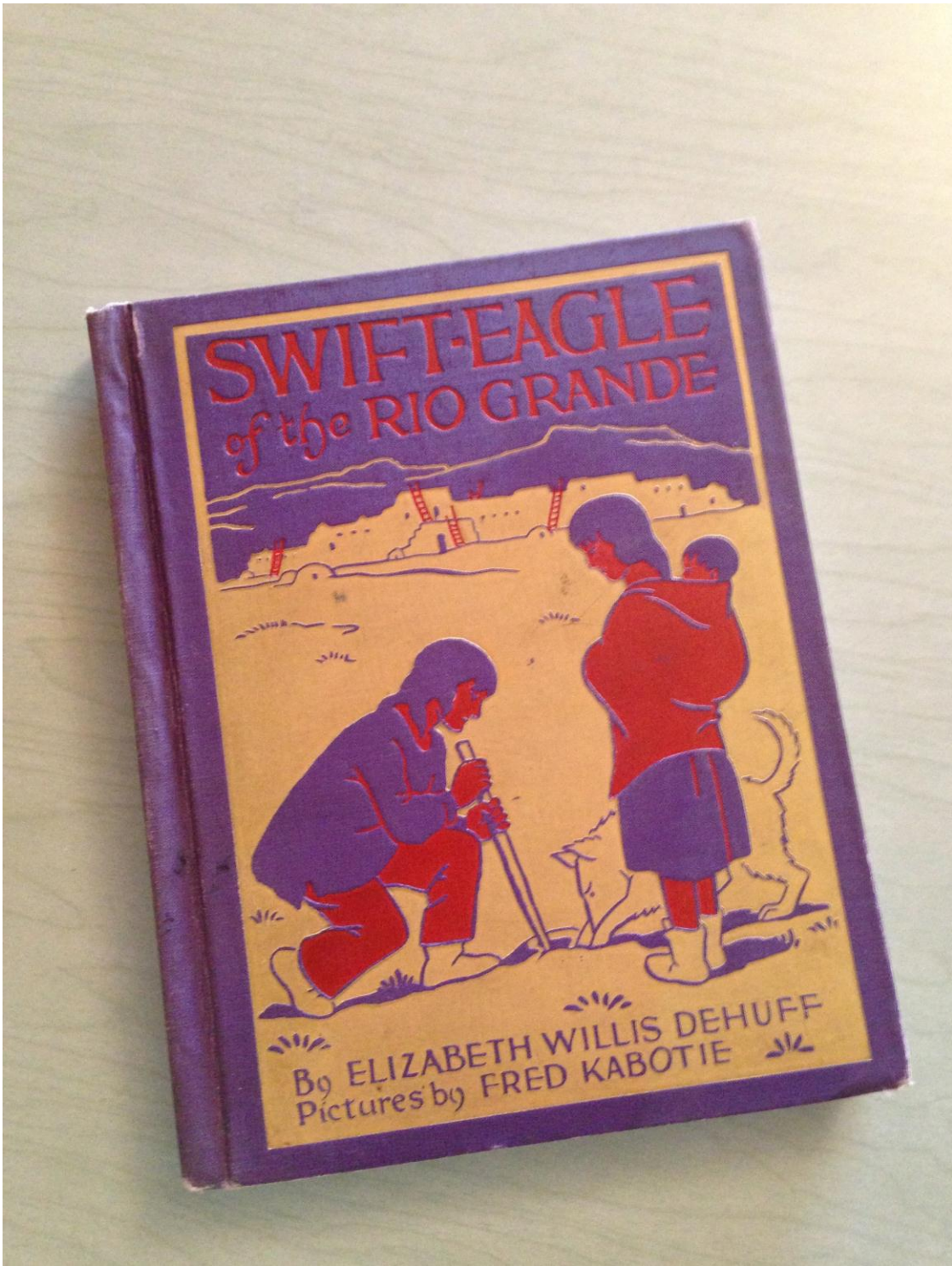


Figure 7.12. Cover of *Five Little Katchinas*, written by Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, illustrated by Fred Kabotie (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930). Photograph by author. Note how Mrs. DeHuff used her maiden and married names; the author has followed suit in this study.



Figure 7.13. Fred Kabotie, two versions of *Mountain Sheep Dance*, c. 1929 Above: Painted for John Louw Nelson, as representative of George Gustav Heye. Courtesy of Peter Louw Nelson, who wrote in an email to the author on May 11, 2011, "Most were done on cheap oatmeal paper. My father told me that the Indian boys collected colored earths for their paints, and used clippings from their own hair to make their brushes. That may reflect the times when they were starting to paint." By permission of Peter Louw Nelson and Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Below: A very similar painting in collection of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 228646.000. Dr. Henry Craig Fleming Collection, 228646.000. Both were probably painted while Kabotie was at Cowles Ranch. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 7.14. Fred Kabotie, Untitled [Kohonino], c. 1925. Watercolor on paper. Collected by John Louw Nelson, January 1, 1932. Courtesy of National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 182033.000. Negative (N): 20212. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 7.15. Fred Kabotie, *Two Eagle Dancers*, c. 1925. Watercolor on paper, 12 1/2in x 9 1/4in. Courtesy of Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona, IAC7. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 7.16. Fred Kabotie, *Wuwuchim* (title in Seymour is *Wuwtsimt with Two Aalay'taqat*), c. 1928. Watercolor, 14 3/4in x 22in. Courtesy of the US Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Denman Collection, W-68.56.28. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 7.17. Fred Kabotie, *Water Drinking Dance (or Butterfly [Water Drinking] Dance)*, 1925. Watercolor on paper, 12in x 21in. Courtesy of Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona, IAC26. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Reproduced from ARTStor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). Same as fig. 8.7.



Figure 7.18. [On the porch of the Nelson ranch at Crows, New Mexico, where Kabotie painted the series for the Heye Collection]. Photograph courtesy and by permission of Peter Louw Nelson.



Figure 7.19. Program from opening of Nelson's film, *Hopi*. Image courtesy and by permission of Peter Louw Nelson.

Arrangements may be made with the
Committee for lectures and exhibitions
with the film.

• •

COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN INDIAN
RESEARCH
*of the Museum of the American Indian
Heye Foundation*
BROADWAY AT 155TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.


JOHN LOUW NELSON
Director of Research

•

Mrs. OLIVER HARDMAN
Mrs. MARY CADOT WHEELWRIGHT
Mrs. H. D. COMBES
Mrs. SHERMAN P. HARTY
FRANCIS PIGNATELLI DE MONTICATO
Dr. JOHN H. FOLEY
Mr. WILL D. HOWE
Mr. OLIVER LA FARGE

•

Dr. GEORGE G. HEYE
In-Chief for the Museum



Lewis Jacobs, photographic director, films the dance

Figure 7.20. Carl Van Vechten, *Portrait of Mabel Dodge Luhan*, April 12, 1934. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Carl Van Vechten Collection, LC-USZ62-106861 DLC, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2004663225/> (accessed March 10, 2014).



Figure 7.21. Maynard Dixon, *Housetops of Walpi*, 1923. Oil on board. 20 in x 16 in. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed Month 20, 2012). Location unknown. Fair Use.



Figure 7.22. Maynard Dixon, *The Wise Men*, 1923. Oil on canvas, 36in x 40in. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed June 6, 2012). Location unknown. Fair use.



Figure 7.23. Denys Wortman, “Isn’t it cute—for a present, I mean?” c. 1929. Cartoon in the *New York World*, 1929. In reference to *Ishauu*, a Madison Avenue art gallery created by Elizabeth White and dedicated to Native American works. Although the gallery attracted a handful of knowledgeable buyers, most customers were simple curio seekers. By permission of Denys Wortman IV. Reproduced from Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 106, Fig. 6; <http://books.google.com> (accessed January 14, 2014).



Figure 7.24. *Parnassus* magazine advertisement, November 1931.

400 Years of
AMERICAN INDIAN ART

The first comprehensive display of the art of the American Indian. Paintings and sculpture. Textiles of abstract design. Jewelry of silver and turquoise displaying unique artistry and fine craftsmanship. Pottery that expresses the unspoiled Indian sense of design.

●

Grand Central Art Galleries
15 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK

●

December 1st to 24th . . . Daily 9 to 6 and Sunday 2 to 6 . . . Admission 50c.

EXPOSITION OF INDIAN TRIBAL ARTS, Inc.



Figure 7.25. John Sloan's *The Eagle Dance*, was adapted for the November 1, 1922 cover of *El Palacio*. John Sloan image © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

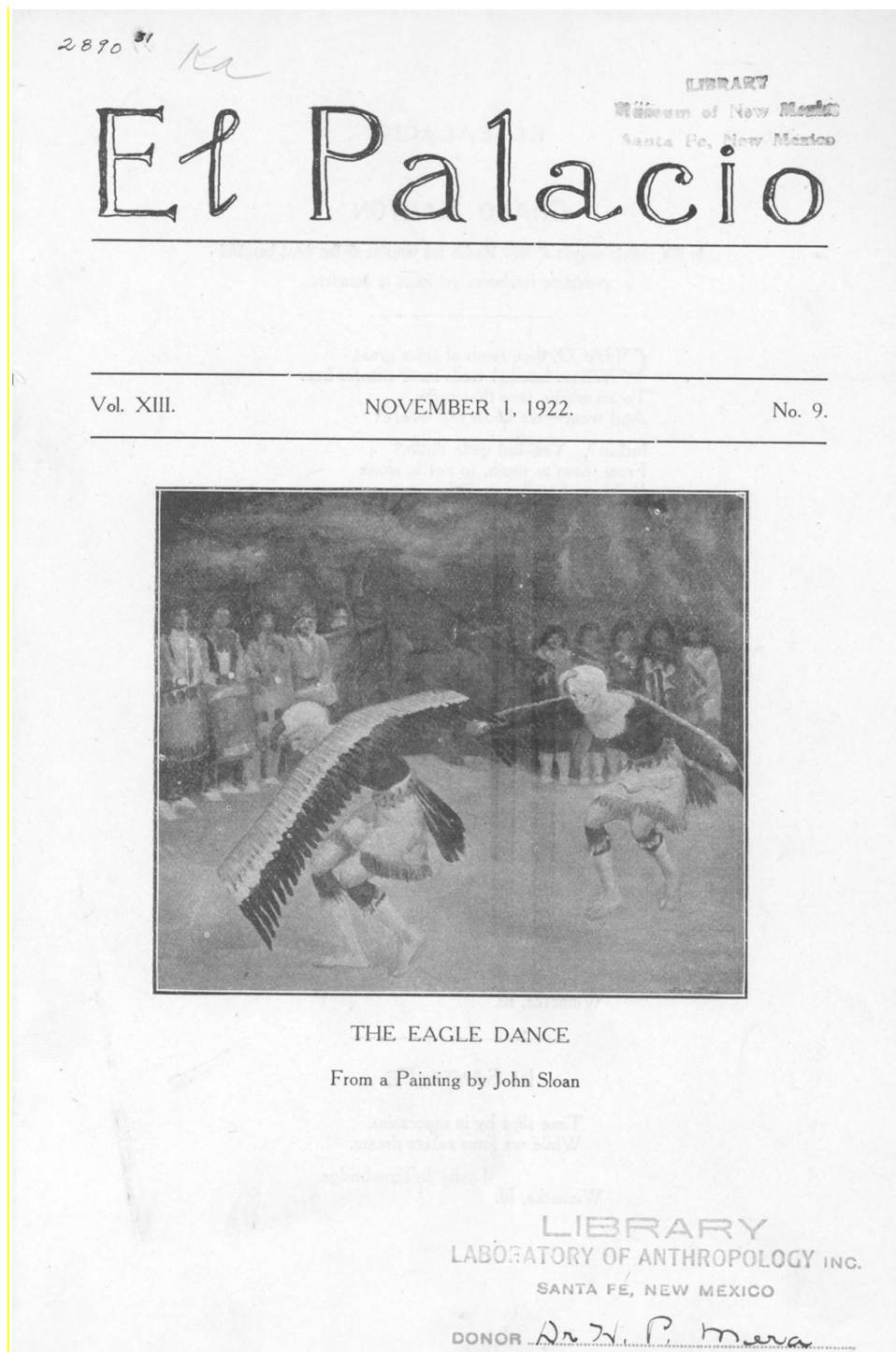


Figure 7.26. John Sloan, *Ancestral Spirits (The Koshare)*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 24in x 20in. Courtesy of the New Mexico Museum of Art, gift of Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett (1920), 45.23P. ©2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

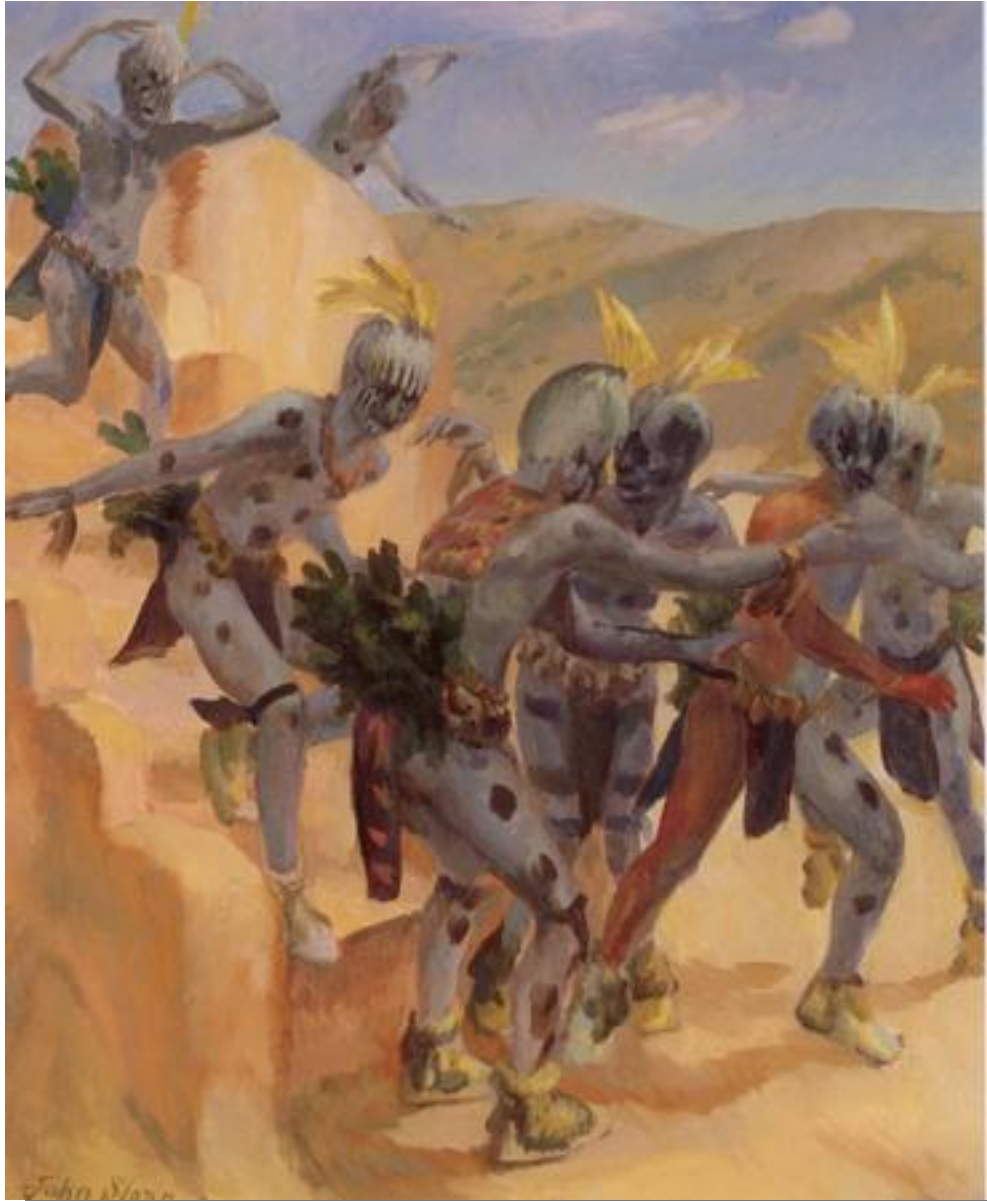


Figure 7.27. John Sloan, *Koshare in the Dust*, 1930. Gum Arabic tempera underpaint with oil-varnish glaze on panel, 20 1/8in x 26in. Private collection. Courtesy of the Gerald Peters Gallery. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 7.28. John Sloan, *Eagles of Tesuque*, 1921. Oil on canvas, 26in x 34in. Courtesy of Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, Colorado, Carlton and Debutante Ball Fund, 68-5. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

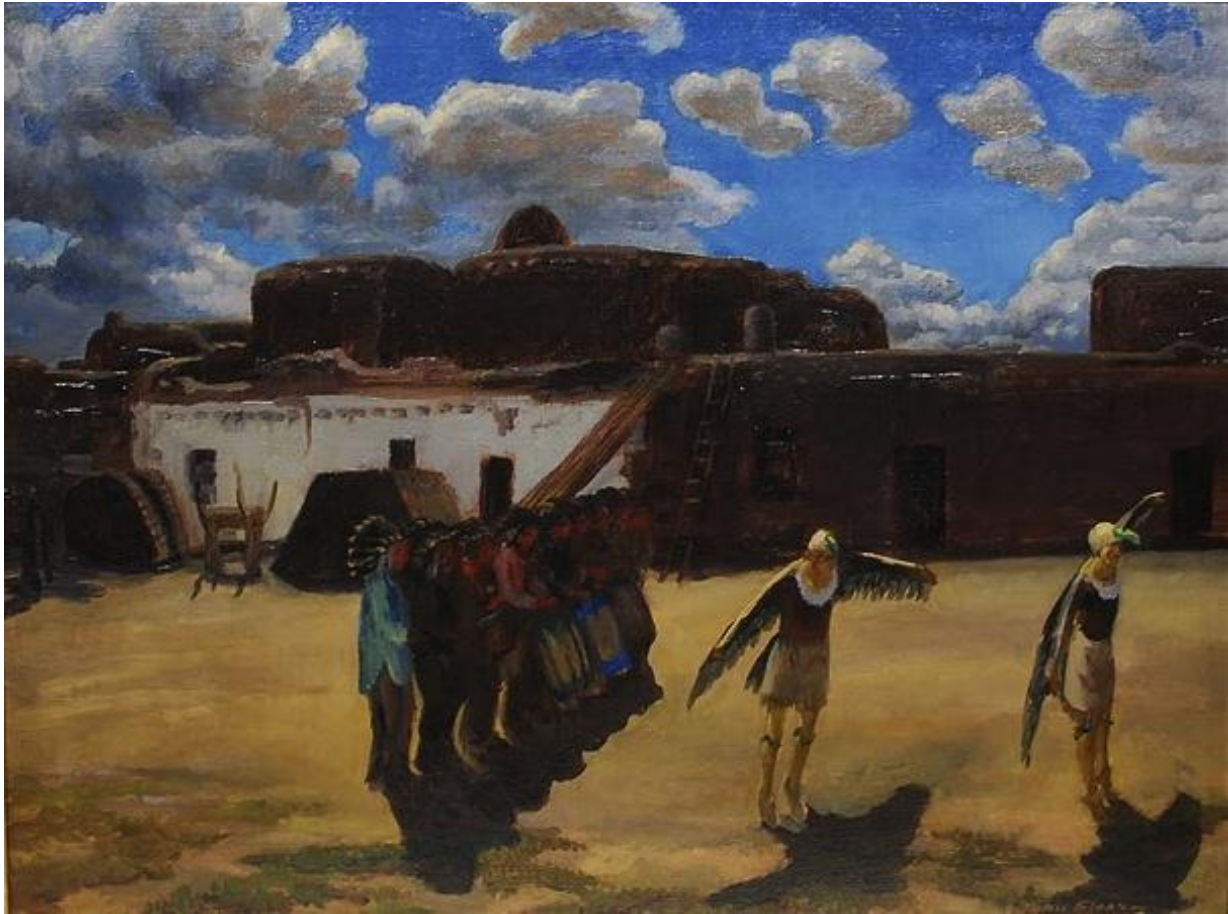


Figure 7.29. Fred Kabotie, *Clowns Getting Ready*, c. 1930. Watercolor on paper, 14 3/4in x 20in. Courtesy of California Academy of Sciences, Elkus Collection, CAS 0370-1215. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva

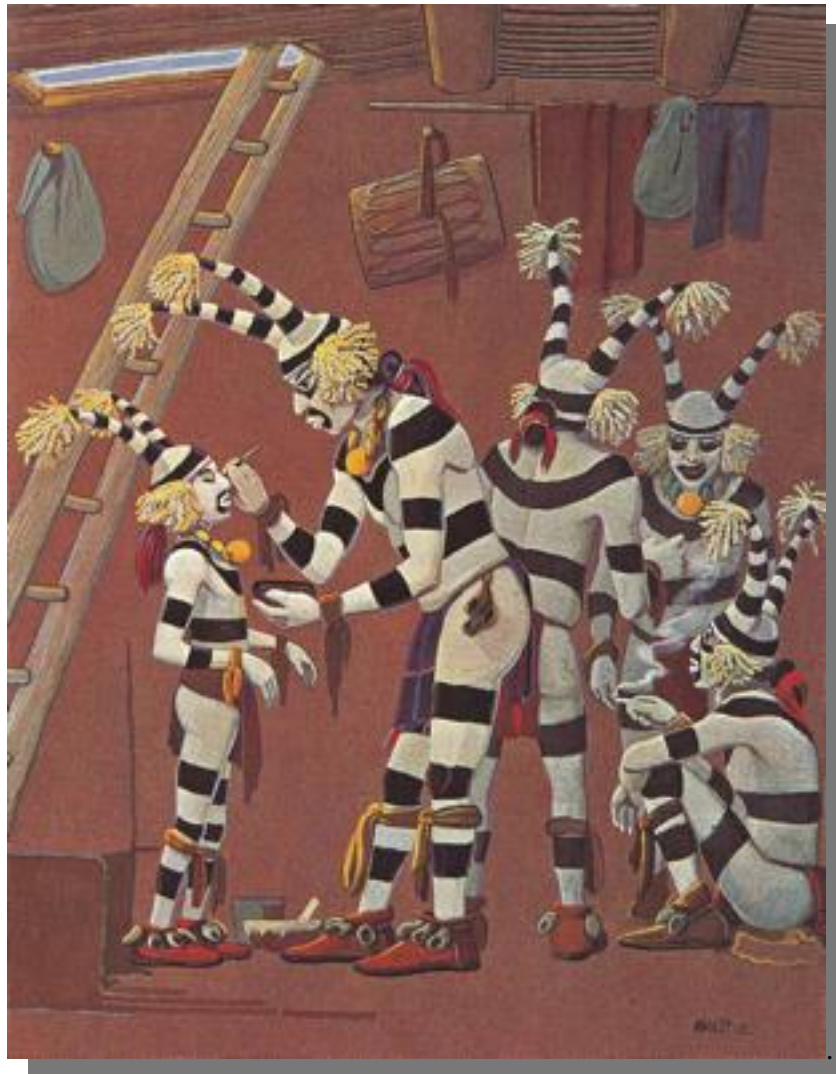


Figure 8.1: Fred Kabotie, *Corn Dance*, 1918. Watercolor on paper, size. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico MIAC/School of Advanced Research, 14219/13. Gift of Elizabeth DeHuff. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.2. Fred Kabotie, *Snake Dance*. 1919. Watercolor. Whereabouts of original unknown; reproduced from Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Plains and Southwest Area*, Figure 79; credited to collection of Jens Jensen. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.3 Fred Kabotie, *Flute Boy*, 1920. Watercolor on paper, 11 in x 7 1/2 in. Whereabouts unknown, reproduced from Kabotie and Belknap, *Fred Kabotie*, 21, where cited as owned by American Indian Treasures, Guilderland. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. (also figure 6.5).

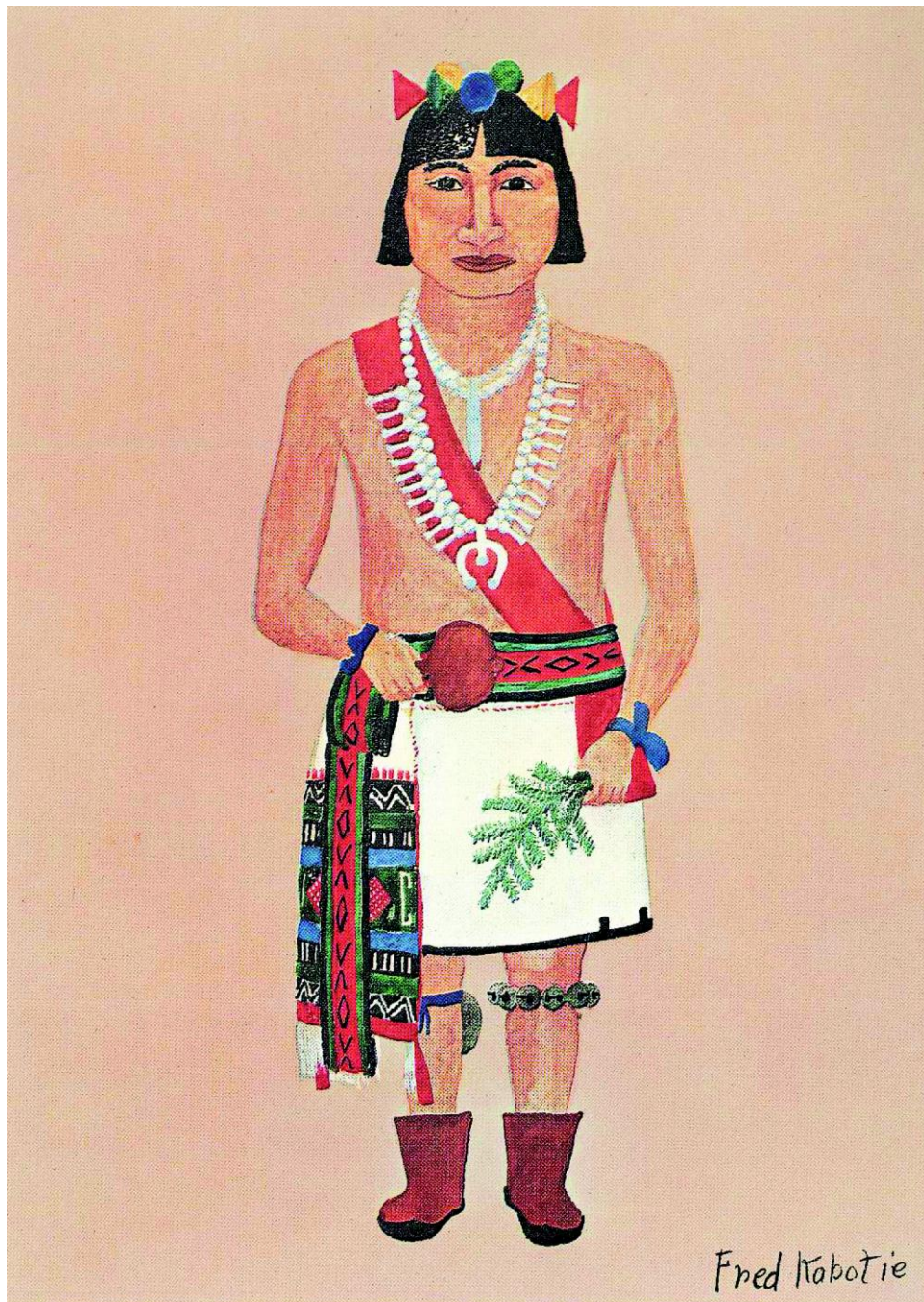


Figure 8.4. Fred Kabotie, *Women's Basket Dance*, c. 1920–22. Watercolor on paper. Museum of Northern Arizona, number. Reproduced from ARTstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. (also figure 1.3)



Figure 8.5. Fred Kabotie, *Young Men's Spring Ceremony*, c. 1920–21. Watercolor on paper. Courtesy of School of Advanced Research/MIAC, Collection of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, 24267/13. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.

**(Photograph removed at the request of the Cultural Resources Advisor Task Team
and the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office)**

Figure 8.6. Fred Kabotie, *Hopi Woman Making Pottery*, c. 1925. Watercolor. Courtesy of School for Advanced Research/MIAC, 24261/13. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.7. Fred Kabotie, *Water Drinking Dance (or Butterfly [Water Drinking] Dance)*, 1925. Watercolor on paper, 12in x 21 in. Courtesy of the Heard Museum, Phoenix, Arizona, IAC26. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Reproduced from ARTStor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). (Also figure 7.17)



Figure 8.8. Fred Kabotie, *Ho-Te Dance* (or *Ho-Ote Dance*), c. 1925. Watercolor on paper, 13in x 22in. Courtesy of the Amerind Foundation, Dragoon, Arizona, 2027a. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.9. Fred Kabotie, *Untitled*. [*Zuni Shalako* or *Two Salimobias Running Past Three Shalakos*], c. 1928–1930. Gouache on tan paper, 14 3/4in x 23in. Courtesy of the School for Advanced Research, IAF.P94. Photograph by Addison Doty. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.

“The scene is mostly accurate, with a few minor inaccuracies. In the scene there are three Shalakos. They are accompanied by two salimobias, a multi-color one and a black one. It is accurate that the multi-color and the black salimobias come out together. However, they are both shown carrying the yucca leaves incorrectly. The Shalakos are all missing the eagle feathers that should be on their right horn tips. The horns should be turquoise blue, not green. The Shalakos are shown with square beaks, but they should be round. Also, their legs are not the correct colors and they are not wearing the right kind of moccasins. Mr. Seowtewa and Mr. Enote suggested “Two Salimobias Running Past Three Shalakos” as a possible descriptive title for the painting. Since the artist was not Zuni, it would be difficult for him to get all of the details correct—this painting should be viewed as his impressions of Shalako, but not as an accurate representation of it.” According to Jim Enote and Octavius Seowtewa during collection review visit June 20 and 21, 2012 (Events Record “Collection Review: Zuni Tribe, Review 8”).



Figure 8.10 Fred Kabotie, *The Delightmakers*, 1930. Watercolor, 19in x 22 1/4in. National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 23/1968. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. (also Figure 14).



Figure 8.11. Robert Henri, *Indian Dance*, c. 1916–1917. From *Robert Henri in Santa Fe*. 12 in x 16 in. Watercolor. Fair Use.



Figure 8.12. Robert Henri, *Tesuque Pueblo*, 1917. Pastel on paper, 12 1/2in x 20in. Private collection. Reproduced from The Athenaeum, <http://www.the-athenaeum.org> (accessed March 14, 2014).



Figure 8.13. Unknown. *Figure with Adobe building in background*, undated. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 5 3/4in x 3 1/2in. Courtesy of the John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Helen Farr Sloan Library and Archives, Delaware Art Museum, box 281, 1994-11, 1994.



Figure 8.14. Unknown. *Walking figure holding wreath*, undated. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 12 3/8in x 8 1/4in. Courtesy of the John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Helen Farr Sloan Library and Archives, Delaware Art Museum, box 281, 1994-22, 1994.



Figure 8.15. Wekati Herman (3rd grade), *Four Masked Figures*, undated. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 5in x 11in. Indian student work in Sloan's personal collection. Courtesy of the John Sloan Manuscript Collection, Helen Farr Sloan Library and Archives, Delaware Art Museum, box 281, 1994-14, 1994.



Figure 8.16. John Sloan, *Ancestral Spirits*, 1919. Oil on canvas, 24in x 20in. Courtesy of New Mexico Museum of Art, gift of Dr. Edgar Lee Hewett (1920), 45.23P. Also at fig. 5.18. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

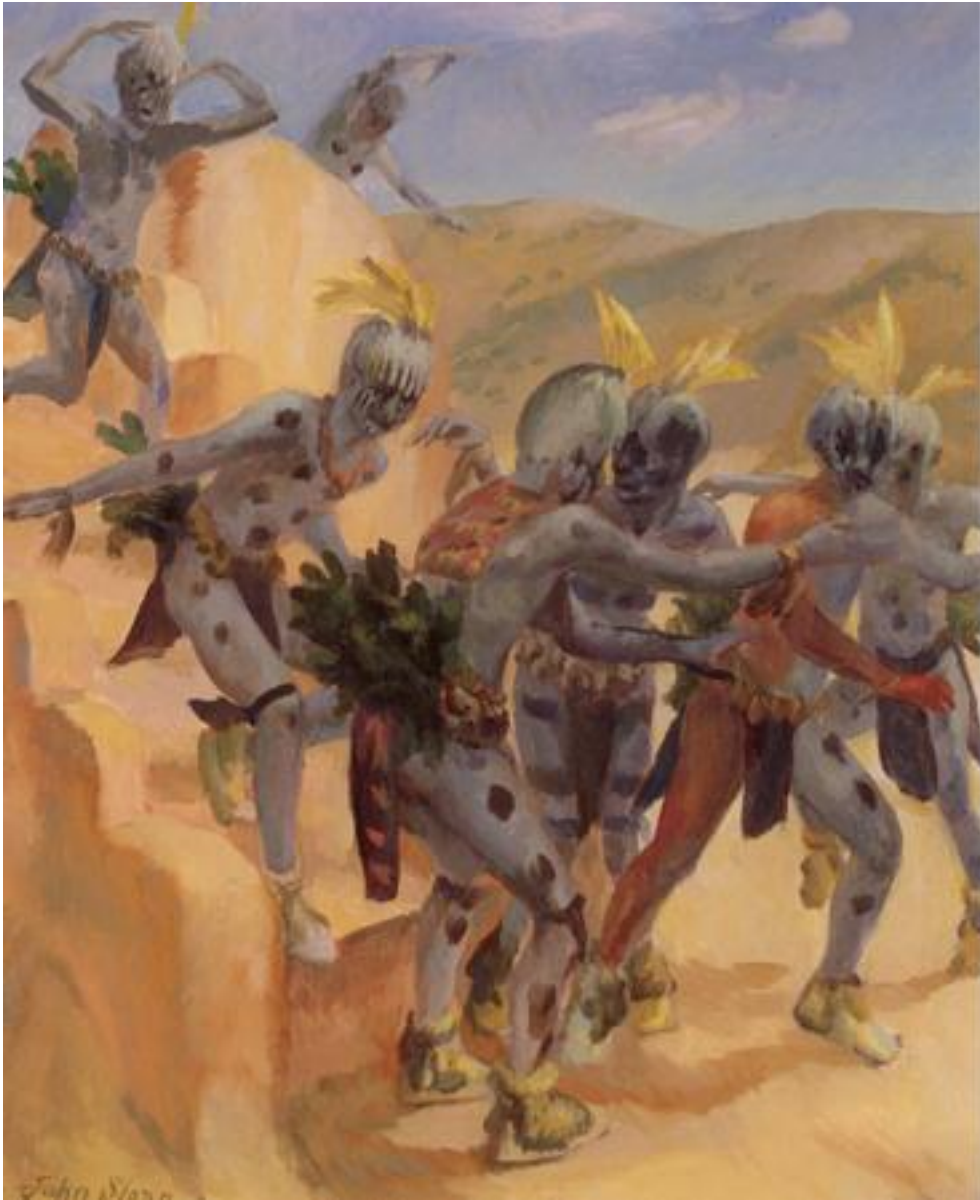


Figure 8.17. John Sloan, *Snake Dance*, 1921. Etching. Courtesy Cleveland Museum of Art, <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1951.52> (accessed March 14, 2014), Gift of Mrs. Malcolm L. McBride, 1951.52. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York



Figure 8.18. John Sloan (1871–1951), *Dance at the Cochiti Pueblo, New Mexico*, 1922. Detail. Oil on canvas, 22in x 30in. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, USA. Gift of the John Sloan Memorial Fund; The Bridgeman Art Library, DAM184627. © 2014 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.



Figure 8.19. Kenneth Chapman, *Indian Portrait*, 1903. Gouache on paper, 8 3/4in x 5 3/4in. Courtesy of Karen Barrie.



Figure 8.20. Maynard Dixon, *Circle of Shimaikuli*, 1923. Oil on canvas, 39 1/2in x 35 1/2in.
©2014. The Eugene B. Adkins Collection at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma and the Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma, ADKINS L2007.0191.

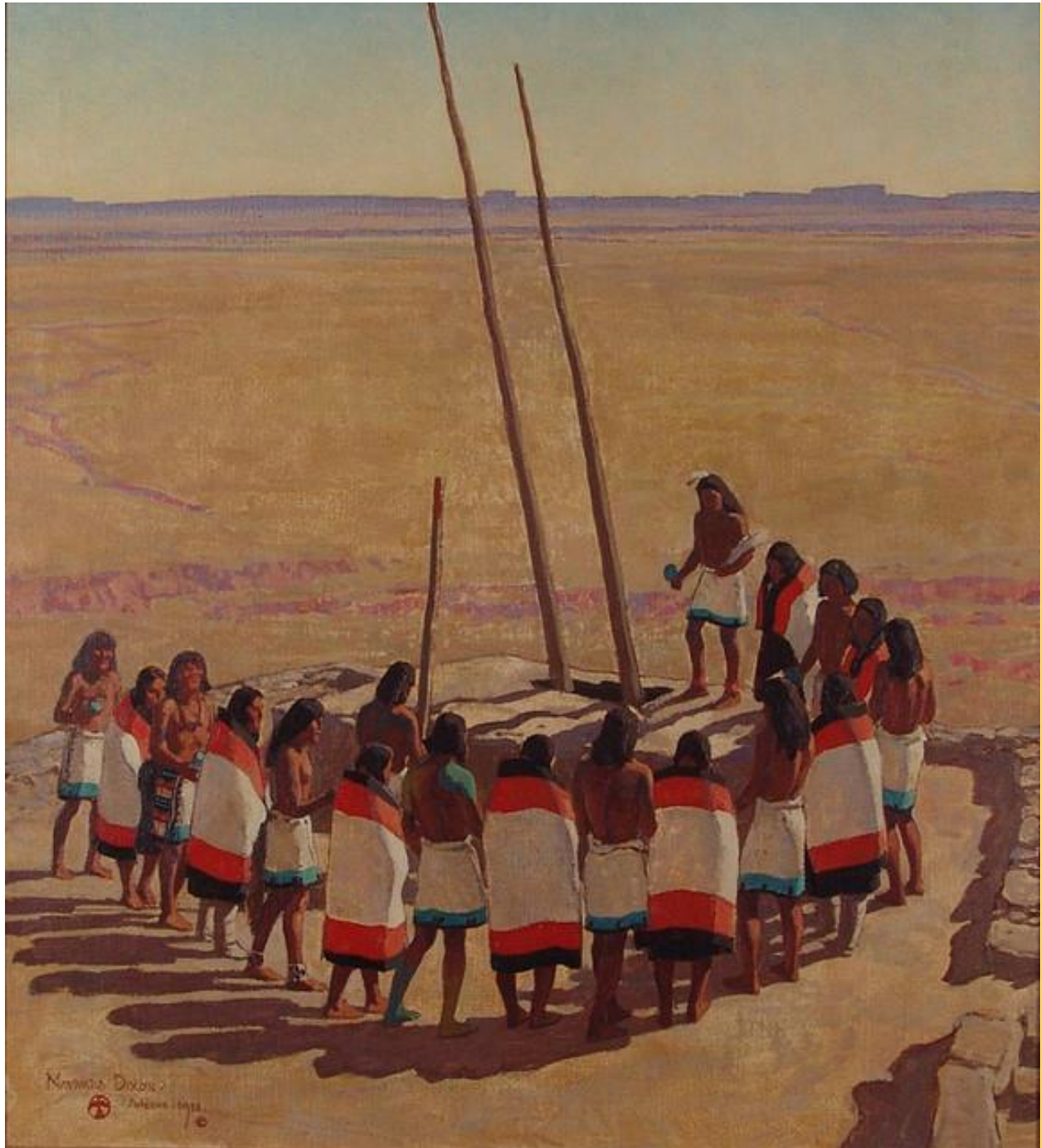


Figure 8.21. Fred Kabotie, *Home Dance*, 1950. This 1950 painting by Kabotie is offered as an example of how much his work evolved after leaving Santa Fe. Although this study does not go into his later works, it does offer these last two figures as final proof of the influences of modern mainstream artists on Kabotie's work. Compare this to figure 8.22, *New Year Fructification Ceremony*. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.22. Fred Kabotie, *Tsu'ti (Snake Dance)*, c. 1954. Casein on tan-colored watercolor paper, 8 3/4in x 23 1/2in. To see how Kabotie's work evolved after the early thirties, compare this Snake Dance painting to any of his early Santa Fe Style watercolors of the same dance. Courtesy of the Denman Collection, Indian Arts and Crafts Board, W-68.56.40. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed April 28, 2010). By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.23. Jesse Nusbaum, *Julian and Maria Martinez from San Ildefonso Pueblo in patio of Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1912*. Glass negative, 5in x 7in. Courtesy Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, MNM DCA-40814.



