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PABLITA VELARDE, HELEN HARDIN, AND MARGARETE BAGSHAW: THREE GENERATIONS OF ASSERTION, EXPRESSION, AND INNOVATION

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PABLITA VELARDE, HELEN HARDIN, AND MARGARETE BAGSHAW:
THREE GENERATIONS OF ASSERTION, EXPRESSION, AND INNOVATION

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS

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Dedication

For my mom, Mary Bee Clark (1953-2015). Sending you love always.

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the work of three generations of Santa Clara women, Pablita Velarde (1918-2006), Helen Hardin (1943-1984) and Margarete Bagshaw (1964-2015). In order to contextualize their work, I discuss the historical development of the marketplace for Native American art and note that the early modern Pueblo artists Nampeyo, Maria Martinez, and Tonita Peña each created art that was both responsive to the market demand for ethnographic authenticity and reflective of their creativity and agency. As they each passed on cultural and artistic knowledge generationally and forged new paths for female Native artists, Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña set examples for Velarde and her family to follow. I argue that Velarde's numerous images of female Pueblo potters catered to market demand, celebrated and preserved her culture, and subtly engaged with modernism. An analysis of Hardin's imagery reveals that her work, while cultural in subject matter, was modernist in style. Her precise linearity and geometric abstractions diverged from Velarde's style, yet Hardin was inspired by her mother's depictions of culture. I compare Bagshaw's paintings to the work of some prominent modernist artists and note formal similarities between the two, thus presenting a new way of analyzing her work. I investigate how her work addressed issues of cultural identity, including her multi-cultural heritage. I argue that Bagshaw's work is both indebted to and divergent from Velarde's and Hardin's work, and analyze specific paintings from her "Mother Line" series to support this claim. I conclude that Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw each were assertive in their careers, expressive in their art, and innovative in their style.

Introduction

This dissertation focuses on three generations of Santa Clara women: mother, Pablita Velarde (1918-2006), daughter, Helen Hardin (1943-1984), and grand-daughter, Margarete Bagshaw (1964-2015). Their paintings can be seen as an example of cultural continuity, through their use of cultural content, and the artists' self-awareness and reflexivity about working in relation to her predecessor(s). Although each artist often utilized cultural subject matter, they differed widely in their stylistic approach. While Velarde often worked in the flat Studio style, Hardin created less referential paintings with abstracted imagery and textured backgrounds, and Bagshaw produced colorful Cubist style paintings that showcased her preference for expression over representation. In my discussion of the three artists, I investigate the social history of the marketplace for Native American art and note how each artist negotiated individual artistic agency with marketplace demands. I recognize the importance of Native agency, and thus often directly quote Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw. I also refer to Sally Hyer's transcript of interviews with Velarde and include information from an interview I conducted with Bagshaw's widower, Dan McGuinness.

I consider Peña's, Velarde's, and Hardin's works within the James T. Bialac Collection at the University of Oklahoma's Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art (FJJMA) and discuss how Bialac's relationships with Velarde and Hardin informed his patronage. I also examine several of Velarde's and Hardin's works at the Philbrook Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma. I note the impact of the Philbrook Indian Annual, both in terms of how it spurred discussion of the parameters of Indian art, and in terms of its contribution toward the formation of the museum's collections. I also examine how the

Golden Dawn Gallery in Santa Fe, owned by McGuinness, continues to represent artwork from the estates of Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw.

The existing scholarship on these three artists largely focuses on biography. Jay Scott's *Changing Woman: The Life and Art of Helen Hardin* (1989) presents Hardin's work as reflective of her personality, and of her complicated relationship with both Velarde and her Santa Clara tribe and its traditions. In 2012, Little Standing Spruce Publishing released a set of three books about Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw.[1] The first of the set is Shelby Tisdale's book, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words* (2012), which mixes Velarde's own words with Tisdale's interpretations, and examines Velarde's pioneering role in the development of Native American art, her attempts to innovate, and the complex negotiation between her pueblo and Euro-American influences. Kate Nelson's biography, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved* (2012) considers the ways in which Hardin's life story, including her relationship with Velarde, contextualizes her artistic output. Both of these books correlate to exhibitions; Tisdale's monograph is an extension of a 2007 exhibition she curated at the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture in Santa Fe about Velarde's work at Bandelier National Monument, and Nelson's book title is derived from a 2013 retrospective exhibition at the Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts. Margarete Bagshaw's auto-biography, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly* (2012), focuses on her relationships with her mother and grandmother, and details the ways in which her paintings are reflective of her life experiences. This dissertation builds upon these biographies, but also attempts to expand the discourse by

[1] Little Standing Spruce Publishing was run by Margarete Bagshaw, and is now run by her widower, Dan McGuinness.

seriously addressing the formal qualities of their art and questioning how themes, iconography, and stylistic innovations signify both continuity and divergence.

In order to understand how Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw created works that recorded or interpreted culture, and responded to the marketplace, it is first helpful to understand the development of the market for Native American art. Although Native American painting on paper had its beginnings with the Plains ledger paintings executed in the late 19th century, the genre did not achieve recognition from the mainstream art world in America until the 1920s and 1930s.[2] However, prior to national recognition, Native American painters in the Southwest were creating commissioned paintings for anthropologists and producing art at Indian boarding and day schools around the turn of the 20th century.

In 1900, Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930), as an employee of the Smithsonian Institute, asked four Hopi men to produce paintings of katsinam, with the goal of accurately documenting ethnographic information.[3] Fewkes wanted these paintings be free from the "influence of instruction" and thus "pure Hopi."[4] This desire for a culturally "pure" art was folly, however, as Fewkes introduced outside influence with his provision of new media (paper, pencils, pigments, and brushes) and with the commission itself.[5] Fewkes perhaps recognized the impossibility of his aspirations, as he noted that the paintings were "pure Hopi," yet also influenced by foreign art.[6]

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[2] David W. Penney and Lisa Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists: Encounters on the Borderlands," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London: Routledge, 1999), 21.

[3] J.J. Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 1997), 37.