Figure 8.24. Maynard Dixon, *Kachina Maker*, 1923. Oil on canvas board. Current location unknown. Fair Use.



Figure 8.25. Fred Kabotie, *New Year Fructification Ceremony*, before 1922. Watercolor on paper. Reproduced from E. H. Cahill, "America Has Its Primitives: Aboriginal Water Colorists of New Mexico Make Faithful Record of Their Race," *International Studio* 75, no. 299 (1922): 80. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



"NEW YEAR FRUCTIFICATION CEREMONY" BY FRED KABOTIE

Figure 8.26. Fred Kabotie, *Hopi Mask Dance*, before 1922. Watercolor on paper. Reproduced from Cahill, "America Has Its Primitives," 81. By permission of Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva.



Figure 8.27. Fred Kabotie, *Hopi Masked Dance*, c. 1925–30. Gouache on cream paper laid down, 19 1/2in x 30in. Corcoran Gallery of Art, 37.69. Reproduced from Artstor, <http://www.artstor.org> (accessed January 2, 2014). This image was reproduced in Webb, Spinden, and La Farge, *Introduction to American Indian Art*, 52. A comparison of this to the previous figure, illustrates the progression of the Santa Fe style nicely.



Bibliography

Bibliography

- 1920 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of The Society of Independent Artists*. Beinecke Library, Yale University, ZA, D813, Zz920D.
- Adam, Leonhard. *Primitive Art*. London: Saint Martins Lane, 1949.
- Adams, David Wallace. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995.
- Adams, David Wallace. “Schooling the Hopi: Federal Indian Policy Writ Small, 1887–1917.” *Pacific Historical Review* 48, no. 3 (1979): 335–56, doi:10.2307/3638757.
- Ades, Dawn, Simon Baker, and Fiona Bradley. *Undercover Surrealism: Georges Bataille and Documents*. London: MIT Press, 2006.
- “Afternoon Tea.” *Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914.
- Ahtone, Heather, Neil David, Delbridge Honanie, and Milland Lomakema. *Hopituy: Hopi Art from the Permanent Collections*. Norman: Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma, 2013.
- Alexander, John W. “Is Our Art Distinctively American?” *Century* 89, no. 6 (1914): 827.
- Alexandre Gallery. “Marsden Hartley New Mexico 1918–1920: An American Discovering America.” News release, February 2003.
- Alfred W. McCoy. Review of *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900–1913*, by Glenn Anthony May. *Journal of Southeast Studies* 14, No. 1 (1983): 201–4.
- Allen, Frederick Lewis. *Only Yesterday; an Informal History of the Nineteen-twenties*. New York: Harper, 1957.
- American Art News* 3, no. 55 (November 26, 1904).
- “Angel De Cora Dietz.” *Southern Workman*, March 19, 1919, 104.
- Anthes, Bill. *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940–1960*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

- Anthony, Alexander E., Jr. *Nampeyo of Hano and Five Generations of Her Descendants*. Albuquerque, NM: Adobe Gallery, 1984.
- Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- “An Appeal for Fair Play and the Preservation of Pueblo Land,” November 5, 1922. American Indian Affairs Records, Box 317, Folder 2, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton, NJ.
- Applegate, Frank Guy. *Indian Stories from the Pueblos*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott, 1929.
- Apps, Jerold W. *One-room Country Schools: History and Recollections from Wisconsin*. Amherst, WI: Amherst Press, 1996.
- Archuleta, Margaret, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds. *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000*. Phoenix: Heard Museum Press, 2000.
- Archuleta, Margaret, Rennard Strickland, Joy L. Gritton, and W. Jackson Rushing. *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*. Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 1991.
- Armstrong, William Patrick. *Fred Harvey, Creator of Western Hospitality*. Bellemont, AZ: Canyonlands Publications, 2000.
- Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan (Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Conference Proceedings)*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.
- Artists of 20th-century New Mexico: The Museum of Fine Arts Collection*. Santa Fe, NM: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992.
- Aurelius, Marcus, Lucian (Lucianus Samosatensis), Justin Martyr, and Walter Pater. *Marcus Aurelius and His Times: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity*. Roslyn, NY: Walter J. Black, 1945.
- Austin, Mary, and Ansel Adams. *Taos Pueblo*. New York: Century, 1924.
- Austin, Mary, and T. M. Pearce. *Literary America, 1903–1934: The Mary Austin Letters*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979.
- Austin, Mary. *The Land of Journeys' Ending*. New York: Century, 1924.
- Ayer, Frederick Wellington. *Currier and Ives: And Other Rare American Lithographs*. New York: American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930.

- Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse. *The Delight Makers*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1890.
- Barr, Alfred H., Irving Sandler, and Amy Newman. *Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.* New York: Abrams, 1986.
- Batchelder, Ernest A. *Design in Theory and Practice*. New York: Macmillan, 1910.
- Batterberry, Michael. *Twentieth Century Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.
- Bear, Luther Standing. *My Indian Boyhood*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- Beatrice, Chauvenet. *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
- Beck, Sanderson. "Philippines under US Republicans 1902–10." *Ethics of Civilization: Volume 21: East Asia 1800–1949*. Accessed October 12, 2010. <http://san.beck.org/EC21-cover.html>.
- Benedict, Burton. *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*. Berkeley, CA: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983.
- Benedict, John D. "The Advisability of Conducting Normal Schools to Train Teachers for the Specific Purpose of Instructing Indian Children." In *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting Held at Asbury Park and Ocean Grove, New Jersey July 3–7 1905*, National Education Association of the United States. Winona: MN: National Education Association. 1905.
- Benedict, Ruth. "Boas, Foucault, and the 'Native Anthropologist.'" *The American Association for the Advancement of Science* 97 (January 15, 1943): 60–62.
- Benes, Rebecca C. *Native American Picture Books of Change: The Art of Historic Children's Editions*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2004.
- Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality; a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
- Berkeley, Christopher. Review of *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880–1920*, by T. J. Jackson Lears. *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66, no. 2, 1982–83.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine and Allen Wardwell. *Native Paths: American Indian Art from the Collection of Charles and Valerie Diker*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998.

- Berlo, Janet Catherine., and Ruth B. Phillips. *Native North American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine, Robert G. Donnelley, and Candace S. Greene. *Transforming Images: The Art of Silver Horn and His Successors*. Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, 2001.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine. *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992.
- Berlo, Janet Catherine. *Plains Indian Drawings, 1865–1935: Pages from a Visual History*. New York: Harry N. Abrams in Association with the American Federation of Arts and the Drawing Center, 1996.
- Bernstein, Bruce, and W. Jackson Rushing. *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*. Santa F: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995.
- Bernstein, Bruce, Gerald McMaster, and Kathleen E. Ash-Milby. *First American Art: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection of American Indian Art*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian, 2004.
- Berry, Rose S. “American Inter Tribal Indian Art.” *Art and Archaeology*, 32 (November-December 1932): 147-159, 188.
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Bial, Raymond. *One-room School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. “Introduction: Constructing the Indian, 1830s–1900s.” In *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*, edited by S. Elizabeth Bird. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.
- Blair, Mary Ellen, and Laurence R. Blair. *The Legacy of a Master Potter: Nampeyo and Her Descendants*. Tucson, AZ: Treasure Chest Books, 1999.
- Blumenson, John J. G. *Identifying American Architecture: A Pictorial Guide to Styles and Terms, 1600–1945*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1981.
- Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man: A Course of Lectures Delivered before the Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass., and the National University of Mexico, 1910–1911*. New York: Macmillan, 1911.
- Boas, Franz. *Primitive Art*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2010.
- Boas, Norman F. *Franz Boas, 1858–1942: An Illustrated Biography*. Mystic, CT.: Seaport Autographs Press, 2004.
- Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing. *The World’s Columbian Exposition: The Chicago World’s Fair of 1893*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

- Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1921.
- BonJour, Laurence. *Epistemology: Classic Problems and Contemporary Responses*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.
- Bourke, John Gregory. *The Snake-dance of the Moquis of Arizona: Being a Narrative of a Journey from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Villages of the Moqui Indians of Arizona*. London: Sampson Low, 1884.
- Breton, André. *Conversations: The Autobiography of Surrealism*. New York: Paragon House, 1969.
- Breton, André. *Manifestoes of Surrealism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969.
- Brill, A. A. *Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1944.
- Brill, A. A. "The Introduction and Development of Freud's Work in the United States." *American Journal of Sociology* 45, no. 3 (1939): 318, doi:10.1086/218305.
- Broder, Patricia Janis. *The American West: The Modern Vision*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1984.
- Brody, J. J. *Indian Painters & White Patrons*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971.
- Brody, J. J. *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900–1930*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1997.
- Bronner, Simon J., ed. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920*. New York: Norton, 1989.
- Brown, Milton W. *The Story of the Armory Show*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988.
- Bundy, David S. *Painting in the South: 1564–1908*. Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1983.
- Bunzel, Ruth Leah. *The Pueblo Potter; a Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.
- Burbank, Elbridge A. "Studies of Art in American Life III: In Indian Teepees." *Brush and Pencil* 7 (November 1900): 75–91.
- Burke, Flannery. *From Greenwich Village to Taos: Primitivism and Place at Mabel Dodge Luhan's*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008.
- Burks, Jesse D. "Need for a Comprehensive Restatement of Educational Theory." *The School Review* 17, no. 4 (1909): 244–54.

- Burnside, Wesley M. *Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1973.
- Cahill, E. Holger. "American Has Its Primitives: Aboriginal Water Colorists of New Mexico Make Faithful Record of Their Race." *International Studio*, March 1922, 80–83.
- Cahill, E. Holger. "Letter from Holger Cahill to Edgar P. Richardson on Federal Patronage of the Arts." *Archives of American Art Journal* 24, no. 3 (1983): 22–23.
- Cahill, Holger. *American Painting & Sculpture, 1862–1932*. New York: Arno Press, 1969.
- Cahill, Holger, and Alfred H. Barr. *Art in America in Modern Times*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934.
- Callander, Lee M., and David M. Fawcett. *Native American Painting: Selections from the Museum of the American Indian*. New York: National Museum of the American Indian, 1982.
- Canieso-Doronila, Maria Luisa. "The Philippines." *International Review of Education* 42, no. 1 (1996): 109–29.
- Carbone, Teresa A. *Youth and Beauty: Art of the American Twenties*. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2011.
- Catalogue of the Exhibition of Fine Arts: Buffalo (N.Y.) Pan-American Exposition, 1901*. Exposition Catalog. Library of the University of Michigan.
- Cather, Willa. *The Professor's House*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925.
- Catlin, George. *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians; Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832-1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America*. London: Published by the Author and Printed by Tosswill and Myers, 1841.
- Ceram, C. W. *The First American: A Story of North American Archaeology*. New York: Mentor, 1971.
- "Certain Painters at the Society." *Evening Sun* (New York), April 1, 1905.
- Chancellor, William Estabrook. *A Theory of Motives, Ideals, and Values in Education*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1907.
- Chapman, Janet, and Karen Barrie. *Kenneth Milton Chapman: A Life Dedicated to Indian Arts and Artists*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.
- Chauvenet, Beatrice. *Hewett and Friends: A Biography of Santa Fe's Vibrant Era*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1983.

- Chennakesavan, Sarasvati. "The Philosophy of Dewey-- As an (East) Indian Sees It." *Philosophy Quarterly* 33 (1960–1961): 267–71.
- Churchill, Ward. *Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonization of American Indians*. Edited by M. Annette Jaimes. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1992.
- Clark, Kenneth. *The Gothic Revival: An Essay in the History of Taste*. London: J. Murray, 1962.
- Class Book: Teachers College 1906*. New York: Duysters Press, 1906.
- Claudy, C. H. "The City House and What Can Be Done With It." *House and Garden*, September 1910, 155.
- Clymer, Kenton J. "Humanitarian Imperialism: David Prescott Barrows and the White Man's Burden in the Philippines." *Pacific Historical Review* 45, no. 4 (1976): 495–517.
- Cohen, Bell. "The Independent Artists." *The Call*, February 27, 1921, 5.
- Coke, Van Deren. *Taos and Santa Fe; the Artist's Environment, 1882–1942*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press/Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1963.
- Cole, Douglas. *Franz Boas: The Early Years, 1858–1906*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1999.
- Collier, John. "The Red Atlantis." *Survey*, October 1922, 15–20.
- Collins, Jim. *Uncommon Cultures: Popular Culture and Post-modernism*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Collins, John E. *Nampeyo, Hopi Potter: Her Artistry and Her Legacy*. Fullerton, CA: Muckenthaler Cultural Center, 1974.
- Colton, Harold Sellers. *Hopi Kachina Dolls: With a Key to Their Identification*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949.
- Colton, Mary-Russell Ferrell, and Harold S. Colton. "An Appreciation of the Art of Nampeyo and Her Influence on Hopi Pottery." *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau* 15 (1943): 43–45.
- Columbia University Teachers College Arts and Crafts Club, *Art and Industry in Education: A Book Illustrative of the Principles and Problems of the Courses in the Fine and Industrial Arts at Teachers College. 1913*. New York: Columbia University, 1913.
- Columbia University Teachers College, Horace Mann Elementary School. *The Curriculum of the Horace Mann Elementary School*. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1917.

- “Congress of Americanists.” *Nation*, September 27, 1906, 258, accessed January 9, 2014, “The Nation Archive Premium Edition,” Ebscohost.com.
- Conley, Katharine and Pierre Taminiaux, eds. *Surrealism and Its Others* Yale French Studies Series 109. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Cook, Colleen. “Germany’s Wild West Author: A Researcher’s Guide to Karl May.” *German Studies Review* 5 (1982): 67–86.
- Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Last of the Mohicans*. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey & I. Lea, 1826.
- Cooper, Michael L. *Indian School: Teaching the White Man's Way*. New York: Clarion Books, 1999.
- Corn, Wanda M. *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1999.
- Cotton, Fassestt A. *Education in Indiana: An Outline of the Growth of the Common School System*. Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, 1904. Accessed March 21, 2014, <http://books.google.com/>.
- Covarrubias, Miguel. *The Eagle, the Jaguar, and the Serpent; Indian Art of the Americas: North America: Alaska, Canada, the United States*. New York: Knopf, 1954.
- Cox, Kenyon. *Documents of the 1913 Armory Show: The Electrifying Moment of Modern Art's American Debut*. Tucson, AZ: Hol Art Books, 2009.
- Cracroft, Richard H. “The American West of Karl May.” *American Quarterly* 19 (1967): 249–58.
- “Craftsman House, the Bungalow: Series of 1906, Number III.” *Craftsman* 10, no. 1 (April 1906): 106–13.
- Cremin, Lawrence Arthur. *A History of Teachers College, Columbia University*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.
- Crone, Frank L. [Acting Director, Manila, February 1, 1913], Foreword to *Philippine Mats*, by the Government of the Philippine Islands Department of Public Instruction, Bureau of Education. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1913.
- Crouse, Russel. *Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives: A Note on Their Lives and times*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930.
- Cumming, Elizabeth, and Wendy Kaplan. *The Arts and Crafts Movement*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991.
- “Current Art Events.” *International Studio* 24, no. 96 (February 1905): cvi.

- Currier and Ives: Lithographs in Color: Fine Prints by Nat Currier, Currier and Ives, Thomas Kelly, Kellogg & Thayer, and Others: American Historical Scenes and Portraits, Country Life, Naval and Marine Prints, Early West Sports, &c., including the Collection Formed by W.E. Russell.* New York: American Art Association, 1926.
- Curtis, Edward S. *The North American Indian: The Hopi*. Vol. 12. Cambridge, MA: University Press, 1922.
- Curtis, Edward S. "North American Indians." *National Geographic* 27 (July 1907): 469–84.
- Curtis, Natalie. "An American Indian Artist." *The Outlook: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Current Events*, January 14, 1920, 78.
- Curtis, Natalie. *The Indians' Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of the Songs and Legends of Their Race*. New York and London: Harper & Row, 1907.
- Curtis, Natalie. "Theodore Roosevelt in Hopiland: Another Personal Reminiscence." *The Outlook: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Current Events*, September 17, 1919, 87–88.
- Darnall, Diane Thomas, *The Southwestern Indian Detours: The Story of the Fred Harvey/Santa Fe Railway Experiment in Detourism*. Phoenix, AZ: Hunter Publishing, 1978.
- Davis, Allen Freeman. *Spearheads for Reform; the Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890–1914*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Davies, Arthur B., and Bennard B. Perlman. *The Lives, Loves, and Art of Arthur B. Davies*. Albany: State University Of New York Press, 1999.
- De Angulo, Gui, ed. *Jaime in Taos: The Taos Papers of Jaime De Angulo*. San Francisco: City Light Books, 1985.
- De Cora, Angel. "Gray Wolf's Daughter." *Harper's Monthly*, November 1899, 860.
- De Cora, Angel. "The Sick Child." *Harper's Monthly*, February 1899, 446–48.
- De Cora, Angel. "Native Indian Art," in *Report of the Executive on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of the American Indians Held at the University of Ohio, Columbus, Ohio-October 12–17 1911*. Washington DC: Society of American Indians, 1912.
- De Cora, Angel. "Native Indian Art," in *The Report of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indians and Other Dependent Peoples*. Lake Mohonk, New York: Lake Mohonk Conference, 1908.
- Dearborn, Mary V. *Mistress of Modernism: The Life of Peggy Guggenheim*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2004.