[4] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 24.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

Fewkes' paradoxical statements about cultural purity led ethnographers, critics, and patrons to continue to explore how to define "pure" Native American art.[7] Paintings produced by students at day or boarding schools were also subject to questions of cultural purity. From 1887 to the early 1920s, U.S. government policy concerning Native Americans focused on assimilation.[8] In 1887, the Dawes Act passed in Congress, with the goal of integrating the "great tribal mass" into mainstream American culture. Thus, boarding schools were set up to help Native American children conform to white society, traditional religion was discouraged, and tribal land ownership was replaced with private ownership, or allotment, of land.[9] Despite or perhaps because of these epic changes, Native American children and young adults still found a way to express their culture though art. With the assistance and encouragement of teachers at government-run facilities, students created paintings that served as reminders of their homes and the customs they had left behind.

In 1900, the San Ildefonso Pueblo Day School hired Esther B. Hoyt as a teacher for children twelve years old and younger.[10] Although Hoyt worked for an institution whose objective was assimilation, she nevertheless provided her students with art supplies and suggested they paint their culture.[11] Several students from the San Ildefonso Pueblo day school would go on to become well-known artists, including Tonita Peña, Alfredo Montoya, Awa Tsireh, and Santana Roybal.[12] Many future watercolor painters also attended the Santa Fe Indian School. In 1918, Elizabeth

[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid., 22.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 38.
[11] Ibid., 39.
[12] Ibid.

DeHuff, wife of the school's superintendent, allowed students, including Fred Kabotie, Otis Polelonema, and Velino Shije Herrera, to paint watercolors rather than attend carpentry class.[13] In 1932, the Santa Fe Indian School hired Dorothy Dunn to teach Fine and Applied Arts.[14] Many of Dunn's students also went on to become well known artists, including Allan Houser, Andy Tsihnahjinnie, Harrison Begay, Joe H. Herrera, Teofilo Tafoya, Pablita Velarde, Pop-Chalee, Oscar Howe, Quincy Tahoma, Gerald Nailor, Narcisco Abeyta, Tonita Lujan, and Geronima Cruz Montoya.[15]

Critics and patrons who questioned the "purity" of art produced at these schools represented society's tendency at the time to try to preserve cultural and racial purity. Ironically, these concerns were symptomatic of the project of assimilation. This seemingly contradictory aim, to preserve the very culture you are colonizing, is known as the "salvage paradigm." The salvage paradigm is a theory developed by James Clifford, who argues that it attempts to "rescue 'authenticity' out of destructive historical change."[16] A corollary to the salvage paradigm is "auto-ethnography," a concept outlined by Mary Louise Pratt, in which "colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer's own terms."[17] If the "terms" here can be defined as a desire for "authentic" Native American commodities,[18] then the question at stake concerning the early Pueblo watercolor painters is: To what degree did these artists commodify "authenticity" in response to market demands? In

[13] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 27-28.

[14] Ibid., 35.

[15] Bruce Bernstein, "Art for the Sake of Life: Dorothy Dunn and a Story of American Indian Painting," in *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 24.

[16] Joseph Traugott, "Native American Artists and the Postmodern Cultural Divide," *Art Journal* 51 (Autumn 1992): 37.

[17] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 23.

[18] Ibid.

my discussion of Velarde's work, I argue that her paintings were auto-ethnographic, in that they responded to market desires for authenticity.

Some early Pueblo watercolor painters noted that they were guided toward painting particular subjects. For example, Peña said Hoyt asked her students to "think of the dance in the plaza and of how they felt when dancing, and to paint that."[19] However, Fred Kabotie said he painted kachinas out of homesickness, and that DeHuff gave him freedom to paint whatever he wanted.[20] Dunn felt she had hands-off teaching policy, as she believed that her students had an innate knowledge of Indian painting. Thus, her students painted from their own experiences.[21] Dunn felt that she found "authentic" Indian painting in hide painting, rock art, and kiva painting, and thus she utilized the flatly painted style of these works as models for her students. Critics lamented her methods and argued that her teaching led to uniform paintings.[22] However, many of her students, especially Velarde, fondly remembered her instruction. As she stated, "There was something about Dorothy Dunn that I liked just immediately. We got along well, too. I even stayed after school and did extra work after the period was over."[23] Dunn's efforts allowed her students to feel proud of their culture and accomplishments, a feat in a period driven by assimilation.[24] At a time when the U.S. government adamantly tried to suppress Native American culture, early Pueblo watercolor painters nevertheless expressed their culture. In this dissertation, I analyze

[19] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 39.
[20] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 27-28.
[21] Bernstein, "Art for the Sake of Life," 10.
[22] Ibid., 15.
[23] Pablita Velarde, as quoted in Interview with Margaret Connell Szasz, (February 9, 1972), 2.
[24] Ibid., 22.

specific works of art in order to demonstrate how Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw each expressed their Native American culture in different ways.

Early Pueblo watercolor painting was popularized within the national art world by Edgar Lee Hewett (1865-1946). In 1907, he became the director of the newly founded School of American Archaeology.[25] That same year he also led excavations at Frijoles Canyon for the School of American Research and hired several San Ildefonso residents as laborers.[26] In 1909, he established the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe as a de facto agency of the School of American Archeology.[27] Hewett promoted Santa Fe as a viable art colony for Euro-Americans, as he touted the city's exoticism and provided free studio space in the Palace of the Governors.[28] He also became the first director of the San Diego Museum in 1915, a position he held until 1928.[29] As he controlled these various institutions, Hewett had the power to sponsor Native artists and commission work from them. For example, in 1917, Hewett asked Crescencio Martinez (1879-1918) to paint a series of paintings depicting San Ildefonso dances, with the intent that the finished works would be housed in the Museum of New Mexico.[30] He also provided art supplies to a young Peña and purchased her paintings for the Museum of New Mexico.[31]

Hewett's efforts to support Pueblo watercolor painting dovetailed with DeHuff's endeavors. The two worked together to set up an exhibition of her student's work in an

[25] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting,* 51.
[26] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 25.
[27] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting,* 51.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 25.
[31] Ibid.

"alcove" of the Museum of New Mexico.[32] This 1919 exhibition jump-started the careers of the young artists who participated, as collectors later commissioned their work. Encouraged by the response, other Native artists, such as Awa Tsireh, promoted themselves and their work within the Santa Fe art community.[33] When Mabel Dodge Luhan saw the exhibit, she purchased all the paintings and had them shipped east, where they were shown in several galleries. In 1920, they were shown at the Society of Independent Artists exhibition at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York.[34] Here, Pueblo watercolors gained notice from the New York art elite. Hewett and the painter John Sloan sought to showcase their beauty and illustrate how they represented "genuinely American culture," in order to advocate for the preservation of Pueblo ceremonials and to boycott the developing Bursum bill.[35] Pueblo ceremonials had been under attack since 1887, when the newly passed Dawes Act intended to discourage ceremonial activities in favor of acculturation.[36] Formally introduced in 1922, the Bursum bill proposed to give titles to former Pueblo tribal land to newly arrived settlers.[37] In addition to orchestrating the Society of Independent Artists exhibition, Hewett also commissioned Awa Tsireh to create paintings for the School of American Research in 1920.[38] Fred Kabotie, Velino Shije Herrera, and Otis Polelonema were among the artists who, on Hewett's bequest, produced prolific work that would come to be housed at the School.[39]

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[32] Ibid., 28.
[33] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting,* 102.
[34] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 31.
[35] Ibid., 31-32.
[36] Ibid., 22, 32.
[37] Ibid., 32.
[38] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting,* 85.
[39] Ibid.

Several other exhibits of Pueblo watercolors followed the 1919 exhibition of DeHuff's student's work. In 1920, the American Museum of Natural History displayed Mary Austin's collection of Awa Tsireh paintings, and Alice Corbin Henderson loaned her collection to the Arts Club of Chicago in the same year.[40] Amelia Elizabeth White, a newspaper heiress and collector and patron of Native arts, helped organize a number of exhibitions featuring Pueblo watercolors during the 1920s and 30s, including the "Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts."[41] This exhibition's opening in 1931 at Grand Central Galleries signified that the New York art world valued Native American art. Indeed, throughout the 30s, modernists would draw inspiration from the spiritual and aesthetic aspects of Native American culture.[42] White, a founding member of the Eastern Association of Indian Affairs (EAIA) in New York City, dedicated herself to preserving Pueblo lifeways.[43] Intent on creating a market for Native art, she opened Ishauu, a New York gallery selling American Indian art, in 1922.[44] Along with Hewett and Sloan, White popularized Pueblo watercolor painting within the art world.[45]

The dynamic practice of Southwest Indian painting continues today, as emerging artists distinguish themselves from their predecessors of two to three generations ago by working for new patrons, with new media, in new styles, and with different subject matter. Scholars have become increasingly interested in these

[40] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 32.
[41] Ibid., 33.
[42] W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 97.
[43] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists," 32.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 33. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between Native American art and the New York avant-garde, see "Native American Art in New York, 1931-1941," in Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 97-120.

generational changes. Artists of the 21st century differ from those that matured in the 60s, just as that generation differentiated itself from the artists of the 30s. In 1962, the Institute of American Indian Art (IAIA) opened, taking the place of Santa Fe Indian School's Studio program.[46] IAIA encouraged creativity, individuality, and experimentation with new styles and subject matters.[47] There has been a fair amount of scholarship addressing generations of Native American women potters. Rick Dillingham and J.J. Brody's *Fourteen Families in Pueblo Pottery* (1994) and Nancy Blomberg's *Breaking the Mold: The Virginia Vogel Mattern Collection of Contemporary Native American Art* (2006) investigated issues of continuity and change generationally. The Heard Museum's exhibition *Mothers and Daughters: Stories in Clay*, (2009) explored how successive generations of female Southwest potters were inspired by their predecessors' innovations.

In order to situate Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw within a broader context, I analyze the life and work of some of the early modern Native American female artists from the Southwest. Chapter 1 explores the careers of Nampeyo, Maria Martinez, and Tonita Peña. I investigate the interactions these artists had with anthropologists and the resulting work they produced. I analyze the extent to which they made auto-ethnographic art and discuss how they balanced market demands with personal creativity and agency. I explain various ways in which they negotiated professional success with traditional Pueblo values. I note how they passed on knowledge to

[46] Katherin L. Chase, *Indian Painters of the Southwest: The Deep Remembering* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2002), 47.

[47] Ibid.

younger generations, and how they demonstrated strength of character, through their actions, their passion, and their resilience.

In discussing Nampeyo, a Hopi potter, I note her involvement with the trader Thomas Keam, as well as her interactions with Jesse Walter Fewkes. I analyze the motivations Fewkes might have had in attempting to discredit Nampeyo's role in the Sikyatki Revival. I provide specific examples that illustrate her artistic agency and freedom of expression. I demonstrate how she continued a tradition of innovation within Hopi ceramic history. I discuss her rise as a named artist and her use of katsina imagery, exploring how she negotiated professional success and communal values. I provide examples of how she created work in response to market demand. Lastly, I explain how her work inspired her descendants, Fannie and Dextra Nampeyo.

I discuss how San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez pushed the boundaries of "tradition" through stylistic innovation. I note how she created pottery with a unique aesthetic that still managed to meet demands for historical authenticity. By creating black on black pottery with her husband Julian, Maria asserted artistic agency while simultaneously maintaining an acute knowledge of patronage preference and marketplace demands, thus revolutionizing Southwest pottery in the process. I discuss how Maria collaborated with her son, Popovi and grandson, Tony. I explain how she balanced enormous professional success with her traditional Pueblo values, noting how she dealt with her rise as a named artist.