- Dearinger, David B., and Avis Berman. *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826–1925*. New York: National Academy of Design, 2000.
- DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis. Pictures by Fred Kabotie. *Swift-Eagle of the Rio Grande*. Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1928.
- DeHuff, Elizabeth Willis. *Five Little Katchinas*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.
- DeHuff, John D. “The Philippine School of Commerce.” In *American Teachers in the Philippines*, edited by Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis, 215–17. Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1959.
- DeHuff, John. “How Shall We Educate the Indian.” *El Palacio* 8, no. 5 (September 1, 1922): 59–64.
- Deloria, Philip Joseph. *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Deloria, Vine, and Daniel R. Wildcat. *Power and Place: Indian Education in America*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2001.
- Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs. *Tentative Course of Study for United States Indian Schools*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915.
- Devon, Marjorie. *Migrations: New Directions in Native American Art*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Dewey, John, Albert C. Barnes, Laurence Buermeyer, Mary Mullen, and Violette De Mazia. *Art and Education: A Collection of Essays*. Merion, PA: Barnes Foundation Press, 1954.
- Dewey, John. “Criteria of Experience.” In *Experience and Education*, by John Dewey, 23–52. New York: Macmillan, 1938.
- Dewey, John. “The Experience of Knowing.” In *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, edited by John J. McDermott, 173. Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. First published as John Dewey, *Psychology and Philosophic Method: The Annual Public Address Before the Union, May 15, 1899*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1899. Also published in John Dewey, *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy: and Other Essays on Contemporary Thought*. New York: Henry Holt., 1910, 242–70.
- Dewey, John. *How We Think, a Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Educative Process*. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1910.
- Dewey, John. *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy, and Other Essays in Contemporary Thought*. New York: Henry Holt, 1910.
- Dewey, John. “Interpretation of Savage Mind.” *Psychological Review* 9 (1902): 217–30.

- Dewey, John. *Leibniz's New Essays concerning the Human Understanding*. Chicago: S. C. Griggs, 1888.
- Dewey, John. *Moral Principles in Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.
- Dewey, John. "My Pedagogic Creed." In *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, Vol. 1, ed. John J. McDermott, 442–45. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973. Originally Published In *School Journal*, LIV (January 1897): 77–80.
- Dewey, John. *The School and Society; Being Three Lectures*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1913.
- Dinnerstein, Leonard, and Kenneth T. Jackson, eds. *American Vistas: 1877 to the Present*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Dippie, Brian W. *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.
- Dodge, Grace H. *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Teachers College*. New York: Teachers College, 1980.
- Doss, Erika Lee. *Twentieth-century American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Douglas, Frederic H., and Rene d'Harnoncourt. *Indian Art of the United States*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1941.
- Dow, Arthur W. *Composition: A Series of Exercises in Art Structure for the Use of Students and Teachers*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1913. Originally Published 1899.
- Dozier, Edward P. *Hano, a Tewa Indian Community in Arizona*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
- Dozier, Edward P. *The Pueblo Indians of North America*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.
- Dresser, Christopher. *The Art of Decorative Design*. London: Day and Son, 1862.
- Dresser, Christopher. *Principles of Decorative Design By Christopher Dresser, ... Third Edition*. London: Cassell Petter & Galpin: London, Paris & New York, 1878.
- Dresser, Christopher. *Principles of Decorative Design*. Kindle Edition. (Original London: Cassell Petter and Galpin, 1875).
- Dubin, Margaret Denise. *Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990.
- Dumenil, Lynn. *The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.

- Dunn, Dorothy. *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1968.
- Earenfight, Phillip, and Janet Catherine Berlo. *A Kiowa's Odyssey: A Sketchbook from Fort Marion*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.
- Eastman, Charles A. "The Song of the Birch Canoe." *Craftsman* 23, no. 1 (October 1912): 3–11.
- "Education: Purer Piping." *Time*, December 20, 1937. Accessed January 21, 2013. <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,758698,00.html>.
- Edward Ewing Pratt, *Industrial Congestion in New York City*. New York: Columbia University, 1911. In Priam Saywack, "New York City Demographics." Accessed April 27, 2013, http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_s/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_1/special_programs/honors_program/hudsonfulton_celebra/homepage/the_basics_of_nyc/index.asp.
- Edward W. Said. Introduction to *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, by Erich Auerbach. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Efland, Arthur. *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts*. New York: Teachers College Press, 1989.
- Eggan, Fred, and Keith Basso. "Edward P. Dozier." *American Anthropologist* 74, no. 3 (1972): 740–46.
- Eggan, Fred. "H. R. Voth, Ethnologist." In *Hopi Material Culture: Artifacts Gathered by H.R. Voth in the Fred Harvey Collection*, by Barton Wright. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979.
- Eiland, William Underwood. "Picture This: Observations on Storytelling in the South." In *Tales from the Easel: American Narrative Paintings from Southeastern Museums, circa 1800–1950*, by Charles C. Eldredge. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004.
- Eisenstad, S. N. "Multiple Modernities." *Daedalus* 129, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 1–29.
- Eldredge, Charles C. *American Originals: Selections from Reynolda House, Museum of American Art*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1990.
- Eldredge, Charles C., Julie Schimmel, and William Truettner. *Art in New Mexico, 1900–1945: Path to Taos and Santa Fe*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1986.
- Eldridge, Laurie A. "Ruthe Blalock Jones: Native American Artist and Educator." PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006.
- Ellis, Anita J., and Susan L. Meyn. *Rookwood and the American Indian: Masterpieces of American Art Pottery from the James J. Gardner Collection*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007.

- Ellis, Reuben J. *Beyond Borders: The Selected Essays of Mary Austin*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1996.
- Ernst, Jimmy. *A Not-so-still Life: A Memoir*. New York: St. Martin's/Marek, 1984.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan. *Theories of Primitive Religion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- “Exhibit by Indian Pupils.” *El Palacio* 6, no. 9 (April 7, 1919): 142–43.
- Fallace, Thomas D. “Was John Dewey Ethnocentric? Reevaluating the Philosopher’s Early Views on Culture and Race,” *Educational Researcher* 39, no. 6 (2010); 471–77. Accessed August 12, 2013, <http://edr.sagepub.com/content/39/6/471.full?ijkey=8Nz/IViHi2QyU&keytype=ref&siteid=spedr>
- Fane, Diana, Ira Jacknis, and Lise M. Breen. *Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum in Association with University of Washington Press, 1991.
- Farmer, James D. “Goggle Eyes and Crested Serpents of Barrier Canyon.” In *The Road to Aztlan: Art from a Mythic Homeland*, by Virginia M. Fields and Victor Zamudio-Taylor, 124–37. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2001.
- Faust, Drew Gilpin. *Southern Stories: Slaveholders in Peace and War*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992.
- Fauth, Katja. *Modernist Visions in Taos: Mabel Dodge Luhan and the Artists of the Stieglitz Circle*. Marburg, Germany: Tectum Verlag, 2009.
- Fear-Segal, Jacqueline. *White Man's Club: Schools, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- Feder, Norman. *American Indian Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1973.
- Fee, Mary H. “A Woman’s Impression of the Philippines.” In *Tales of the American Teachers in the Philippines*, eds. Geronima T. Pecson and Maria Racelis, 47–74. (Manila: Carmelo and Bauermann, 1959.
- Feld, Stuart P. Introduction to *Plain and Fancy: A Survey of American Folk Art* by Hirschl & Adler Galleries. New York: Hirsch & Adler Galleries, 1970.
- Ferber, Linda S. and the New York Historical Society. *The Hudson River School: Nature and the American Vision*. New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2009.
- Feest, Christian F. *Studies in American Indian Art: A Memorial Tribute to Norman Feder*. Altenstadt, Germany: European Review of Native American Studies, 2001.

- Fergusson, Erna. *Dancing Gods; Indian Ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1931.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Archeological Expedition into Arizona in 1895." In part 2 of *Seventeenth Annual Report of Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution: 1895-1896*, 592. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900. Accessed January 6, 2014, <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org>
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Hopi Katcinas, Drawn by Native Artists." In *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1899-1900*, 3-126. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903. Accessed January 3, 2014, <https://archive.org/details/annualreportofbu21smit>.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Preliminary Account of an Expedition to the Cliff Villages of Red Rock Country and the Tusayan Ruins of Sikyatki and Awatobi, Arizona in 1895." In *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report for 1895*. Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1896.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Tusayan Flute and Snake Ceremonies." In *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1897-98*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1900.
- Fewkes, Jesse Walter. "Two Summers' Work in Pueblo Ruins." In part 1 of *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900-1901*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904.
- "Fiction: Recent Books," *Time*, May 3, 1937, accessed November 5, 2013, <http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,931631,00.html>.
- "Fiesta Indians Chiefly Interested in Unique Works of the Indian Artists in Museum Exhibit." *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 19, 1920.
- Fink, Augusta. *I Mary: A Biography of Mary Austin*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983.
- Flam, Jack D., Miriam Deutch, and Carl Einstein. *Primitivism and Twentieth-century Art: A Documentary History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- La Flesche, Francis. *The Middle Five: Indian Boys at School*. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1901.
- Foucault, Michel, and Alan Sheridan. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.
- Foucault, Michel. *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*. Edited by James D. Faubion, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: New Press, 1998.
- Foucault, Michel, and Jonathan Murphy. *History of Madness*. Translated by Jean Khalfa. London and New York: Routledge, 2006.

- Foucault, Michel, and Matthew Barr. *Manet and the Object of Painting*. Translated by Matthew Barr. London: Tate Publishing, 2001.
- Foucault, Michel. *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. Edited by Paul Rabinow, translated by Robert Hurley. New York: New Press, 1994.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Foucault Reader*. London: Penguin Books, 1991.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Foucault, Michel, Sylvère Lotringer, and Lysa Hochroth. *The Politics of Truth*. Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 1997.
- Fowler, Betty Alice, and Andrew Ladis. *The Art of Lucy May Stanton*. Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 2002.
- Frank, Waldo David, Lewis Mumford, Dorothy Norman, Paul Rosenfeld, and Harold Ordway Rugg, eds. *America & Alfred Stieglitz: A Collective Portrait*. Garden City, NY: Literary Guild, 1934.
- Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art and Philbrook Museum of Art, *The Eugene B. Adkins Collection: Selected Works*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011.
- Freedman, Kerry J., and Fernando Hernández y Hernández, eds. *Curriculum, Culture, and Art Education: Comparative Perspectives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998.
- Freud, Sigmund, and A. A. Brill. *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud / Psychopathology of Everyday Life/the Interpretation of Dreams/Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex/Wit and*. New York: Modern Library, 1995.
- Fried, Stephen. *Appetite for America: How Visionary Businessman Fred Harvey Built a Railroad Hospitality Empire That Civilized the Wild West*. New York: Bantam Books, 2010.
- Fröbel, Friedrich. *Friedrich Froebel's Pedagogics of the Kindergarten: Or, His Ideas concerning the Play and Playthings of the Child*. New York: D. Appleton, 1895.
- “From Miss Natalie Curtis’s Talk in Saratoga.” *Saratogian*, May 15, 1912.
- Frontz, Kim. “An Annotated Bibliography of the Writings of Clara Lee Fraps Tanner.” *Kiva* 64, no. 1 (1998): 61–87.
- Galt, Margot Fortunato. *Turning the Feather Around: My Life in Art*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998.
- Garfield, Jay L., and Murray Kiteley. *Meaning and Truth: Essential Readings in Modern Semantics*. New York: Paragon House, 1991.

- Garman, Ed. *The Art of Raymond Jonson, Painter*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976.
- Garmhausen, Winona. *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe: The Institute of American Indian Arts with Historical Background, 1890 to 1962*. Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 1988.
- “General School News.” *Carlisle Arrow*, October 23, 1914.
- Gibson, Ann Eden. *Abstract Expressionism: Other Politics*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan. *The Santa Fe and Taos Colonies: Age of the Muses, 1900–1942*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983.
- Ginsburg, Herbert, and Sylvia Opper. *Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development; an Introduction*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969.
- Goetzmann, William H., and Joseph C. Porter. *The West as Romantic Horizon: Selections from the Collection of the InterNorth Art Foundation*. Omaha, NB: Center for Western Studies, Joslyn Art Museum, InterNorth Art Foundation, 1981.
- Goldwater, Robert John. *Primitivism in Modern Art*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1986. First published 1967 by Vintage Books.
- Gombrich, Ernst H. *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art*. New York and London: Phaidon, 2002.
- Gombrich, Ernst H. *The Story of Art*. New York: Phaidon, 1951.
- Goode, Gordon Brown. *The Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, 1895*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1895.
- Goodrich, Lloyd. *John Sloan, 1871–1951*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1952.
- Gordon, Beverly, and Melanie Herzog. *American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7–July 3, 1988*. Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1988.
- Graves, Laura. *Thomas Varker Keam, Indian Trader*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Green, Harry. “Walter Smith: The Forgotten Man.” *Art Education* 19, no. 1 (1966): 3–9.
- Green, Nancy E., and Jessie J. Poesch. *Arthur Wesley Dow and American Arts and Crafts*. New York: American Foundation of Arts, 1999.
- Greenberg, Clement. *Homemade Esthetics: Observations on Art and Taste*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

- Greenberg, Clement. "Toward a Newer Laocoon." In *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate*, edited by Francis Frascina, 35–46. New York: Harper & Row, 1985.
- Groseclose, Barbara S. *Nineteenth-century American Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Guggenheim, Peggy. *Art of This Century; Objects, Drawings, Photographs, Paintings, Sculpture, Collages, 1910 to 1942*. New York: Arno Press, 1968.
- Guggenheim, Peggy. *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict*. New York: Universe Books, 1979.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón A. "Franciscans and the Pueblo Revolt." In *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?*, edited by David J. Weber, 39-54. Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999.
- Gutting, Gary. *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994.
- Hagerty, Donald J. *The Art of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2010.
- Hagerty, Donald J. *Desert Dreams: The Art and Life of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1993.
- Hagerty, Donald J. *The Life of Maynard Dixon*. Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2010.
- Hahn, Emily. *Mabel: A Biography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.
- Hall, Edward T. *West of the Thirties: Discoveries among the Navajo and Hopi*. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- Halttunen, Karen. "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration, and the Culture of Personality." In *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 157–189. New York: W. W. Norton, 1989.
- Harris, Moira F. *Between Two Cultures: Kiowa Art from Fort Marion*. St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 1989.
- Harrison, Charles, and Paul Wood. *Art in Theory, 1900–1990: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1992.
- Hartley, Marsden. "America as Landscape." *El Palacio* 5, no. 21 (December 23, 1918): 340–42.
- Hartley, Marsden. "A Painter's Faith." *Seven Arts* 2 (August 1917): 502–6.
- Harvey, Byron. *Ritual in Pueblo Art: Hopi Life in Hopi Painting*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1970.

- Haskell, Barbara. *The American Century: Art and Culture, 1900–1950*. New York: Whitney Museum of Art in Association with W.W. Norton, 1999.
- Haskell, Thomas L. Review of *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880–1920*, by T. J. Jackson Lears. *Journal of American History* 69, no. 2, (1982), 474–75.
- Hassrick, Peter H., and Elizabeth J. Cunningham. *In Contemporary Rhythm: The Art of Ernest L. Blumenschein*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Hays-Gilpin, Kelley, Emory Sekaquaptewa, and Dorothy Washburn. “Introduction.” *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau*, Fall 2006.
- Hays-Gilpin, Kelley, and Polly Schaafsma. *Painting the Cosmos: Metaphor and Worldview in Images from the Southwest Pueblos and Mexico*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 2010.
- Hazell, Clive. *Alterity: The Experience of the Other*. Bloomington, IN: Authorhouse, 2009.
- Hecht, Robert A. *Oliver La Farge and the American Indian: A Biography*. Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow Press, 1991.
- Hegeman, William R. *Patrick DesJarlait and the Ojibwe Tradition*. Saint Paul: Minnesota Museum of American Art, 1995.
- Hendricks, Gordon. “The First Three Western Journeys of Albert Bierstadt.” *Art Bulletin* 46, no. 3 (1964): 333–65.
- Henley, Byrding Adams. “Painting.” In *Southern Folk Art*, edited by Cynthia Elyce Rubin. Birmingham, AL: Oxmoor House, 1985, 3.
- Henri, Robert. *The Art Spirit*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1923.
- Hewett, Edgar Lee. *Ancient Life in the American Southwest: With an Introduction on the General History of the American Race*. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930.
- Hewett, Edgar Lee. “On the Opening of the Art Galleries.” *Art and Archaeology*, January/February 1918, 50–54.
- Hewett, Edgar Lee. “America’s Archaeological Heritage.” *Art and Archaeology*, December 1916, 257–66.
- Hewett, Edgar Lee. “The Excavation at El Rito De Los Frijoles in 1909.” *American Anthropologist New Series* 2 (1909): 651–73.
- Hicks, Paul. “Caroline O’Day: The Gentlewoman from New York.” *New York History* 88 (2007): 287–305.

- A History of the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Hobbs, Robert C. *Edward Hopper*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, in Association with the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1987.
- Hobbs, Robert C. "Ganado Style Navajo Rugs and the Arts and Crafts Movement." Unpublished manuscript, n.d.. In the author's collection, Courtesy of Robert C. Hobbs.
- Hodge, Frederick Webb, Herbert Joseph Spinden, and Oliver La Farge. *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*. 2 vols. New York: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931.
- Hoerig, Karl A. *Under the Palace Portal: Native American Artists in Santa Fe*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003.
- Hoffman, Frederick John. *The Twenties; American Writing in the Postwar Decade*. New York: Viking Press, 1955.
- Hole, Heather. *Marsden Hartley and the West: The Search for an American Modernism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Holub, Robert C. *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction*. London and New York: Methuen, 1984.
- Homer, William Innes., and Alfred Stieglitz. *Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-garde*. Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977.
- Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.
- Hopkins, David. *Dada and Surrealism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Hough, Walter. *The Hopi Indians*. Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1915.
- Hough, Walter. "Revival of Ancient Hopi Pottery Art." *American Anthropologist* 19 (1917): 322–23.
- Howard, Kathleen L., and Diana F. Pardue. *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Pub., 1996.
- Hoyer, Mark T. *Dancing Ghosts: Native American and Christian Syncretism in Mary Austin's Work*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1998.

- Hubbard, Elbert. *Elbert Hubbard's Scrap Book: Containing the Inspired and Inspiring Selections, Gathered during a Life Time of Discriminating Reading for His Own Use*. New York City: W. H. Wise, 1923.
- Hubbard, Elbert, Marie Via, and Marjorie B. Searl. *Head, Heart, and Hand: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 1994.
- Hultgren, Mary Lou, Paulette Fairbanks Molin, and Rayna Green. *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute 1878–1923*. Charlottesville, VA: Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy in Cooperation with Hampton University, 1989.
- Hutchinson, Elizabeth. *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Hyer, Sally. “The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker.” In *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, edited by Margaret Connell Szasz. Pages. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
- “The Independents Exhibit.” *Outlook*, March 31, 1920, 545–46.
- Ingarden, Roman. *The Literary Work of Art; an Investigation on the Borderlines of Ontology, Logic, and Theory of Literature*. Translated by G. Grabowitz. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973.
- “Invited to Speak at Educational Congress.” *Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914.
- Isham, Samuel. *The History of American Painting*. New York: Macmillan, 1927.
- Isidro, Antonio. “Problems and Promise of Secondary Education in the Philippines.” *Clearing House* 31, no. 9 (1957): 527–30.
- Iverson, Peter. *We Are Still Here: American Indians in the Twentieth Century*. Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1998.
- Jacknis, Ira. “The Road to Beauty: Stewart Culin's American Indian Exhibitions at The Brooklyn Musuem.” In *Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum*, edited by Diana Fane, Ira Jacknis, and Lise M. Breen, 29–43. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn Museum in Association with University of Washington Press, 1991.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. *A Century of Dishonor: The Classic Exposé of the Plight of the Native Americans*. Mineola, NY: Dover, 2003. First published 1881.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. *Ramona: A Story*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1939. First published 1884 by Roberts Brothers.
- Jackson, Philip W. *John Dewey and the Lessons of Art*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998.