In my discussion of the Cochiti painter, Tonita Peña, I note Hoyt's and Hewett's sponsorship of her work. I discuss how and why 1920 marked the beginning of her professional career as a painter. Peña often painted ceremonial dances, a fact that I

argue represented her desire to provide ethnographically authentic works for the market, as well her conviction in the value of her culture. I demonstrate how Peña's paintings both overtly and subtly celebrated women's roles in Pueblo society. I argue that her work was auto-ethnographic, as it responded to demands for authenticity, yet demonstrated her careful control over representation. I explain how Peña balanced professional success with her Pueblo values and I demonstrate her personal strength of character through enormous adversity. Finally, I note that as the only early modern Native female painter in the Southwest, she provided an example for Velarde to follow.

In Chapter 2, I explore the specific ways in which Peña became a mentor to Velarde, thus providing a link between the early modern female artists of the Southwest and the three generations represented by Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw. The chapter highlights Velarde's role as a groundbreaking artist working in a new media for female Native artists. I explore her use of detail in compositions and the influences that contributed to her use of patterning. In discussing several of Velarde's iterations of female Pueblo potters, I explain how she created works that catered to market demand, celebrated and preserved her culture, and were subtle in their modernity. I explain how Velarde responded to Joe Herrera's stylistic choices, as she created compositions that spoke to both "primitive" culture and to the formal concerns of modernism. I note her responsiveness to the market and her opinions about tourism. I demonstrate how she asserted her artistic agency by making small changes to compositions with the same subject matter. While her Studio training perhaps initially branded her as a "traditional" artist, I investigate how her oeuvre also points to stylistic experimentation. Throughout my analysis, I explore how her work responded to various social changes and

conditions, such as federal sponsorship of Native American art in the 30s and a critique of the Studio model for Native art in the 60s.

In Chapter 3, I discuss Hardin's career, noting that while her early work emulated Velarde's style, she developed a more abstract, modernist style that began in the 1960s and matured in the 1970s. I investigate how her work, like Velarde's, celebrated Pueblo culture and the value of women, and responded to Herrera's style. I explore her use of katsina imagery in *Winter Awakening* (1972) and discuss her series of etchings titled the "Woman Series." I note how she adopted etching as a media in response to market demands. I investigate the degree to which Hardin felt her culture and gender informed her art. I demonstrate that Hardin's work often combined Native American subject matter with modernist style, noting that her focus on form over content distinguished her from Velarde. I emphasize that while her style of precise linearity and geometric abstraction diverged from Velarde's style, Hardin was inspired both by Velarde's depiction of cultural subject matter and her strength of character.

Hardin left behind a legacy, not just in her work, but also in her daughter, Margarete Bagshaw, who was a talented artist in her own right. In Chapter 4, I discuss on-going issues in the field of Native American art such as the segregation of Native art from the mainstream and how Native artists negotiate "identity politics" in their work. I set up this frame of reference in order to discuss how Bagshaw's work spoke to these concerns. I compare her work to the work of some prominent modernist artists and note formal similarities between the two, thus presenting a new way of analyzing her work. I investigate how her work addressed issues of cultural identity and also explored her multi-cultural heritage. I argue that Bagshaw's work is both indebted to and divergent

from Velarde's and Hardin's work, and analyze specific paintings from her "Mother Line" series to support this claim. I note that Bagshaw was inspired by the enterprising spirit of both her mother and grandmother.

In my discussion of Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw, I explore how each artist expressed culture differently, as they all demonstrated stylistic innovation. I investigate the confluence of factors that led to stylistic changes. In discussing the representation of culture in works of art, I investigate the ways in which artists feel that their art is either a part of, or separate from, their personal identity politics. This dissertation carefully considers the ways in which Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw all dealt with personal expression, market demands, and cultural identity. I argue that as each of these artists was inspired by her predecessor(s), collectively they created a tradition of innovation.

Chapter 1: Early Modern Female Native American Artists of the Southwest

In order to understand the significance of Velarde's, Hardin's, and Bagshaw's work, I will first examine the emergence and evolution of the market for Southwest Native American art. I will discuss the time period from around 1880 to the 1930s, which I will refer to as "early modern." During this period, the United States experienced rapid social changes and began to increasingly value Native American culture and art. In this early modern period, Native American art changed in response to the rise of tourism, the development of Indian markets and fairs, the formations of art organizations and collections, governmental policy, and the agendas of anthropologists, traders, and philanthropists. Also occurring were stylistic revivals, the transformation of pottery from material culture to art, the emergence of the named artist, challenges to Pueblo value systems, and inherent paradoxes; including the salvage paradigm in anthropology. Because these social changes drove changes in artistic production, it is important to analyze the ways in which they influenced the market.

After I present a historical framework for the time period, I will analyze the careers of three female Native American artists in order to provide concrete examples of the art market in practice**.** In this pivotal early modern period, Hopi potter Nampeyo (c.1857-1942), San Ildefonso potter Maria Martinez (c.1880-1980), and Cochiti painter Tonita Peña (1893-1949) were the most influential female artists. By developing and maintaining artistic agency, creating innovative work, and displaying strong personalities, Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña set high standards for future generations of female Native artists. In understanding the environment within which their art was both

produced and received, one can understand the evolving market for both pottery and paintings produced by Native American female artists in the Southwest.

Importantly, Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña all passed on their knowledge to family members who continued to be inspired by their artistic work. This generational legacy of artistic talent is also seen in the work of Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw. While Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña faced some different challenges than Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw, such as dealing with the agendas of anthropologists, traders, and philanthropists, they also all faced the common challenge of meeting market demands while retaining artistic integrity. Thus, a study of Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña is an apt place to begin a discussion of female Native American artists in the Southwest.

Nampeyo, Martinez, and Peña all worked during a time when many factors combined to influence the growth of Pueblo pottery and painting. The arrival of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad in Albuquerque in 1880 contributed to the development of the tourist trade in Pueblo pottery. This access to transportation opened up travel to the west.[48] Pueblo potters now had a market consisting of Anglo tourists who wanted to take home their wares as souvenirs. Because they wanted to sell their work and they were sensitive to market demands, potters largely ceased making large scale, utilitarian pots, as tourists found these too difficult to transport. Instead, they created smaller, more easily portable pots.[49] Production of large scale pieces also diminished because the railroad introduced Pueblo families to commercially made

[48] Edwin L. Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market in the American Southwest: 1880-1980," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking Jr. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 168-169.

[49] Nancy J. Blomberg and Polly Nordstrand, *Breaking the Mold: The Virginia Vogel Mattern Collection of Contemporary Native American Art* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 17.

wares, such as tin pails and enamelware, easily available goods that came to supplant the use of Pueblo pottery in their homes.[50] In addition to creating smaller pieces, potters also began making new, non-Indian forms specifically for the tourist trade, such as pitchers, vases, and candlesticks.[51] While these goods appealed to tourists, many influential people in the art market disdained these "curio wares," which they saw as inferior in design and skill.[52] Even so, artists capitalized on the ready market created by the railroad, selling pottery at the stations.[53]

Railroads capitalized in many ways on the touristic desire for Native arts in the Southwest, as it bolstered their sales of tickets. Railways hired scholars to produce handbooks for them on Indian culture, ceremonies, and arts and crafts, thus educating and enticing their audience. As an added incentive to the artists to sell, railroads handed out free passes to ride to artists and their families if they sold work at the depot towns of Albuquerque and Gallup.[54] The Fred Harvey Company, composed of a series of hotels and restaurants located along the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway, also played an instrumental role in exposing tourists to the Southwest to Native arts and culture. For example, in 1905, under the direction of Mary Colter, the Harvey Company designed a series of buildings next to the El Tovar hotel, which was near the Grand Canyon. At this "settlement" which became known as Hopi House, tourists could buy

[50] Susan Peterson, *Lucy M. Lewis: American Indian Potter* (New York: Kodansha USA, 2004), 204-205.

[51] Richard L. Spivey, Maria Montoya Martinez, and Herbert Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003), 7.

[52] Peterson, *Lucy M. Lewis*, 205.

[53] For example, Lucy Lewis, the noted potter from Acoma, used to sell pottery with her mother at the railway station in Grants. Here, she would go to the front of the train to get passengers right when they disembarked and charge them 75 cents for a big jar. Peterson, *Lucy M. Lewis*, 37-38.

[54] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 169.

curios, watch Indian demonstrations, and see the Hopi Indians living in an "authentic" way.[55]

Following the growth of the railroad, automobiles became the new way for tourists to see the enchanting Southwest in the 1920s. Roads also allowed tourists to come directly to artists, rather than artists traveling to the tourists, perhaps creating a more enticing prospect of authenticity for buyers. In the 1920s, a road was blasted into a mesa at Hopi, allowing cars to make a gradual ascent to the top.[56] Likewise, in 1924 a bridge was built across the Rio Grande near San Ildefonso, thus improving travel to that Pueblo.[57] These innovations in transportation allowed tourists the opportunity to purchase souvenirs of their travels directly from artists.

It is important to discuss not only how tourists were able to buy Native American art, but why it appealed to them so much. In the late 19th and early 20th century, the U.S. saw increasingly mechanized production, which led to a collective yearning for goods produced by hand with authenticity and tradition. The Arts and Crafts movement of the late 1880s, which favored handmade objects, "honest" materials, and simple lines, spoke to this nostalgia.[58] Similarly, around the turn of the 20th century, Americans expressed primitivist desires by searching for the "picturesque, exotic, primitive" in other ethnic groups, including among the Pueblo culture of Native Americans in the Southwest.[59] Americans found Native American art to be an attractive

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[55] Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery (*Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 87-90.

[56] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 129-130.

[57] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 43.

[58] Marit K. Munson, ed., *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*: *Artists and Archaeologists, 1907-1931* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2007), 149.

[59] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 13.

antidote to industrialization and commercialism, as it was both utilitarian and creative, imbued with regional character, tied to the natural landscape, and seemingly representative of a community undivided by class.[60] Furthermore, Native American art was seen as an integral part of both domestic and ritual life, giving it an appealing immersive quality.[61] Native American art was thus labeled not only as authentic, but also as authentically *American*. Following victory in WWI, artists, intellectuals, and politicians in America began to define American values as distinct from European values.[62] This search for legitimately *American* art was demonstrated by Edgar L. Hewett, director of the School of American Research in 1919. Hewett expressed his conviction that Native Americans were "one hundred per cent American in ancestry and culture," and he romanticized Native American art, lauding its sublime qualities and association with the transcendent landscape.[63]

After WWI, the artists, literati, and anthropologists who visited Santa Fe and Taos strove to both associate with and support Native American values and ideology.[64] These goals led them to take on the role of "tastemakers," endorsing and effectively creating a market for Native American art, as well as the role of "activists," committed to preservation of culture and religious freedom.[65] By the 1920s and 30s, Indian art was seen as the example of America's distinct artistic heritage, creating a cultural nationalism that solidified the unity of the nation.[66] The search for the authenticity of

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[60] Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 93.
[61] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 13.
[62] Ibid., 21-22.
[63] Ibid., 22-23.
[64] Ibid., 13.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace*, 93-94.

Native cultures may have spurred archeological research on ancient Indian sites, as it would provide the necessary documentation of history that precludes legitimacy.[67]

The society's tendency to view Native American cultures as "vanishing" during the late 19th century and early 20th century led to salvage anthropology. Philanthropist, patrons, and archaeologists all felt an obligation to preserve this vanishing race. Hewett, founder of the School of American Archaeology and the Museum of New Mexico, articulated this viewpoint, noting that Pueblo people were "little ethnological islands always on the point of being submerged by the seas of modern progress."[68] Indeed, such romantic, preservationist movements often seek to preserve the pre-industrial, agrarian culture that has not yet been diluted or adversely affected by capitalism or secularization.[69] In response to the sense of impending doom for Native cultures, widespread collecting began as a way to preserve culture. For example, in 1879, James Stevenson collected 2,000 objects at Hopi under the direction of the Smithsonian.[70] Likewise, in 1881, Thomas Keam collected 40,000 lbs. of Moquis (Hopi) pottery for the Bureau of American Ethnology.[71] By the 1890s, this widespread collecting by organizations and museums resulted in a demand that exceed the supply of Southwest Indian arts.[72]