- Jackson, William Henry, Bob Blair, and Howard R. Driggs. *William Henry Jackson's "The Pioneer Photographer."* Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2005.
- Jackson, William Henry. *The Pioneer Photographer: Rocky Mountain Adventures with a Camera.* Yonkers-on-Hudson, NY: World Book Company, 1929.
- Jacobs, Margaret D. *White Mother to a Dark Race Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Dispossessing the American Indian: Indians and Whites on the Colonial Frontier.* New York: Scribner's Sons, 1972.
- James, George Wharton. *In and out of the Old Missions of California; an Historical and Pictorial Account of the Franciscan Missions.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1905.
- James, George Wharton. *Through Ramona's Country.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1909. First edition privately printed for the author, 1901.
- James, Harry C. *Pages from Hopi History.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.
- Janson, H. W., and Robert Rosenblum. *19th Century Art.* Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2004.
- Jeffers, Wendy. "Holger Cahill and American Art," *Archives of American Art Journal* 31, no. 4 (1991): 2–11.
- James, George Wharton. *Through Ramona's Country.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1909. First edition privately printed for the author, 1901.
- Jewell, Edward Alden. "Very Plump Lean Year: Art Is Longer Than Any Bread Line – A Second Look at "American Sources." *New York Times*, June 4, 1933.
- Johnson, Kathryn C. *Made in America: Ten Centuries of American Art.* New York: Hudson Hills, 1995.
- Joint Commission to Investigate Indian Affairs. *Carlisle Indian School: Hearings Before the Joint Commission of the Congress of the United States, Sixty-Third Congress, Second Session, to Investigate Indian Affairs, Part I and Part II.* Washington: DC: Government Printing Office, 1914.
- Jonaitis, Aldona. *A Wealth of Thought: Franz Boas on Native American Art.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995.
- Jones, Sharon Foster. *The Atlanta Exposition.* Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010.
- Jonson, B. *Amerigine.* Monterey, CA: Savant, 1979.

- Judd, Neil M. "Nampeyo: An Additional Note." *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau* 24, no. 2 (1951): 92–93.
- Jung, C. G. *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*. Translated by H. G. Baynes and Cary F. Baynes. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928.
- Jung, C. G. and M. L. von Franz, eds. *Man and His Symbols* New York: Dell, 1968.
- Jung, C. G. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*. Edited by Aniela Jaffe. New York: Vintage Books, 1989.
- Just for Hits*. Performed by Richard Dawkins. 2013. Speech.
- Kabotie, Alice and Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva. Interview by Dwayne Lomayesva. *University of California, Fullerton*. October 15, 1983 and April 22, 1984.
- Kabotie, Fred, and Bill Belknap. *Fred Kabotie, Hopi Indian Artist: An Autobiography Told with Bill Belknap*. Flagstaff: Museum of Northern Arizona, 1977.
- Kaplan, Wendy, ed. *The Art That Is Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875–1920*. Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Little Brown, 1987.
- Karnow, Stanley. *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House, 1988.
- Ketchum, William C. *All-American Folk Arts and Crafts*. New York: Random House Value Publishing, 1990.
- Kohl, Jeanette. "Notes from the Field: Mimesis." *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 2 (June 2013): 205–7.
- Kolp, Belle Axtelle. "Affidavit of a Teacher." *Out West* XIX, no. 1 (July 1903): 47–56.
- Kosnoski, Jason. "John Dewey's Social Aesthetics." *Polity* 37, no. 2 (2005): 193–215.
- Kraft, James, and Helen Farr Sloan. *John Sloan in Santa Fe*. Woodlawn, MD: Wolk Press, 1981.
- Kramer, Barbara. *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Kraskin, Sandra, and Barbara Hollister. *The Indian Space Painters: Native American Sources for American Abstract Art*. New York, NY: Baruch College Gallery, 1991.
- Krupat, Arnold. *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Kuspit, Donald B. *The End of Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- La Farge, Oliver. "Alien Races in Fiction." *The North American Review* 244, no. 1 (1937): 202–205.

- La Farge, Oliver, and John Sloan. *Introduction to American Indian Art: To Accompany the First Exhibition of American Indian Art Selected Entirely with Consideration of Esthetic Value*. Vol. 1. New York: Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts, 1931.
- La Farge, Oliver. *Laughing Boy*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929.
- La Farge, Oliver. *Santa Fe; the Autobiography of a Southwestern Town*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959.
- Lane, Bessie Mell. "Miss Jennie Smith and Lucy Cobb." In *Higher Education for Women in the South: A History of Lucy Cobb Institute, 1858–1994*, edited by Phinizy Spalding, 273–276. Athens, GA: Southern Press, 1994.
- Lane, Franklin K. "From the War-Path to the Plow." *National Geographic* 27 (January 1915), 73–87.
- Lanigan, Esther F. *Mary Austin: Song of a Maverick*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Lardizábal, Amparo S. *Pioneer American Teachers and Philippine Education*. Quezon City: Phoenix Pub. House, 1991.
- Laut, Agnes C. *Through Our Unknown Southwest: The Wonderland of the United States—Little Known and Unappreciated—The Home of the Cliff Dweller and the Hopi, the Forest Ranger and the Navajo, -- the Lure of the Painted Desert*. New York: McBride, Nast, 1913.
- Lawal, Babatunde. *The Gèlèdè Spectacle: Art, Gender, and Social Harmony in an African Culture*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996.
- Lawrence, D. H. "Certain Americans and an Englishman." *New York Times*, December 24, 1922.
- Lazerson, Marvin. "If All the World Were Chicago: American Education in the Twentieth Century." *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (1984): 165–79.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. "Beyond Veblen: Rethinking Consumer Culture in America." In *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880–1920*, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 73–97. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture: 1880–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
First published 1981 by Pantheon.
- Leeds, Valerie Ann. *Robert Henri in Santa Fe: His Work and Influence*. Santa Fe, NM: Gerald Peters Gallery, 1998.
- Leja, Michael. *Reframing Abstract Expressionism: Subjectivity and Painting in the 1940s*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993.

- Lentis, Marinella. "Art for Assimilation's Sake: Indian-School Drawings in the Estelle Reel Papers." *American Indian Art* 39, no. 1 (Winter 2013), 44–51.
- Leupp, Francis E. *In Red Man's Land: A Study of the American Indian*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1914.
- Leupp, Francis E. "The Red Man's Burden." *Hearst's Magazine* 23, no. 5 (May 1913): 741–52.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Lieberman, William S. *Max Ernst*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1961.
- Lillie, Lucy C. "An Indian Journey." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1885, 813–29.
- Lindauer, Margaret A. "Critical Museum Pedagogy and Exhibition Development: A Conceptual First Step." In *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, edited by Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson, 303–314. London and New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Lindsey, Donald F. *Indians at Hampton Institute: 1877–1923*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994.
- Lipman, Jean, Elizabeth V. Warren, and Robert Charles. Bishop. *Young America: A Folk-art History*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in Association with the Museum of American Folk Art, 1986.
- Lippard, Lucy R. *Mixed Blessings: New Art in a Multicultural America*. New York: Pantheon, 1990.
- Lips, Julius. *The Savage Hits Back*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937.
- Livingstone, Karen, and Linda Parry. *International Arts and Crafts*. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2005.
- Locke, John. *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902. Reprinted Kindle edition.
- Lodge, David, and Nigel Wood. *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader*. New York: Longman, 1999.
- Logan, Frederick M. *Growth of Art in American Schools*. New York: Harper, 1955.
- Logan, Thad. *The Victorian Parlour*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Lomatuway'ma, Michael, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha, Jr. *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwwutsi*. Translated and edited by Ekkehart Malotki. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press for Northern Arizona University, 1993.

- Lomayesva, Fred. "Indian Identity--Post Indian Reflections." *Tulsa Law Review* 35 (1999): 63–72. Accessed February 19, 2014, <http://digitalcommons.law.utulsa.edu/tlr/vol35/iss1/4/>.
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. *The Song of Hiawatha: An Epic Poem*. New York: Bounty Books, 1968. With illustrations from designs by Frederic Remington.
- Longley, M. *1851 America's Taste: The Cultural Events of a Century Reported by Contemporary Observers in the Pages of the New York Times*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959.
- Lookingbill, Brad D. *War Dance at Fort Marion: Plains Indian War Prisoners*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.
- Loughery, John. *Santa Fe Connections: John Sloan and Others: May 1 to June 6, 1997, Kraushaar Galleries*. New York: Kraushaar Galleries, 1997.
- Lowe, Truman, ed. *Native Modernism: The Art of George Morrison and Allan Houser*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2004.
- Ludlow, Helen W. "Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle." *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, December 1, 1880, 659–75. Accessed January 8, 2014, ProQuest Periodicals Archive Online.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge, and Lois Palken Rudnick. *Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. *Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987. Originally published in 1937; reprint of vol. 4 of *Intimate Memories*, with introduction by Lois Palken Rudnick and foreword by John Collier, Jr.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. *Intimate Memories*. London: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. *Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*. Edited by Lois Palken Rudnick. Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2008.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. *Movers and Shakers*. New York: Harcourt, 1936.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. *Taos and Its Artists*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge. "Taos—A Eulogy." *Creative Art* 8 (1931): 289–95.
- Lummis, Charles Fletcher, Robert Olney Easton, and D. Mackenzie Brown. *Bullying the Moqui*. Prescott, AZ: Prescott College Press, 1968.
- Lummis, Charles Fletcher. *Some Strange Corners of Our Country: The Wonderland of the Southwest*. New York: Century, 1892.
- Lummis, Charles Fletcher. *A Tramp across the Continent*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1892: Reprint 2013 by Forgotten Books. Accessed February 2,

2013,http://www.forgottenbooks.org/info/A_Tramp_Across_the_Continent_1000550286.php.

- Lynes, Barbara Buhler, and Carolyn Kastner. *Georgia O'Keeffe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1912.
- Macdonald, Stuart. *The History and Philosophy of Art Education*. London: University of London Press, 1970.
- Mack, Peter. "Notes from the Field: Mimesis." *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 2 (June 2013): 208–9.
- Mackenzie, Hettie Millicent Hughes. *Hegel's Educational Theory and Practice*. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1909.
- Mansfield, Victor. *Synchronicity, Science, and Soul-making: Understanding Jungian Synchronicity through Physics, Buddhism, and Philosophy*. Chicago: Open Court, 1995.
- Dubin, Margaret. "Sanctioned Scribes: How Critics and Historians Write the Native American Art World." In *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, edited by W. Jackson Rushing, 149–68. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Marcus, George E., and Fred R. Myers. *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Marin, John. *Letters of John Marin*. Privately Printed for An American Place, 1931.
- Mark, John T. *A Stranger in Her Native Land: Alice Fletcher and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988.
- Marsh, Benjamin C. "Causes of Congestion of Population." In *Proceedings of the Second National Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion, Rochester, New York, May 2–4, 1910*. (Boston: National Conference on City Planning, 1910), 35–39, Quoted in Priam Saywack, "New York City Demographics." Accessed April 27, 2013, [Http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_s/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_l/spec...](http://www.fordham.edu/academics/colleges__graduate_s/undergraduate_colleg/fordham_college_at_l/spec...)
- Martin, E. L. "The Story of Two Real Indian Artists." *crRed Man* 5, no. 6 (February 1913): 233–41.
- Martin, Jay. *The Education of John Dewey: A Biography*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- Maurer, Evan M. "Presenting the American Indian: From Europe to America." In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures* ed. National Museum of the American Indian, 15-28. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.

- Mavigliano, George J. "The Federal Art Project: Holger Cahill's Program of Action." *Art Education* 37, no. 3 (1984): 26–30.
- May, Jill P., Robert E. May, and Howard Pyle. *Howard Pyle: Imagining an American School of Art*. Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011.
- Mayer, Barbara, and Rob Gray. *In the Arts & Crafts Style*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2006.
- Mayfield, Harriet. "Great Southwest Pioneer Passes On: Death of Lorenzo Hubbell, Last of the Dons of New Spain Closes an Eventful and Picturesque Career." *The Santa Fe Magazine* 26 (January 1931): 29–33.
- May, Glenn Anthony. *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy 1900–1913*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Mayo, Donald H. *Jung and Aesthetic Experience: The Unconscious as Source of Artistic Inspiration*. New York: P. Lang, 1995.
- McCarthy, Laurette E., and Walter Pach. *Walter Pach (1883–1958): The Armory Show and the Untold Story of Modern Art in America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- McCoubrey, John W. *American Art 1700–1960 (Sources & Documents in the History of Art Series)*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965.
- McDonagh, Don. *Martha Graham: A Biography*. New York: Praeger, 1973.
- McDonnell, Patricia. *Marsden Hartley: American Modern*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1997.
- McEvelley, Thomas. *Art & Otherness: Crisis in Cultural Identity*. Kingston, NY: McPherson, 1992.
- McGeough, Michelle. *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918–1945*. Santa Fe, NM: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2009.
- McGregor, Russell. *Imagined Destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the Doomed Race Theory, 1880–1939*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1997.
- McLellan, J. A., and John Dewey. *The Psychology of Number: And Its Applications to Methods of Teaching Arithmetic*. New York: D. Appleton, 1895.
- McLerran, Jennifer. *A New Deal for Native Artists: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933–1943*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009.

- McLuhan, T. C. *Dream Tracks: The Railroad and the American Indian 1890–1930: With Photographs from the William E. Kopplin Collection*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1985.
- McMaster, Gerald. *Reservation X*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.
- McNickle, D'Arcy. *Indian Man; a Life of Oliver La Farge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.
- McNitt, Frank. *The Indian Traders*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.
- Mechlin, Leila. "Primitive Arts and Crafts Illustrated in the National Museum Collection." *International Studio* 35, no. 138 (August 1908): lxi–xvi.
- Meltzer, Milton. *Dorothea Lange: A Photographer's Life*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Meriam, Lewis. *The Problems of Indian Administration: Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Honorable Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928.
- Messinger, Lisa Mintz. *Georgia O'Keeffe*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2002.
- Michaels, Walter Benn. *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995.
- Miller, Angela L., Janet Catherine Berlo, Bryan Jay Wolf, and Jennifer L. Roberts. *American Encounters: Art, History, and Cultural Identity*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, 2008.
- Millington, C. Norris. "American Indian Water Colors." *American Magazine of Art*, August 1932, 83–92.
- Mitter, Partha. "Interventions: Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery." *Art Bulletin* 90, no. 4 (December 2008): 538–48.
- Monaghan, James. "The Stage Career of Buffalo Bill." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 31, no. 4 (1938): 411–23.
- Moore, Sarah J. "Salon of America"? Defining Nationalism at the National Academy of Design, 1909–1915." In *Rave Reviews: American Art and Its Critics, 1826–1925*, edited by David B. Dearing, 123–130. New York: National Academy of Design, 2000.
- "More Tewa Paintings." *El Palacio* 6, no. 12 (June 14, 1919), 215.
- Morgan, Thomas J. *Rules for Indian Schools, with Course of Study, List of Textbooks, and Civil Service Rules*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1892.

- Morrison, George, and Margot Fortunato Galt. *Turning the Feather Around: My Life in Art*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1998.
- Moses, A. Dirk. *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*. New York: Berghahn, 2005.
- Moses, L. G. *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883–1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Muerman, John Charles. *Philippine Schools under the Americans*. Master's thesis, Washington University, 1916.
- Mullin, Molly H. *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Mullin, Molly H. "The Patronage of Difference: Making Indian Art 'Art, Not Ethnology.'" In *The Traffic in Culture: Refiguring Art and Anthropology*, edited by George E. Marcus and Fred R. Myers, 166–200. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Mumford, Lewis. *Art and Technics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.
- Munson, Marit K., ed. *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe: Artists and Archaeologists, 1907–1931*. Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research, 2007.
- Murray, Chris. *Key Writers on Art: The Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Nash, Gerald D. "European Image of America: The West in Historical Perspective." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 42, no. 2 (1992): 2–16.
- National Museum of the American Indian. *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Neff, Emily Ballew. *The Modern West: American Landscapes 1890–1950*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Nelson, John Louw. *Rhythm for Rain*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937.
- Nelson, Robert S., and Richard Shiff, eds. *Critical Terms for Art History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Nequatewa, Edmund. "Chapter XIV: Youkioma." In *Native American Ways: Four Paths to Enlightenment*, by James Mooney, George Bird Grinnell, Edmund Nequatewa, and Washington Matthews, 425–34. Radford, VA: A & D Publishing, 2007.
- Nequatewa, Edmund. "Nampeyo, Famous Hopi Potter." *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau* 15, no. 3 (1943): 40–42.

- Nequatewa, Edmund. *Truth of a Hopi: Stories Relating to the Origin, Myths, and Clan Histories of the Hopi*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1967.
- Nesbitt, Elizabeth. *Howard Pyle*. New York: H. Z. Walck, 1966.
- “New Principal Teacher for Carlisle.” *Carlisle Arrow*, May 29, 1914.
- Newman, Barnett. *Barnett Newman: Selected Writings and Interviews*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Nickens, Paul R., and Kathleen Nickens. *Touring the West: With the Fred Harvey Co. & the Santa Fe Railway*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 2009.
- Norcini, Marilyn. *Edward P. Dozier: The Paradox of the American Indian Anthropologist*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007.
- Nordloh, David J., ed. *Howard Pyle: A Portrait of the Artist*. Boston: Twayne, 1987.
- Norman, Dorothy. *The Selected Writings of John Marin*. New York: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1949.
- “Notes from the Conference of the Industrial Arts League.” *Craftsman* 3 (November 1902): 121–25.
- Nutting, Wallace. *Virginia Beautiful*. New York: Garden City Publishing, 1935.
- Official Views Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, 1895*. St. Louis: C.B. Woodward, 1895.
- Ogilvy, James A. *Revisioning Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- Ogunwole, Stella Uzoejinwa. *We the People: American Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States*. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2006. Accessed December 10, 2009. <http://www/socdemo/race/censr-28.pdf>.
- Ohles, Frederik, Shirley M. Ohles, and John G. Ramsay. *Biographical Dictionary of Modern American Educators*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997.
- Oliver, Marion L. “The Snake Dance.” With Photography by A. C. Vroman. *National Geographic* 22 (February 1911): 107–37.
- Pach, Walter. “Art.” In *Civilization in the United States, an Inquiry by Thirty Americans*, edited by Harold Stearns, 227–42. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922.
- Pach, Walter. “Indian Paintings in the Exhibition of Independents.” *New York Times*, March 14, 1920.
- Pach, Walter. “Manet and Modern American Art.” *Craftsman* 17, no. 5 (February 1910): 483–92.

- Pach, Walter. "The Point of View of the Moderns." *Century* 89, no. 6 (1914): 851–64.
- Pach, Walter. *Queer Thing, Painting; Forty Years in the World of Art*. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1938.
- Pach, Walter. "Three Indian Water-Colours/Notes on the Indian Water-Colours." *Dial* 68, no. 3 (March 1920): 343–45.
- Packard, Robert Lawrence. "Education in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines." In *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897–1898*, ed. United States Bureau of Education. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899.
- Palsano, Edna L. *We the First Americans*. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, 1993. Accessed December 10, 2009. www.census.gov/apsd/wepeople/we-5.pdf.
- Parks, Walter P. *The Miracle of Mata Ortiz: Juan Quezada and the Potters of Northern Chihuahua*. Riverside, CA: Coulter Press, 1994.
- Parman, Donald Lee. *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews, and Esther Schiff. Goldfrank. *Isleta Paintings*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1970.
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews. *Educational Legislation and Administration of the Colonial Governments*. New York: Macmillan, 1899.
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews. *North American Indian Life: Customs and Traditions of 23 Tribes*. New York: Huebsch, 1922.
- Parsons, Elsie Worthington Clews. *A Pueblo Indian Journal: 1920–1921*. Menasha, WI: Collegiate Press, 1925.
- Penney, David W., and Lisa A. Roberts. "Pueblo Painters in the Border Zone." In *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, edited by W. Jackson Rushing, 21–38. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Penney, David W. *Native Arts of North America*. Paris: Terrail, 2003.
- Penney, David W. "The Poetics of Museum Representations, Tropes of Recent American Indian Art Exhibitions." In *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*, ed. National Museum of the American Indian. 47–66. Washington, DC: National Museum of the American Indian/Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Penny, H. Glenn. "The German Love Affair with American Indians: Rudolf Cronau's Epiphany." *Common-Place: The Interactive Journal of Early American Life* 11, no. 4 (July 2011),

n.p.n. Accessed October 1, 2013, <http://www.common-place.org/vol-11/no-04/reading/>.

- Penny, H. Glenn. *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. "The Performative Icon." *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 4 (December 2006): 631–55.
- Peters, Fred J. *Railroad-Indian-Pioneer Prints by Currier and Ives*. New York: Antique Bulletin Publishing, 1930.
- Peters, Harry T. *Currier and Ives: Printmakers to the American People*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1942.
- Peterson, Susan. *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.
- Pevsner, Nicholas. *The Sources of Modern Architecture and Design*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.
- Pfister, Joel. *Individuality Incorporated: Indians and the Multicultural Modern*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Philippines Bureau of Education. *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education January 1, 1914, to December 31, 1914*. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1915.
- Phillips, Ruth B. *Patterns of Power: The Jasper Grant Collection and Great Lakes Indian Art of the Early Nineteenth Century*. N.p., Book Society of Canada, 1984.
- Phillips, Ruth B. "Performing the Native Woman: Primitivism and Mimicry in Early Twentieth-Century Visual Culture." In *Antimoderism and Artistic Experience: Policing the Boundaries of Modernity*, edited by Lynda Jessup, 26–49. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Phillips, Ruth B. *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.
- Phillips, Ruth. *Contemporary Indian and Inuit Art of Canada = L'art Contemporain Des Indiens Et Des Inuit Du Canada*. Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1983.
- Philp, Kenneth R. *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform: 1920–1954*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977.
- Pohl, Frances K. *Framing America: A Social History of American Art*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002.
- Powell, Arthur G. "University Schools of Education in the Twentieth Century." *Peabody Journal of Education* 54, no. 1 (1976): 3–20.

- Powell, Earl A. *Thomas Cole*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1990.
- Powell, John Wesley. *The Hopi Villages: The Ancient Province of Tusayan*. Reprint of the 1875 original article from *Scribner's Monthly*, with an introduction by Lollie W. Campbell. Palmer Lake, CO: Filter Press, 1972.
- Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Pratt, Richard H. "The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites." In *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the "Friends of the Indian" 1880–1900*, edited by Francis P. Prucha, 260–71. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Pratt, Richard Henry. *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964.
- Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.
- Pulitano, Elvira. *Toward a Native American Critical Theory*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.
- Qoyawayma, Polingaysi, and Vada F. Carlson. *No Turning Back: A True Account of a Hopi Indian Girl's Struggle to Bridge the Gap between the World of Her People and the World of the White Man*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964.
- Quimby, Ian M. G., and Scott T. Swank, eds. *Perspectives on American Folk Art*. New York: Published for the Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del., [by] Norton, 1980.
- Reel, Estelle. *Course of Study for the Indian Schools of the United States: Industrial and Literary*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901.
- Review of *Psychology of the Unconscious: A Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido, A Contribution to the History of Thought*, by Carl G. Jung. *New York Times*, May 21, 1916.
- "Revised Course of Study for Primary Grades," Circular 51, S. 1907, June 10, 1907. Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Record Group 350, File 2618, Enclosure 30; National Archives, College Park, MD.
- Reyhner, Jon Allan., and Jeanne M. Oyawin Eder. *American Indian Education: A History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Rhodes, Colin. *Primitivism and Modern Art*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994.
- Ritchie, Andrew Carnduff. *Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America*. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1951.

- Rockefeller, Steven A. "John Dewey, Spiritual Democracy, and the Human Future." In *Revisioning Philosophy*, edited by James Ogilvy. 165-190. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. "The Hopi Snake Dance." *The Outlook: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Current Events*, October 18, 1913, 363–65.
- Roque, Oswaldo Rodriguez. "The Exaltation of American Landscape Painting." In *American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School*, edited by John K. Howat, 21-48. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987.
- Rossi, Paul A., and David C. Hunt. *The Art of the Old West, from the Collection of the Gilcrease Institute*. New York: Knopf, 1971.
- Rothko, Christopher. "The Artist's Dilemma." In *The Artist's Reality: Philosophies of Art*, edited by Christopher Rothko, 1-5. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Rubin, Cynthia Elyce, ed. *Southern Folk Art*. Birmingham, AL: Oxmoor House, 1985.
- Rudnick, Lois Palken. *Mabel Dodge Luhan: New Woman, New Worlds*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- Runyen, Laura L. *The Teaching of Elementary History in the "Dewey" School*. Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1906.
- Rushing, W. Jackson. *Native American Art and Culture and the New York Avant-Garde, 1910–1950*. PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1989.
- Rushing, W. Jackson. *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995.
- Rushing, W. Jackson. *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Rushing, W. Jackson, III and Kristin Makhholm. *Modern Spirit: The Art of George Morrison*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013.
- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage, 1979.
- St. John, Bruce. *John Sloan*. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Sakiestewa, Matthew. *Education Beyond the Mesas: Hopi Students at Sherman Institute, 1902–1929*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010.
- Sandler, Irving. *The Triumph of American Painting; a History of Abstract Expressionism*. New York: Praeger, 1970.
- Santiago, Luciano R. R. "Philippine Academic Art: The Second Phase (1845–98)." *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 17, no. 1 (1989): 67–89.

- Saunders, Charles Francis. "American Indian Art in the Home." *House Beautiful* 18 (October 1910): 221–23.
- Saye, Albert Berry., ed. *Walter McElreath: An Autobiography*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1984.
- Schell, Sherril. *Distinctive Homes of Moderate Cost*. Edited by Henry H. Saylor. New York: Robert M. McBride, 1921.
- Schneider, Tassilo. "Finding a New *Hiemat* in the Wild West: Karl May and the German Western of the 1960." In *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western*, edited by Edward Buscombe and Roberta E Pearson. London: British Film Institute Publishing, 1998, 141-159.
- Scholes, Robert. *Paradox of Modernism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.
- "Schools and Institutions." *International Studio* 25, No. 97–100 (March–June 1905): lxxiii.
- Schrag, Peter. "Teachers College: John Dewey with a Hard Note." *Saturday Review*, December 16, 1967, 62–76.
- Schreffler, Michael J. and Jessica Welton. "Garcilaso de la Vega and the 'New Peruvian Man': José Sabogal's Frescoes at the Hotel Cuzco." *Art History* 33, (January/February 2010): 124–149. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8365.2009.00705.x.
- Schwarz, Gregory C., and Barbara A. Hail. *Patterns of Life, Patterns of Art: The Rahr Collection of Native American Art*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 1987.
- Scott, Gail R. "On the Ground and into the Subject: Marsden Hartley in New Mexico, 1818–1819." In *Marsden Hartley: New Mexico 1918–1920: An American Discovering America*, by Gail R. Scott, n.p. New York: Borghi Fine Art and Alexandre Gallery, 2003.
- Scott, Sascha. "Awa Tsireh and the Art of Subtle Resistance." *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 4 (2013): 597–622.
- Segalen, Victor, and Yaël Rachel Schlick. *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Sekaquaptewa, Emory, and Dorothy Washburn. "Metaphors of Meaning In Mural Painting, Pottery and Ritual Song." *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau*, 3 (1): 26-47.
- Sekaquaptewa, Helen, and Louise Udall. *Me and Mine; the Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.
- Semper, C. *Animal Life as Affected by the Natural Conditions of Existence*. New York: D. Appleton, 1881.

- Senier, Siobhan. *Voices of American Indian Assimilation and Resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca, and Victoria Howard*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.
- Seymour, Tryntje Van Ness. *When the Rainbow Touches Down: The Artists and Stories behind the Apache, Navajo, Rio Grande Pueblo, and Hopi Paintings in the William and Leslie Van Ness Denman Collection*. Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 1988.
- Shapiro, Meyer. *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society*. New York: George Braziller, 1994.
- Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, VA, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1973.
- Shlain, Leonard. *Art Physics Parallel Visions in Space, Time, and Light*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1993.
- Shope, Suzanne Alene. *American Indian Artist Angel De Cora: Aesthetics, Power, and Transcultural Pedagogy in the Progressive Era*. PhD diss., University of Montana, 2009.
- Singal, Daniel Joseph, ed. *Modernist Culture in America*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub., 1991.
- Sloan, John. *Gist of Art*. New York: American Artists Group, 1939.
- Smith, Bernard. *Modernism's History: A Study in Twentieth-century Art and Ideas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Smith, Thomas Brent., and Donald J. Hagerty. *A Place of Refuge: Maynard Dixon's Arizona*. Tucson, AZ: Tucson Museum of Art and Historic Block, 2008.
- Smith, Walter. *Industrial Drawing in Public Schools*. Boston: L. Prang, 1875.
- Smith, Walter. *Teachers' Manual of Free-hand Drawing and Designing: And Guide to Self-instruction*. Boston: James R. Osgood, 1874.
- Smithers, Gregory D. *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780s–1890s*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Smithers, Gregory D. “The Soul of Unity: The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians, 1913-1915.” *American Indian Quarterly*, 37. No 3, Summer 2013, 263-289.
- Snow, David H. “Some Economic Considerations of Historic Rio Grande Pueblo Pottery.” In *The Changing Ways of Southwestern Indians; a Historic Perspective*, edited by Albert H. Schroeder, 57–58. Glorieta, NM: Rio Grande Press, 1973.

- Society of American Indians. *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians*. Washington, DC: Printed by Order of the Executive Council, 1912.
- Sollors, Werner. *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- “Songs of John Louw Nelson: A Concert Devoted to the Songs of John Louw Nelson was given Yesterday Afternoon in Aeolian Hall.” *New York Times*, March 9, 1921.
- Spalding, Phinizedy, ed. *Higher Education for Women in the South: A History of Lucy Cobb Institute, 1858–1994*. Athens, GA: Georgia Southern Press, 1994.
- Spinden, Herbert J. “Indian Arts on Its Merits.” *Parnassus* 3 (November 1931): 12–13.
- Spiteri, Raymond, and Donald LaCoss. *Surrealism, Politics and Culture*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2003.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty, and Sarah Harasym. *The Post-colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- St. John, Bruce *John Sloan*. New York: Praeger, 1971.
- Stankiewicz, Mary Ann. “Drawing Book Wars.” *Visual Arts Research* 12, no. 2 (1986): 59–72.
- Stark, Gregor, E. Catherine Rayne, and Jo Ann Baldinger. *El Delirio: The Santa Fe World of Elizabeth White*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1998.
- Stephen, Alexander MacGregor, and Elsie Clews Parsons. *Hopi Journal of Alexander M. Stephen*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.
- Stiles, Kristine, and Peter Selz. *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2012.
- Street, Julian, and Wallace Morgan. *American Adventures; a Second Trip “Abroad at Home.”* New York: Century, 1917.
- Strickland, Rennard. *Tonto's Revenge: Reflections on American Indian Culture and Policy*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997.
- Szabo, Joyce M. *Art from Fort Marion: The Silberman Collection*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.
- Szabo, Joyce M. *Painters, Patrons, and Identity: Essays in Native American Art to Honor J.J. Brody*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.
- Tanke, Joseph J. *Foucault's Philosophy of Art: A Genealogy of Modernity*. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009.

- Tanner, Clara Lee, and Helga Teiwes. *The James T. Bialac Collection of Southwest Indian Paintings*. Tucson: Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, 1968.
- Tanner, Clara Lee. *Southwest Indian Painting; A Changing Art*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973.
- Taussig, Michael T. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Taylor, Jeremy B. “‘There’s Money in Them:’ General S. C. Armstrong’s Marketing Plan for the Hampton Indian Program, 1878–1893.” *Ozark Historical Review* 37 (Spring 2008), 1-19.
- Teilhet-Fisk, Jehanne, and Robin Franklin Nigh. *Dimensions of Native America: The Contact Zone*. Tallahassee: Florida State University, Museum of Fine Arts, School of Visual Arts & Dance, 1998.
- Thomas, Nicholas. *Possessions: Indigenous Art, Colonial Culture*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Titiev, Mischa. *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992. First published 1944 by Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.
- Torrence, Gaylord, and Robert Carleton Hobbs. *Art of the Red Earth People: The Mesquakie of Iowa*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Museum of Art, 1989.
- Trafzer, Clifford E., Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc. *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006.
- Trapp, Kenneth R., ed. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*. Oakland, CA: Abbeville Press, 1993.
- Traugott, Joseph. *The Art of New Mexico: How the West Is One: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2007.
- Traugott, Joseph. “Fewkes and Nampeyo: Clarifying a Myth-Understanding.” In *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, edited by W. Jackson. Rushing, III, 7–19. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Traugott, Joseph. *Gustave Baumann's Southwest*. San Francisco: Pomegranate, 2007.
- Triggs, Oscar. “Conference of the Industrial Art League.” *Craftsman* 3, no. 2 (November 1902): 121–27.

- Truettner, William H. *Art in New Mexico, 1900–1945: Path to Taos and Santa Fe*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1986.
- Truettner, William H. *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*. Washington, DC and London: National Museum of Art, 1991.
- Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin: A Study of the Trading Post as an Institution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891. Accessed February 3, 2012, <https://archive.org/details/characterindian00turnrich>.
- Tythacott, Louise. *Surrealism and the Exotic*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Udall, Sharyn Rohlfen. *Modernist Painting in New Mexico 1913–1935*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984.
- United States Philippine Commission . *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War, 1900, Parts 1–2, (1899–1900); Part 3 (1900–1916)*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907.
- University of Arizona Hopi Dictionary Project. *Hopi Dictionary = Hopìikwa Lavàytutuveni: A Hopi-English Dictionary of the Third Mesa Dialect with an English-Hopi Finder List and a Sketch of Hopi Grammar*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.
- US Census Office. *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census: 1890*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894.
- US Department of Commerce and Edna L. Paisano. *We the First Americans*. Washington DC: US Department of Commerce, September 1993, www.census.gov/aprd/wepeople/we-5.pdf (accessed 12/10/2009.)
- US Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior-1906*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906.
- US Department of the Interior. “Federally Recognized Indian Tribes.” *Federal Register* 67, no 134 (July 12, 2002), www.artnatam.com/tribes.html (accessed 12/10/2009)
- US Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. *The Indian School at Carlisle Barracks*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880. Accessed January 8, 2014, <http://www.archive.org/details/indianschoolatca00unitiala>.
- Varnedoe, Kurt. “Abstract Expressionism.” In *“Primitivism” in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, Vol. 1, edited by William Rubin, 624. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984.

- Viola, Herman J., Making Medicine, Zotom, George P. Horse Capture, and Joseph D. Horse Capture. *Warrior Artists: Historic Cheyenne and Kiowa Indian Ledger Art*. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1998.
- Wade, Edwin L. *America's Great Lost Expedition: The Thomas Keam Collection of Hopi Pottery from the Second Hemenway Expedition, 1890–1894*. Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 1980.
- Wade, Edwin L., and Carol Haralson. *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*. New York: Hudson Hills Press in Association with Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, 1986.
- Wade, Edwin L., and Rennard Strickland. *Magic Images: Contemporary Native American Art*. Tulsa, OK: Philbrook Art Center, 1981.
- Waggoner, Linda M. *Fire Light: The Life of Angel De Cora, Winnebago Artist*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008.
- Wallace, Grant. *Maynard Dixon: Painter and Poet of the Far West*. San Francisco: San Francisco Art Research Project (WPA Project 2874), 1937.
- Walter, Paul A. "The Santa Fe-Taos Art Movement." *Art and Archaeology* 4 (December 1916): 330–38.
- Walton, Kendall L. *Mimesis as Make-Believe: On the Foundations of the Representational Arts*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Warburg, Aby. "Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America." In *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, 2nd ed., edited by Donald Preziosi, 177-206. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Warren, Louis S. "Cody's Last Stand: Masculine Anxiety, the Custer Myth, and the Frontier of Domesticity in Buffalo Bill's Wild West." *Western Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (2003): 49–69.
- Waters, Frank, and Oswald White Bear. Fredericks. *Book of the Hopi*. New York: Viking Press, 1963.
- Waters, Frank. *Masked Gods: Navaho and Pueblo Ceremonialism*. Athens, OH: Swallow Press, 1984.
- Waters, Frank. *Pumpkin Seed Point*. Chicago: Sage Books, 1969.
- Watson, Paula D. "Founding Mothers: The Contribution of Women's Organizations to Public Library Development in the United States." *Library Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (1994): 233–69.

- Webb, William, and Robert A. Weinstein. *Dwellers at the Source: Southwestern Indian Photographs of A.C. Vroman, 1895–1904*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973.
- Kalberg, Stephen, ed. *Max Weber: Readings and Commentary on Modernity*. Oxford, Blackwell: Wiley, 2004.
- Weigle, Marta, and Barbara A. Babcock. *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*. Phoenix, AZ: Heard Museum, 1996.
- Weitze, Karen J. *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*. Edited by Kenneth R. Trapp. New York: Abbeville Press, 1993.
- Welton, Jessica W., and Zena Pearlstone. “Recontextualizing the Art of Fred and Michael Kabotie.” *American Indian Art Magazine* 36, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 36–47.
- Welton, Jessica W. “Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie: Hopi Elements for the Outside World.” Master's thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2006.
- Welton, Jessica W. “The Watchtower Murals: 1930s Paintings by Fred Kabotie.” *Plateau: The Land and People of the Colorado Plateau* 2 (Fall 2005/2006): 42–59.
- Weneck, Bette. “Social and Cultural Stratification in Women’s Higher Education: Barnard College and Teachers College, 1898–1912.” *History of Education Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (1991): 1–25.
- Wenger, Tisa Joy. *We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom*. Chapel Hill: Published in Association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Wernitznig, Dagmar. *Europe's Indians, Indians in Europe: European Perceptions and Appropriations of Native American Cultures from Pocahontas to the Present*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2007.
- West, W. Richard. *The Changing Presentation of the American Indian: Museums and Native Cultures*. Washington, D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian, 2000.
- Wharton, Edith and Ogden Codman, Jr., *The Decoration of Houses*. New York: Rizzoli and The Mount Press, 2007. First published 1879 by Charles Scribner’s.
- White, Mark A. “The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art.” *American Indian Art* 38 (Winter 2012): 34–45.
- Whiteley, Peter M. *Deliberate Acts: Changing Hopi Culture through the Oraibi Split*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988.