In addition to collecting art, the social and intellectual elite of the art world also saw that they could preserve culture by encouraging revivals of traditional art.[73] By

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[67] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 149.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 40.
[70] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 28-29.
[71] Ibid., 33.
[72] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 170.
[73] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 150.

creating a demand for Native American art in a capitalistic market, patrons and consumers were able to prevent the loss of traditional culture.[74] This preservationist approach, adopted by patrons, collectors, and anthropologists, reacted against the mass production of tourist goods, which had been encouraged by traders of Indian art.[75] In the 1920s and 30s, philanthropists dedicated themselves to cultural preservation and hoped to achieve a myriad of goals; save Native American art through commercial trade, provide sponsorship, instill renewed pride in Native American artists, and create sympathy for Indian political and religious freedoms.[76] The New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs (NMAIA) is but one example of an organization that combined these ambitious pursuits. Founded in 1922, the NMAIA not only provided opposition to the Bursum Bill that threatened Indian land rights, but also acted as a patron of Indian art. Also in 1922, Kenneth Chapman, Wesley Bradfield, and others involved with the Pueblo pottery revival formed The Indian Arts Fund (IAF). The IAF wanted to encourage a pottery revival by documenting Pueblo pottery dating from 1600-1800, and making it a readily available source of inspiration to scholars and potters both.[77] As a result of early 20th century reform movements, the rise of American cultural nationalism, the influence of anthropology, and the expanding tourist market, some elements in mainstream society had shifted from an assimilationist philosophy to a paternalistic multiculturalism.[78] By advocating for an art that differentiated itself from mass market produced commodities, patrons situated themselves as authorities and

[74] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 40.
[75] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 167.
[76] Ibid., 176-179.
[77] Bruce Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*: *A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2012), 73.
[78] Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace*, 97.

institution builders.[79] Although patrons and philanthropists displayed paternalistic attitudes-dictating Indian art production and educating potential buyers about standards of quality and authenticity-they did not see the inherent paradox of both imposing and maintaining authenticity simultaneously.[80] Museums and universities used their status as arbitrators of knowledge and taste to dictate quality to the public and thus drive a more exclusive, higher end market for Indian art.[81]

One way to create such a market was through the creation of a marketplace, as exemplified by the many Indian markets and fairs that emerged during the 1920s and 30s. Less institutionalized arts and crafts fairs actually began as early as the 1890s, when reservation traders set up competitive intertribal events, and eventually displayed wining designs outside their trading posts. In 1909, William Shelton, superintendent of the Navajo Agency at Shiprock, instituted an annual fair in the hopes that it would serve as an alternative to federally discouraged religious ceremonies.[82] In 1922, Hewett, director of the Museum of New Mexico, established the first Indian Market, then called the Southwest Indian Fair and Arts and Crafts Exhibition. Artists were identified by tribe, not individually, and organizers took care to distinguish between art from different tribes and pueblos. In an effort to add authenticity, the proceedings included Indian dances, craft demonstrations, and artists wearing traditional clothing. Despite these requirements for authenticity, the opportunity to express culture must have been especially poignant for many, as the federal government had recently prohibited Indian

[79] Ibid., 124.
[80] Ibid., 108.
[81] Ibid., 116.
[82] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 176-177.

dances on reservations and Indian clothing in day and boarding schools.[83] In addition to trying to preserve cultural distinctiveness and authenticity, the market also hoped to prove that patrons would respond positively to higher quality pieces, and that these could replace trader's curios.[84] By providing economic incentive and recognition via awards for excellent quality work, the Indian fair hoped to encourage artistic production and thus ensure cultural survival.[85] The first Gallup Ceremonial, also premiering in 1922, had similar goals of establishing quality and authenticity through sales directly from artists.[86] Likewise, the Hopi Craftsman Exhibition, organized by Mary Russell Ferrell Colton and first held at the Museum of Northern Arizona in 1930, sought to increase quality of Hopi art following the economic downturn after the 1929 stock market crash.[87] All of these fairs and markets provided a space in which individuals associated with institutions could codify "authenticity." In 1924, Indian Market fair organizers dictated that works submitted must be strictly Indian in material, handicraft, and decoration.[88] By 1930, modifications to traditional shapes and designs were allowed, pending their salability and appeal to white patrons.[89] In addition to defining the standard for "Indian" art, markets and fairs also promoted and preserved Native American art, and increased the quality of goods produced, due to their competitive nature.[90]

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[83] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 17-18.
[84] Ibid., 21.
[85] Ibid., 57.
[86] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 129.
[87] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 132.
[88] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 70-71.
[89] Ibid., 79.
[90] Blomberg and Nordstrand, *Breaking the* Mold, 51.

The emergence of markets, fairs and revivals signified that Native American objects began to be viewed not just as ethnographic objects, but as works of fine art, especially in the 1920s and after. Along with this trend came the emergence of the individual artist, with Native artists such as Nampeyo and Maria Martinez becoming known by name. Corresponding to this ideological shift, exhibitions developed that evaluated Native American objects aesthetically. For example, in 1931, the *Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts* opened in Grand Central Art Galleries in Manhattan, an exhibition credited as being the first to display "Indian Art as art, not ethnology." This exhibition sought to expose the public to individual, named Indian artists, and reduce the anonymity of artists commonly found in "ethnological" exhibitions.[91] Many of these advancements in the valuation of Native objects were due to "tastemakers" such as Chapman, who were instrumental in re-imagining pottery as fine art.[92] Chapman was involved in major institutions in Santa Fe, working for Hewett at the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research from 1909-1929.[93]

Chapman, along with Wesley Bradfield and others, was also responsible for establishing the Pueblo Pottery Fund in 1922. This initiative was established in order to collect and preserve historic Native American pottery, but also make it accessible and a source of inspiration for Native American artists.[94] Thus, this was still salvage anthropology, but with the caveat that the salvaged material be readily available to those whose heritage it represented. While this notion now seems entirely paradoxical, it

[91] Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace*, 91, 111.
[92] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 5.
[93] Ibid., 85.
[94] Ibid., 69.

represents the late 19th century and early 20th century patriarchal attitudes of anthropology. By 1924, the Pueblo Pottery Fund was renamed the Indian Arts Fund (IAF), as its mission grew to include a variety of media of Native American art.[95] Boosted by funding from New York philanthropist John D. Rockefeller Jr. in 1926, the IAF collection eventually came to be housed in a new institution, the Laboratory of Anthropology.[96] Established in 1927, the "Lab" became a source of contention between Hewett and Chapman, as Hewett felt betrayed by the increasing power his mentee now held, as well as by the creation of an institution that would compete with his own.[97] Even so, Chapman still expressed loyalty to Hewett and guilt over the turn of events, even when writing his memoirs 30 years later.[98]

Like many of his contemporaries, Chapman distrusted the taste of tourists and the general public, and thus took it upon himself to translate his personal judging criteria for quality pottery into buying instruction for patrons.[99] Chapman also notably improved the market quality of Pueblo pottery, as his Pueblo Pottery Improvement Project demonstrated that artists could justifiably earn more for more finely made pots.[100] He also played a significant role in evaluating pottery and educating the public at the early Indian Fairs and Markets. He created displays, composed lectures, and distributed awards, all with the intention of educating the public about high quality, authentically traditional pottery. Chapman helped to encourage new artistic production

[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid., 99-101.
[97] Ibid., 101-103.
[98] Ibid., 138.
[99] Ibid., 70, 152.
[100] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 54.

that would contribute to the prosperity of Native peoples, while insisting on aesthetic standards demonstrative of tribal distinctiveness.[101]

Despite all the positive changes in Pueblo pottery production, some negative effects did occur with the advent of the named artist. When pots are identified by a specific artist, there is an implication that the individual is solely responsible for the entirety of artistic production, a process that contradicts the communal and collaborative traditional method of making pottery.[102] In 1936, Indian Market asked potters to help judge the works, a proposition that didn't pan out, as those contacted viewed the process of judging others as contrary to their cultural background.[103] Additionally, many Pueblo potters felt uncomfortable with and burdened by the constant attention from outsiders.[104]

Nampeyo, a Hopi potter born around 1860, was in her prime around the turn of the century, precisely at the time when many of these issues of authenticity, preservation, and quality were increasing. The Hopi reservation experienced the firsthand effects of salvage anthropology when in 1879 and in the 1880s, the National Museum visited and carried away thousands of ancient vessels for their collections, a phenomenon that affected every single household there.[105] Despite witnessing this taking of culture, or perhaps because of it, Nampeyo was making pottery for the tourist trade and selling it at Thomas Keam's Hopi trading post by the 1880s.[106] Thomas

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[101] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 70.
[102] Martha H. Struever, *Painted perfection: The pottery of Dextra Quotskuyva* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2001), 31.
[103] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 95, 96.
[104] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 154.
[105] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 190.
[106] Struever, *Painted Perfection*, 27.

Keam (1846-1904) was an Indian trader who established an outpost near the Hopi pueblo in what came to be known as "Keam's Canyon."[107] Keam inhabited many roles, including collector, scientist, philanthropist, and salvage anthropologist. He accumulated a collection of Hopi artifacts, excavated and cataloged prehistoric and early historic ceramic wares, lobbied for Indian rights, founded the Hopi boarding school, and urged the Hopi to mass produce pottery for tourist sale.[108] In encouraging the Hopi to make pottery for sale to tourists, Keam sought to achieve two goals; provide a needed income to Native Americans in the wake of the economic destruction wrought by reservation policy, and preserve a "vanishing" art tradition.[109] Keam served as the middle man between Hopi potters and buyers; he suggested new pottery forms and styles, encouraged the use of non-traditional designs in commercial pieces, and acted as liaison between Hopi potters and museums, asking potters to produce copies of damaged ancient ware that could represent Hopi material culture within museum collections.[110] Because of the efforts of Alexander Stephen (1850?-1894), Keam's assistant, we have a catalog of Keam's pottery collection.[111] According to this document, Keam asked Hopi potters to reproduce twenty corrugated, plain, and tooled prehistoric jars, and Sikyatki and San Bernardo Polychrome jars that mimicked those he found in Hopi ruins.[112] Although the artists who produced these pieces are not named in the manuscript, it seems as if multiple artists were utilized because of the variance in

[107] Edwin L. Wade and Lea S. McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition*: *The Thomas Keam Collection of Hopi Pottery from the Second Hemenway Expedition, 1890-1894* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1980), 8-9.

[108] Ibid., 9.

[109] Wade and McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition*, 9.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid, 10-11.

[112] Ibid, 75.

quality produced.[113] Although it is difficult to assign any of these un-named pieces to Nampeyo, her excellent work would eventually come to be known as uniquely hers.

In addition to Keam's influence, it is important to discuss Nampeyo's relationship with Jesse Walter Fewkes and the Hemenway Expedition. The Hemenway Expedition was named after its financier, Mary Hemenway (1820-1894), a highly educated woman of considerable financial means, daughter of a prominent New York merchant, and wife of a successful Boston merchant. Like many with education and money to spare at the time, Hemenway was interested in funding social and educational programs.[114] After attending the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, where she became interested in Native American culture, Hemenway met Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857-1900), a student of American Indian cultures and an employee at the Smithsonian, in 1882. Cushing was lecturing at two Boston buildings Hemenway contributed to financially, the Old South Church and Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium.[115] By 1886, Mary Hemenway invited Cushing and some Zuñis as guests to her home to begin working out the goals and practicalities of an expedition that would come to be called the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition.[116] Under Cushing's leadership, the Hemenway Expedition began in 1886, with the intention of determining the origin and organization of Pueblo Society.[117] However, by 1888, Cushing's failing health and his lack of administrative acumen led to his resignation, and the appointment of Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850-1930) in his stead.