- Wichmann, Siegfried. *World Cultures and Modern Art; the Encounter of 19th and 20th Century European Art and Music with Asia, Africa, Oceania, Afro- and Indo-America. Exhibition on the Occasion of the Games of the XXth Olympiad, Munich 1972.* Munich: Bruckmann, 1972.
- Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities.* New York: Bloomsbury, 2013.
- Willard, William. "The Plumed Serpent and the Red Atlantis." *Wicazo Sa Review* 4, no. 2 (Autumn 1988): 17.
- Williams, Neva. *Patrick DesJarlait: Conversations with a Native American Artist.* Minneapolis, MN: Runestone, 1995.
- Williams, Raymond. *Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists.* New York: Verso, 1996.
- Wilson, Bryan R. *Rationality.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Wilson, Richard Guy. "The Arts and Crafts After 1918: Ending and Legacy." In *The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life*, edited by Kenneth R. Trapp and Leslie Greene Bowman, 233–46. Oakland, CA: Oakland Museum, 1993.
- Wilton, Andrew, and Tim Barringer. *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States 1820–1880.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- Winchester, Juti A. "New Western History Doesn't Have to Hurt: Revisionism at the Buffalo Bill Museum." *Public Historian* 31, no. 4 (2009): 77–79.
- Wingert, Paul S. *Primitive Art: Its Traditions and Styles.* New York: Meridian, 1962.
- Wissot, Jay. "Two Treatments of Cultural Difference: Dewey on Nationalism and Kallen on Pluralism." *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 4 (1976): 49–59.
- Wister, Owen. *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains.* New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1929.
- Witt, David L. *Modernists in Taos: From Dasburg to Martin.* Santa Fe, NM: Red Crane Books, 2002.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, and Marie Donald Mackie Hottinger. *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art.* New York: Dover, 1950.
- Wood, Ghislaine. "The Exotic." In *Art Deco 1910–1939*, edited by Charlotte Benton, Tim Benton, and Ghislaine Wood, London: V & A Publications, 2003.
- Wood, W. Raymond. "The Role of the Romantic West in Shaping the Third Reich," *Plains Anthropologist* 35, No. 132 (1990): 313–19.

- Wright, Barton, and Cliff Bahnimptewa. *Kachinas: A Hopi Artist's Documentary*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1973.
- Wright, Barton. *Hopi Kachinas: The Complete Guide to Collecting Kachina Dolls*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1977.
- Wright, Barton. *Hopi Material Culture: Artifacts Gathered by H. R. Voth in the Fred Harvey Collection*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1979.
- Wyckoff, Lydia L., ed. *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art*. Tulsa, OK: Philbrook Museum of Art / Albuquerque: Distributed by the University of New Mexico Press, 1996.
- Yamada, Chisaburō, and Tatsuji Ōmori. *Japonisme in Art: An International Symposium*. Tokyo: Committee for the Year 2001, 1980.
- “Y.M.C.A. Vaudeville a Success.” *Carlisle Arrow*, December 4, 1914.
- Young, M. Jane. *Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.
- Zitkala-Ša. *Old Indian Legends*. Boston and London: Ginn, 1901.

Appendix One:

Angel De Cora: Report of the Executive Council

The following statement by Angel De Cora is quoted from the Society of American Indians' *Report of the Executive Council on the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians* (Washington, DC: Printed by Order of the Executive Council, 1912), 82–87.

Up until the present time the art of the American Indian has appealed to just two classes of professional men, the scientist and the artist.... The Indian artist's first aim was to picture his thoughts, and he drew them on the material at hand.... At first no attempts were made at realism, the simple forms and figures had practical significance, but gradually through the process of evolution, the pictorial arrangements tended to cultivate his decorative sense and thereby started his art on the more aesthetic plane.... Aesthetics in art is the study or practice of art for art's sake, for the sensuous pleasure of form, line and color. As to what is pleasing, that each person must decide for himself.... But to the American people the European art is not the only art. They copy every nationality.... How much can they learn if they properly consider the true significance of these designs [from other cultures that they copy]....

Some years ago I attended a National Education Association convention. I spent some time looking over the Indian school exhibit. The art work was the same as is prescribed for public schools, the usual spray of flow or budding twig done in "wash" after the manner of Japanese brush work, and some stilted forms of geometric figures apparently made under the strict directions of a teacher. The only trace of Indian about the exhibition was one of the names As I stood there studying the accurately copied work of the Indian scholars it occurred to me that the American Indians had two art systems, the sign language and a decorative art, the two mediums of communication which were almost universal with the whole Indian race. There were the tribal differences but the two systems were well formed and well established....

...if the young school Indian was permitted to practice it [art] in the class room it would make as interesting an exhibition as the one I saw at that... convention, and moreover it might be further cultivated by the educated Indians and adapted to modern methods.

The nature of Indian art is formed on a purely conventional and geometric basis, and our endeavors at the Carlisle Indian School have been to treat it as a conventional system of designing.

From the best specimens of bead work designs, we study the symbolic figures, first of the Sioux, as they represent a certain style of ...the middle west...broader aspects of nature, such as sky, clouds, hill, lakes, rivers, trees and rock in symbolic figures of geometrical shapes...

The study of the fundamental figures was followed by the combined figures, made up of two or more of the elements of design, then the still more complex...Under this analytic style we have studied the various tribal styles, the Arapahoe...the Navajo.... The Zuni, Pueblo and Hopi offer a much more developed system of decorative designing which lends itself wonderfully to interior wall decoration....

The Indian designs modified and applied to interior house decoration are especially in harmony with the so-called "mission" style....

By careful study and close application many hundred designs have been evolved. Many of these designs have been thrown upon the market of the country and each one has brought its financial reward, but more than that, from these small and unassuming ventures, we have drawn the attention of artists and manufacturers to the fact that the Indian of North America possessed a distinctive art which promises to be of great value in a country which heretofore has been obliged to draw its models from the countries of the eastern hemisphere. Its continued development shows that much more can be expected as time and opportunity offer new occasions for its application....

My experience at Carlisle shows me...in all probability none of these excellent designers will ever find their way to any art school for a finished training, but should one care to look into their futures homes, however modest they might be, one will find there a sense of harmony peculiar to the American Indian.

Appendix Two:

To Whom It May Concern:

A Letter from Fred Kabotie Stating How He Began Making Watercolor Paintings

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO
Center for Southwest Research
Collection: DeHuff Family #99
Box: 7 Folder: 24
Oraibi, Arizona
May 1940

Notice: This material may be protected
by copyright law (Title 17 U.S. Code)

To whom it may concern:

I, Fred Kabotie, a Hopi Indian, of Shungapovy village, began making watercolor paintings of Indian ceremonials in the home of Elizabeth Willis DeHuff, with her aid and encouragement, at the United States Indian School, in Santa Fe, New Mexico, during the fall of 1918.

Mrs. DeHuff selected a group of eight or nine Indian boys, whom the academic teachers recommended as good drawers of maps, and had us excused from our vocational work to spend that time each day painting "Indian dances" in her living room. Paintings of this type had never been made by Indians before.

My first painting, which Mrs. DeHuff now possesses, was a group of Hopi Butterfly Dancers, and my second painting was of the Hopi Snake Dance.

The other painters, whom I remember working there with me were: Velino Shije (later called Herrera or "Mah-piwi,"), of Zia pueblo; Otis Polelonema, A Hopi from my village; Manuel Cruz and Guadalupe Montoya, both of San Juan pueblo; and Juan Jose Montoya and Jose Miguel Martinez, both of San Ildefonso pueblo.

Our first paintings were exhibited by Mrs. DeHuff in the Art gallery of the New Museum in Santa Fe. Most of them were purchased by Mrs. Mabel Dodge Luhan, of Taos, and exhibited in the Independent Art Show in New York City.

Two years later, I was engaged by Dr. Edgar L. Hewett to paint Indian dance pictures for the School of American Research.

I worked on these paintings for a permanent record for the School of Research for several years, while attending the Santa Fe High School.

Signed *Fred Kubota*

Witnesses

Appendix Three:

Kabotie: Indian Artist

Unidentified (perhaps 1950s) letter in the Fred Kabotie,
Biography Collection, PP MS 300, Arizona Historical Society, Papago Park.

The only attribution is a stamp on the back of the pages that reads “Grace Sparkes.”
Her collection, formerly at the Arizona Historical Foundation,
is now at Sharlot Hall Museum.

KABOTIE- INDIAN ARTIST

Kabotie, the Hopi Artist who decorated the walls and ceilings of the Hopi Room of the Tower and made the unusually beautiful sand painting in the altar, was born thirty years ago in the village of Shungopovi on the Second Mesa. The name given him at birth means "Next Sunrise" (Ka-botie, accent on the first syllable.) This name was a compliment to his father who belongs to the Sun Clan. Kabotie himself, of course, according to Hopi custom, belongs to his mother's clan, the "Blue Jay".

The boy attended the Indian School at Santa Fe where, also according to custom, he was given an American name for the convenience of the teachers. This name is Fred and he is sometimes spoken of as Fred Kabotie. We much prefer to call him simply by his Indian name.

Kabotie, while in Santa Fe, frequently visited the artists studios where he picked up considerable knowledge of the white man's art. In it he is remarkably clever for he is a real painter in any medium or in any style.

It is, however, in the traditional art of his people that he really excels. In it every line he draws is as sure as truth itself, whether it is drawn with brush and pigment on the wall or with colored sand in the mosaic of the altar. Kabotie has a reverence for the ceremonial painting of his people that inspires all he does. He also has a broad knowledge of the meaning of the age old symbols employed, which makes his work a record of enduring value.

As well as being a genius in the art of Hopi painting, he has no mean talent as a musician and is an inspired dancer in the ritualistic dances of his people.

Appendix Four:

Museum of New Mexico: Paintings on Display

Edgar Lee Hewett. "On the Opening of the Art Gallery."
Art and Archaeology. January/February 1918, 50-54.

1920 *Museum of New Mexico Guide Book*, with partial listing of the museum's
collection.



The Acoma Gallery of the New Art Museum at Santa Fe

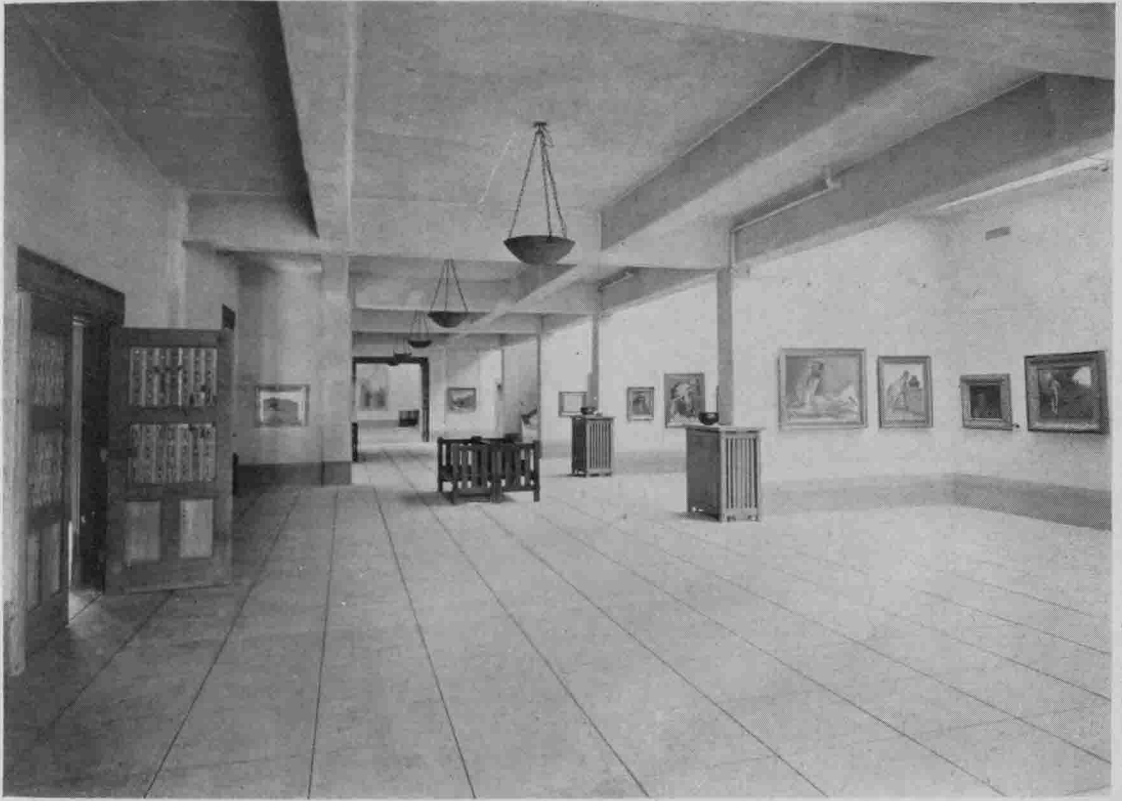
ON THE OPENING OF THE ART GALLERIES

EDGAR L. HEWETT

ON throwing open these galleries to you, I would, if I were capable, express the deep sense of obligation that we of the Southwest feel toward the painters who are producing here the most characteristic art of the new world. It is not our debt alone; it is the debt of this nation.

These artists are revealing to the world the beauty of the Southwest. Beauty is indescribable, and a world full of it is, for the most part, unseen. The beauty of the Southwest is subtle, mysterious, elemental. We who live in

it have long silently felt it—the eternal character of these vast spaces, silent but vibrant with life and color—earth masses on which man through the ages has wrought no change nor ever can; and in it all, of it all, our people; simple, gentle, lovable. We are particularly grateful that these artists appreciate our people. We know of nothing finer than humanity—nothing greater than the spirit of man striving to be in harmony with the forces about him. That striving unifies life, and makes it strong and beautiful.



The Laguna Gallery of the New Art Museum at Santa Fe

We feel that our people here in the Southwest do have a life in keeping with the soil, the skies, winds, clouds, spaces—that they have ordered their lives in honest, simple, harmonious ways. We are glad that the artists understand them.

I trust that no one will attempt to dissect, to classify in the language of criticism, this noble art of the painters of the Southwest; nor should we wish to see it circumscribed by any local name. Pride might lead us to hope that it might come to be known as "The New Mexico School," but that would limit it in its big universal character. It is, in my estimation, the most democratic group of painters in America that is now painting in the Southwest. Here are the canvases of forty artists working

under the same potent influences, and remaining absolutely independent in method of expression, each sincerely concerned with the unfolding of his own spirit. Yet with all this diversity, we discern the golden thread of sympathetic comprehension, of elemental meanings, which makes this exhibition of Southwestern art a splendidly unified thing.

There is a glorious future for art in the Southwest—for art in America. Fortunate are we in having some part in it. This building that we have erected expresses something of our gratitude for, and appreciation of, these artists. It is an effort to worthily display their works, to bring them to the attention of the world, to the end that multitudes may share our pleasure. It

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

is the least that we can do. We shall not be satisfied with this. It will be the policy of this institution to provide all possible facilities to the artists who come to the Southwest—studios that can be freely at their disposal, and other conveniences to save their time and make the most of their powers.

We feel that in encouraging the production of art and in bringing it into the lives of the people, we are doing our proper service in the world. Art is for everyone. It should be universal. Think what it is! The truest, finest, most enduring record of the activities of the human spirit. It is our immutable heritage from the people of the past. It tells their story, truly, faithfully, long after they have descended from the pinnacles of power, their dynasties gone, their boasted evidences of power crumbled, their arts alone remaining to disclose in spite of everything they ever said or did the real life and spirit of the people. Art is the great, lasting, self-revealing activity of life. Through it we transmit our spiritual power through the ages.

We are looking forward to the time when the vast energies that we are now organizing and dedicating to the defeat of despotic power may be released and re-dedicated to the activities of peace. When that time comes, let us hope that art will be one of the chief concerns of this great nation. Perhaps the part we play here may not be unimportant. It

may fall to us to help carry through times of great darkness the torch from which new fires may be kindled to illuminate greater days than humanity has hitherto known. At any rate, we have taken our part, whatever it is to be, and we offer to you the first fruits of our efforts in the opening of these galleries with the exhibition of Southwestern art. We are proud that it has been permitted to us here in Santa Fe to do this. We dare to hope that this may become an annual event, that we may look forward every year to an exhibition of the new art of the Southwest. I believe I speak for the entire state, when I thank the artists who are represented in this exhibition that we are now about to view, and say to them that they have added an inexpressible charm to our environment here; that this is their gallery as well as ours; and that we want it to become not only a place of beauty, but of deep, abiding personal friendship. We want it to be the home of art in the most exalted sense.

Therefore, to the artists and their friends who come to Santa Fe, we extend the age-old salutation of our people: "This is your house". To the people of our State, and to all who come to sojourn among us, we say: "There is time in the life of everyone for quiet enjoyment of the things of the Spirit. That is the purpose of this place. We invite you to make this your sanctuary."



PAINTINGS OF THE SOUTHWESTERN ARTISTS

- HENRY BALINK.
 Indian in the Corn.
 *Pueblo Pottery.
 Chief Bluebeard.
- GEORGE BELLOWS.
 The Red Cow.
 Santa Fe Canyon.
 Sanctuario.
 *Tesuque Pueblo.
 Road to Quemado.
 A Stag at Sharkey's (Lithograph: Gift of the Artist to the School.)
 Artists Judging Works of Art. (Lithograph: Gift of the Artist to the School.)
- PAUL BURLIN.
 Cattle at Rest.
 Three Mexican Women.
 Light Line Drawing of Nude.
 Group of Mexican Women.
 Erosions.
 El Rosario.
 *Cowboy Sport.
 The Great Altar.
- EDGAR S. CAMERON.
 *La Loma, Santa Fe.
- GERALD CASSIDY.
 The Watcher at the Spring.
 The Clouds Caress.
 *Cui Bono. (Gift to the School by the Artist.)
- K. M. CHAPMAN.
 *Five Rito de los Frijoles Pastels.
- MRS. E. E. CHEETHAM.
 Autumn Glow.
 *Glimpses of Taos.
- E. S. COE.
 Water Jar of Santa Clara.
 *When the Day is Done.
- LEONARD M. DAVIS.
 Aurora Borealis. (Gift to the School by Mr. Frank Springer.)
- KATHERINE DUDLEY.
 *Julian.
 Lucinda.
 Mt. Talaya, Twilight.
- HELENA DUNLAP.
 *Mexican Interior, Taos.
- LYDIA DUNHAM FABIAN.
 *The Inner Court.
- W. PENHALLOW HENDERSON.
 Old Theophilo.
 Tienda Rosa.
 Little Alice.
 Mañana.
 Maria.
 Quirina.
 The Little Waterfall.
 The Little Spanish Lady.
 San Miguel.
 Anna.
 End of Santa Fe Trail.
 Mrs. M. P. Hyland.
 *Henry H. Knibbs.
 Taos Pueblo.
 Tesuque Woman.
- F. MARTIN HENNINGS.
 Taos Indian.
 *The Vine.
 Evening at Laguna.
- ROBERT HENRI.
 Indian Girl of Santa Clara.
 Indian Girl in White Blanket.
 Mexican Boy.
 Lucinda in White.
 Tilly.
 Indian Girl in Rose-colored Shawl.
 Indian Girl of San Ildefonso.
 Little Mexican Girl.
 Juanita in Blue.
 Indian Girl with Blanket.
 Santa Fe Marl.
 *Diegito. (Gift of the Artist to the School.)
 Gregorita.
 Mexican Girl.
- LEE F. HERSCH.
 *Autumn's Glory.
- ALICE KLAUBER.
 Desert Evening.
 A Mexican Ghost.
 *Taos Afternoon.
- LEON KROLL.
 *Santa Fe Hills.
- RALPH MEYERS.
 Pattern of a Spring Landscape.
 *Come In.
 The Sentinel.
- ARTHUR F. MUSGRAVE.
 *Patio and Tower of New Museum.
 Sunlit Wall.
 Patio Interior.
 The Autumn Tints.
 North Wall, New Museum.
 Door of the Inner Court.
 Sunlit Valley.
 The Chili.
 The House on the Hill.
- SHELDON PARSONS.
 February Morning, Santa Fe.
 Las Truchas.
 Storm Overhead.
 Cundiyo Chapel.
 Sunlight and Shadow, Santa Fe.
 Afternoon in Grand Canyon.
 Chamisa.
 *Sanctuario.
 Grand Canyon.
- GRACE RAVLIN.
 *Corn Dance, San Domingo.
 Annual Fiesta, Laguna.
 Entering Kiva After the Dance.
- JULIUS ROLSHOVEN.
 Cochiti Buck.
 Chief White Sun.
 The Scarlet Blanket.
 Taos Indian.
 Indian Devotion.
 Tesuque Boy with Olla.
 Leaf-Lightning—The Call to the Dance.
 Taos Indian Maiden.
 War Cloud and Deer Path.
 Little Chief Coming.

* The pictures marked with an asterisk are reproduced in the illustrations.

- The Aristocrat.
 Summer Deer.
 Deer Path.
 Portrait of Santiago Naranjo. (Gift of the Artist to the School.)
- DORIS ROSENTHAL.
 *The Evening Star.
 Apache.
 Taos Indian Boy.
- J. H. SHARP.
 The Stoic.
 Portrait of Taos Indian. } Gifts of the Artist to the
 Portrait of Taos Indian. } School.
- EVA SPRINGER.
 *Miniatures.
 Breton Peasant.
 Portrait of Italian Girl.
 Portrait of French Count.
 Profile of French Count.
 The Green Gown.
 Girl With Flowers.
 Portrait of the Artist's Mother.
 Portrait Study of the Artist.
 Portrait of Old Lady.
 Italian Maria.
 Russian Student.
 Sister Marie.
- The Fur Cape.
 Grandmere.
 Russian Girl.
 The Blue Coat.
 Evelyn.
 Little Simone.
 Yvonne.
- G. C. STANSON.
 Washing after the Snake Dance.
 *La Loma. (Gift of the Artist to the School.)
 End of Avenida del Palacio.
- MRS. WALTER UFER.
 *The Norm.
- T. VAN SOELEN.
 *Old Town Morning.
- CARLOS VIERRA.
 Zia Mission.
 Cathedral Rock.
 *Tesuque Mission.
 Santa Clara Mission. } Gifts to the School.
 Laguna Mission.
 Jemes Sunset.
 Corner in Taos.
- MRS. CORDELIA WILSON.
 Indian Land.
 *A Mexican Home.

PAINTINGS OF THE TAOS SOCIETY OF ARTISTS

- O. E. BERNINGHAUS.
 *A Mountain Trail.
 Moonlit Adobes of Taos.
 A New Mexico Landscape.
- E. L. BLUMENSCHNEIN.
 Homeward Bound.
 Three Women on the Road to Taos.
 *The Orator.
- E. IRVING COUSE.
 *A Pueblo Indian Weaver.
 The Prehistoric Image.
 Pueblo Hunter.
- W. HERBERT DUNTON.
 The Invaders.
 *The Buffalo Signal.
 The Emigrants.
- VICTOR HIGGINS.
 *To the Fiesta.
- BERT C. PHILLIPS.
 The Drummer of the War Dance.
 The Mysterious Olla.
 *Looking Backward.
- JULIUS ROLSHOVEN.
 Rain Cloud.
 *War Chief, Taos Pueblo.
 Indian Devotion.
- J. H. SHARP.
 *The Tribal Historian.
 The Old War Shield.
 Crucita, Taos Indian Girl.
- WALTER UFER.
 The American Desert.
 *Indians in Cornfield.
 Taos Plaza.

* Reproduced among the illustrations.

MS. #1

John A. Jones Papers

Jones

The Museum of New Mexico

GUIDE BOOK

SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

THE MUSEUM PRESS, SANTA FE 1922

by 150 years. Six of them: Acoma, San Felipe, Cochiti, Laguna, Santa Ana and Pecos, are more or less reproduced in the facades. Some of the finest of these structures are in ruins, while the others are slowly yielding to the ravages of time.

An American architecture? There is none, many will say. This is true, to a certain extent. In the large cities of the East we revel in Greek and Roman temples, also Flemish, Dutch and Old English homes. On the Pacific coast the Hindoo bungalow, the Spanish or California mission, and many other forms of architecture abound, borrowed from Europe and Asia. One must go to New Mexico to find an American architecture and an American art. The terraced houses of the Pueblos, and the Franciscan missions, are indigenous to the soil, for they have been produced by the environment, the native building material, the climate, are based upon natural development going back many centuries,—and are truly American.

The Art Museum is pronounced a gem by artists and architects who have come from all parts of the country to see it. The distinctive features of the exterior are the terraced effects, the plastic or flowing lines, the porticos and balconies, the colors, and the projecting, decorated beams. In the interior, are the carved corbels or capitals, the brush ceilings, the ceiling beams, the carved doorways and windows, the Patio with its covered corridor or cloister, the massive walls, the use of color in the woodwork, the use of native material, and the handicraft in fashioning furniture and furnishing, in addition to mural paintings and art treasures.

The New Museum is an art gallery, and it is the center of a new art movement, as thoroughly American as the architecture of the building itself—the first truly American of art.

LIBRARY AND READING ROOM

The visitor enters by way of the Library, reading room and office. The Library is mostly for reference, but is gradually acquiring many works on art, on the history and the Indians of the Southwest, on archaeology, anthropology and primitive arts. It is for the use of students, research workers and members of the Santa Fe Society of the Archaeological Institute. On the reading tables are found daily and weekly papers, art, historical and educational magazines, as well as magazines in Spanish. Here are for sale the publications of the School, two score and more in number. The Finck Linguistic Library, the gift of Hon. Frank Springer, as well as precious archives and ancient books, are kept in two of the tower rooms. On the walls are the mission church and pueblo paintings by Carlos Viera of the Museum staff,



THE ART MUSEUM

The Art Museum owes its existence to the generosity of Hon. Frank Springer and friends who made an initial contribution of \$30,000 which was matched by an appropriation of the State Legislature, and later by the gift of collections, books and money by Mr. Springer to the value of approximately \$45,000, which the State Legislature again matched with funds to complete the building. The people of Santa Fe gave the site upon which the structure stands. Various artists gave of their best work, and others contributed to library, art collections, equipment and furnishings.

The Art Museum is not a replica of any particular mission church or any group of churches. It is rather a type, embodying the distinctive and salient points of New Mexico mission architecture, which owes its character in part to the material employed in the construction, the environment, and to Pueblo workmanship and traditions. It is a composite, intended to perpetuate the best features of the early Franciscan missions of the Southwest, which antedate those of California

which are also a gift of Mr. Springer. These paintings illustrate the development of the New Mexico mission architecture and the genesis of the New Museum building. The Laguna mission picture, for instance, brings out at a glance its resemblance to part of the eastern facade of the New Museum. The Acoma, San Felipe, and Santa Ana missions have features that are embodied in the front of the building. With this series is a canvas which depicts one of many natural formations in the vicinity of Santa Fe, illustrating how rain, cold, wind, sunshine, carve the marl and tufa of the hills very much as they do the exterior walls of the pueblos and their missions, thus blending man-reared structure with the environment.

From the east end of the library open the art galleries in which the artists who paint in the Southwest exhibit their latest creations, often showing them in Santa Fe before they go to the art galleries of the big art centers. As these exhibits change frequently and the artists of note who paint in Santa Fe and Taos now exceed two score, no catalogue of paintings is included. There are, however, paintings that have been acquired by the Museum and School through gifts by the artists, or friends, and more or less on exhibit continuously. These are being added to constantly. The aim of the galleries is to exhibit the worth-while Southwestern art, to illustrate its development and to give artists who paint in the Southwest an opportunity to display their best work. No jury passes upon the fitness of works which are offered for exhibit, nor does the Museum undertake to judge the merit of the paintings which are temporarily given place upon its walls. The idea is that all serious workers in art having something to offer for which they are willing to stand, may have the chance to exhibit their productions here, for a reasonable time and according to the space available—leaving the decision to that which must be the ultimate judge—the public. No attempt is made to acquire or exhibit old classic paintings from Europe, or pictures by modern artists who are not in some way or other related to western fields.

The following are some of the permanent possessions of the Museum and School:

"Dieguito," the Drummer of the Eagle Dance of San Ildefonso, a gift by the artist, Robert Henri, who painted the portrait in one of the Museum studios.

"Cui Bono?" a Taos Indian with the Pueblo of Taos in the background, a gift of the artist, Gerald Cassidy.

"The Stoic," a Sioux Indian performing a rite of self torture in the Sun Dance, a gift of the artist, J. H. Sharp.

"Santiago," the Sage of Santa Clara, a portrait of Santiago Naranjo of Santa Clara, a gift of the artist, Julius Rolshoven.

"Grief," a painting of a Zuñi interior, with a Pueblo Indian mourning the death of his beloved wife, a gift of the artist, Warren E. Rollins.

"The Mesa Encantada" by the late Frank P. Sauerwin, one of the pioneer artists of Taos. This striking sunset picture is a gift of W. A. Marean of Denver.

"The Enchanted Mesa" and "Jamaica," two water colors by W. H. Holmes the gift of Hon. Frank Springer. Mr. Holmes is the president of the Managing Board of the School of American Research.

"The Cathedral Spire," "Casa Blanca" and "Canon de Chelly," a group of three paintings by Sheldon Parsons, the gift of Hon. Frank Springer.

"Sanctuario," "Grand Canon" and a score of Santa Fe and Taos landscapes by Sheldon Parsons, a gift of the New Mexico Archaeological Society.

"The Scout" another Zuñi picture by Warren E. Rollins, a gift of the friends of Southwestern Art.

"Sheldon Parsons" a portrait, the gift of the artist, Leon Gaspard.

"Northern Lights" a painting of the aurora borealis by Leonard S. Davis, a gift of Hon. Frank Springer.

"Ancestral Spirits" by John Sloan, loan by Edgar L. Hewett.

"Yen-see-do" a Tewa from San Ildefonso, Louise Crow. "The Timber Line" and "Amidst Eternal Snows," as well as eight prints of Colorado mountain scenery by Birger Sandzen, the gift of Carl J. Smalley and the artist.

"The City of the Sun" a picture of the museum quadrangle at San Diego, gift of the artist, Henry Lovins.

"The Loma," gift of the artist, George C. Stanson. Two portraits of Taos Indians, gift of the artist, J. H. Sharp.

"The Temple of St. Francis and the Martyrs," a picture of the new Museum, gift of the artist, Arthur F. Musgrave.

"Taos," loan by the artist, Alice Klauber.

"Minatures," by Eva Springer, loan by the artist.

"El Santo," by Marsden Hartley, gift of a friend of Southwestern Art.

"Bishop's Lodge in Winter," by Agnes Vinson Mitchell, gift of Hon. Frank Springer.

"At Sharkey's" and "Artists criticising Art," gift of the artist, George Bellows.

"The Chasm," "At Laguna" and "Laguna," gift of the artist, Albert Groll.

Among artists of more or less note who have painted at Santa Fe, Taos or elsewhere in the Southwest, whose work has been exhibited at the Museum are: Henry Balink, Gustave Faumann, Donald Beaugard, George Bellows, Miss

THE ST. FRANCIS MURALS.

(From El Palacio, December 9, 1918.)

The influence of St Francis of Assisi upon religion, art, literature, music, discovery, science and politics, is written large in history. His was the voice that ushered in the Renaissance, six hundred years ago. The life of the gentle saint, his sayings and his sermons, are altogether beautiful and are among the choicest heritage of all men and ages. He founded the great order of Franciscans, who taking the vow of poverty and continence, set out to persuade the World to accept Christ as its Saviour. It was they who planted the Cross in New Mexico, eighty years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. Their converts among the Pueblo Indians numbered tens of thousands, and these Pueblo men and women, fired by holy zeal under the direction of the Franciscans, built the missions at Acoma, at Pecos, and in other pueblos—massive, imposing, worthy structures—a century and a half before the Franciscans reared the missions of California. The Franciscans suffered excruciating martyrdom in the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 and at other times, writing into the annals of this commonwealth a page of glorious sacrifice and devotion.

Santa Fe, the capital city of New Mexico, like every other Spanish town, has its patron saint, and it is St. Francis, the city's ancient name being "La Villa Real de Santa Fe de San Francisco de Assisi," "The Royal City of the Holy Faith of St. Francis of Assisi."

It is fitting, therefore, that in the beautiful Sanctuary of the new Museum, a splendid adaptation of the ancient Franciscan missions of New Mexico, the mural decorations commemorate the life and influence of the gentle St. Francis.

It was Mr. Frank Springer who made possible the realization of this dream, by giving the means to execute this noble work of art. Donald Beaufregard, a young artist of notable achievement and still greater promise, was commissioned by Mr. Springer to the task. Having studied under masters in Paris, in Munich, in Spain, having won high honors, he visited Assisi and the places which knew St. Francis. Beaufregard steeped himself in the spirit of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, read the works of St. Francis, and the biographies of the saint, then set to work to make the preliminary sketches for the six panels now placed in the Auditorium. Being decidedly modern in his trend, a superb colorist, he conceived a St. Francis without the traditional halo, without the stigmata and

Benson, O. E. Benninghaus, Ernest L. Blumenschein, Oscar Borg, Martin Borgord, Paul Burlin, Edgar Spier Cameron, Gerald Cassidy, Kenneth M. Chapman, Mrs. E. E. Cheatham, Ethel Coe, D. J. Cook, Irving Couse, Mrs. Craig, Louise Crow, Randall Davey, Katherine Dudley, Helena Dunlap, W. Herbert Dunton, E. G. Eisenlohr, Fremont Ellis, Lydia Dunham Fabian, Karl Fleischer, Leon Gaspard, Lillian Geister, Albert L. Groll, Marsden Hartley, Burt Harwood. Mrs. Harwood, William P. Henderson, F. Martin Hennings, Robert Henri, Lee F. Hersch, Victor Higgins, Sara Parsons Higgins, W. H. Holmes, Oscar Jacobson, Grace Johnson, Alice Klauber, Emry Kopta, Leon Kroll, Miss McGord, Ralph Meyers, Agnes Vinson Mitchell, Arthur F. Musgrave, O. E. Nordfeldt, Sheldon Parsons, Ralph Pearson, Mrs. Ralph Pearson, Agnes Pelton, Bert Phillips, Hugo Pohl, Alvin Polasek, Grace Ravlin, Warren E. Rollins, Julius Rolshoven, Dorris Rosenthal, John Sacha, Birger Sandzen, Frank P. Sauerwin, Aileen Shanlon, Will Schuster, J. H. Sharp, John Sloan, Eva Springer, Miss Spalding, George C. Stanson, Maurice Sterne, Eda Stirker, C. P. Townley, Allen True, Walter Ufer, Mrs. Walter Ufer, Carlos Vierra, Theodore VanSoelen, Cordelia Wilson, Lucille Wrenn, John Young-Hunter, Mrs. John Young-Hunter and others.

ST. FRANCIS AUDITORIUM

The St. Francis Auditorium is Santa Fe's Community Center. Architecturally it has been given the highest praise by visiting architects, for despite its simplicity and primitive aspects, it is beautifully proportioned and unique. From the floor of native sandstone slabs to the split aspen sticks of the ceiling laid the barkside down in herring-bone pattern; from the carved lectern to the double corbels of the huge vigas, from the door with "the needle's eye" to the mural paintings, the auditorium is a superb example of New Mexico mission style. A thousand people can be accommodated in it. During the first six months after its dedication more than two score community meetings were held in it with an estimated attendance of three times the population of Santa Fe. Concerts, commencements, miracle plays, community theater, patriotic and civic meetings, woman's club and other society gatherings, union Thanksgiving services, Chautauquas, inaugural receptions and lectures, all have had the auditorium as an ideal setting. Its acoustic qualities are excellent, and its beauty is of the kind of which one never tires.

The mural paintings symbolize the life and influence of St. Francis of Assisi, the patron saint of New Mexico, Arizona and California.

Vita

Jessica Wheat Welton was born in Richmond, Virginia, on September 25, 1953, and is a citizen of the United States of America. She earned her BFA at Virginia Commonwealth University in 1976, and worked as an art director and creative director in the advertising industry for thirty years, earning over 250 national and international awards for her creative work, which has been published in *CA*, *The One Show*, *The Art Directors Annual*, *London International*, *The Andys Award Annual*, *Print Magazine* and *The Richmond Advertising Annual*. She served on the board and also as president of the Richmond Advertising Club, and taught advertising design, typography and portfolio development for four years at Virginia Commonwealth University. She also has taught web design, layout and typography, and the history of design at Virginia State University. Her three-dimensional work and photography have been shown in numerous venues in the Richmond area. Since undertaking graduate studies in art history she completed her MFA in 2006, and her essays, “The Watchtower Murals: 1930s Paintings by Fred Kabotie,” “Garcilaso de la Vega and the ‘New Peruvian Man’: José Sabogal’s Frescoes at the Hotel Cuzco” (with Michael Schreffler) and “Recontextualizing the Art of Fred and Michael Kabotie” (with Zena Pearlstone) have been published in *Plateau*, *Art History*, and *American Indian Art*, respectively.

Welton first met Fred Kabotie’s son Michael (also an artist) when visiting the Hopi Reservation on a research trip for her Virginia Commonwealth University School of

the Arts senior design project in 1976. Through Michael she met Fred and Alice Kabotie, and the four have had multiple ongoing conversations over the years around the Kabotie's Songóopavi kitchen table. Years later Welton also came to be friends with Michael's sister, Hattie Kabotie Lomayesva and her children, Mary and Fred, and granddaughter Allaura. Michael's children, especially Paul and Ed have also supported Welton's work.

In the 1980s, when Michael Kabotie took over stewardship of the Hopi Arts and Crafts/Silvercraft Guild from his parents, Welton helped him with advertising materials that helped the business to grow significantly. Their friendship continued, and in 2005 Michael invited Welton to join him and Delbridge Honanie at Harvard University to examine at first-hand the pre-Columbian murals of Awatovi. This experience was the impetus for Welton's Master's thesis on Fred Kabotie's murals, "Reinterpreting the Murals of Fred Kabotie: Hopi Elements for the Outside World," written under the direction of Dr. James Farmer, which in turn became a basis for undertaking this dissertation on the development of the Santa Fe Style.