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[113] Ibid, 75,77.
[114] Ibid, 6.
[115] Wade and McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition*, 7.
[116] Ibid., 7-8.
[117] Ibid., 8.

Fewkes' background differed from Cushing's; he was a trained zoologist and had worked in the area of Natural History.[118]

The expedition's history helps us to understand Fewkes' 1891 visit to the Hopi mesas, as the director of the Second Hemenway Expedition. Whereas Cushing sought to understand the structural organization of Pueblo society, Fewkes had a more concrete goal, in line with salvage anthropology-he wanted to record ceremonies and preserve Native American material culture.[119] Fewkes is well-known for his 1895 excavation of the old village of Sikyatki, located on Hopi's First Mesa.[120] Although Fewkes popularly credited his excavation of Sikyatki as being the catalyst for Nampeyo's revival of ancient ware,[121] it seems likely that Nampeyo recognized the market demand for ancient pottery and developed Hopi Revival Ware in 1893, prior to Fewkes' excavation.[122] Alexander Stephen reported in his *Hopi Journal* dated January 9, 1893, that Nampeyo was "making pottery with ancient designs."[123] In addition to this written proof suggesting Nampeyo acted independently of Fewkes, there is a photograph of Nampeyo holding a Sikyatki-style bowl that likely dates to 1891 (See Figure 1).[124] So, if we rely upon this physical evidence as proof that Nampeyo acted with her own agency in producing revival ware pottery, it begs the question as to why Fewkes took credit for the Sikyatki revival. An analysis of Fewkes' motivations reveals the complexity of social factors surrounding art and archeology at the time. Fewkes

[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Edwin L. Wade and Allan Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*: *Seven Centuries of Hopi Ceramic Art* (Sedona: El Otro Lado, 2012), 34.
[121] Struever, *Painted perfection*, 30.
[122] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 190.
[123] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 35.
[124] Ibid.

discredited both potter's independent revival work and Stephen's anthropology work, and also alleged that Hopi potters were selling contemporary revival ware as ancient.[125] Of course, Fewkes' claim is self-serving, as it enhances the importance of his discoveries at Sikyatki.[126] It is also entirely possible that Fewkes refuted the claim that Nampeyo copied Hopi designs independently because it invalidated his research which suggested that women of Tewa ancestry, such as Nampeyo, would not have been allowed to copy Hopi designs.[127] Although Nampeyo did visit Fewkes' campsite in 1896 to see what pottery she could copy, she did so independently.[128] Fewkes' assertion that Nampeyo promoted her work as prehistoric is also unlikely. Nampeyo didn't speak English, thus it is more probable that traders promoted her work as prehistoric for their own gain, and because outsiders had difficulty distinguishing between ancient and modern productions.[129] Fewkes discredited Nampeyo's artistic agency, as well as Stephen's and Keam's role in the Sikyatki revival.[130] Even though Fewkes knew that Stephen and Keam were soliciting Hopi potters to create reproductions of ancient pottery, he instead documented in an1898 BAE (Bureau of American Ethnology) Report that Nampeyo was copying motifs from pre-historic potsherds at his excavation site at Sikyatki.[131] In addition to making his discovery

[125] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 52, 59-60.

[126] Joseph Traugott, "Fewkes and Nampeyo: Clarifying a Myth-Understanding," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (New York: Routledge, 1999), 9.

[127] Traugott, "Fewkes and Nampeyo," 17. In an effort to end Spanish colonial rule, the pueblos banded together in 1680 in the Pueblo Revolt. Following this revolt, Tewa people sought refuge at Hopi. As noted in: Peter M. Whiteley, "Hopi Histories," in *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, ed. Zena Pearlstone (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 2001), 27. Thus, while Nampeyo was a resident of Hopi, her ancestry was Tewa, a historically separate group from the Hopi.

[128] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 61.

[129] Traugott, "Fewkes and Nampeyo," 11, 14.

[130] Wade and McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition*, 9.

[131] Ibid.

sound more significant, this claim would also gloss over the fact that western outsiders (i.e. Stephen and Keam) directly caused change in traditional Hopi culture, something he would be hesitant to include.[132] This tendency to be remiss to include evidence of outsiders effecting change is ironic, but perhaps apt, as Fewkes himself was clearly part of an expedition that produced cultural change within Hopi.[133] While Fewkes saw the Sikyatki pottery revival as preservation of a "valid" tradition, the Hopi saw it as an economic opportunity that recognized the legitimacy of contemporary Indian arts and crafts.[134] Thus, Nampeyo's development of Hopi Revival Ware serves as a case study in which we can see several inherent paradoxes.

It is complex to try to analyze the motivations of both anthropologists and potters and to try to differentiate how their aims led to the end products of pottery. I argue that as tastemakers such as Stephen and Keam deemed Sikyatki polychrome pottery superior, they thus helped establish a market for that style, and potters such as Nampeyo acted to fill the market demand. Stephen's catalog organized Keam's collection of Hopi pottery in what he deemed an evolutionary model. It also focused on the mythological origin of designs. Both of these aspects are characteristic of anthropology in 1880-90.[135] Stephen probably used the aesthetic qualities of the pottery to try to explain why the Hopi were then a declining population.[136] In Stephen's framework, 15th century Sikyatki polychrome pots represented the apex of Hopi culture, as they exhibited excellent texture, finish, and symmetry, were composed of the finest

[132] Ibid., 9-10.
[133] Mary Ellen and Laurence Blair, *The Legacy of a Master Potter: Nampeyo and Her Descendants* (Tucson: Treasure Chest Books, 1999), 44.
[134] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 174-175.
[135] Wade and McChesney, *America's Great Lost Expedition*, 13.
[136] Ibid.

clays, were carefully polished and painted, had a soft luster, and exhibited intricate designs that worked well with the vessel's shapes.[137] While Stephen argued that these pots were superior, he also implied that they were created during the high point of Hopi social and cultural development.[138] As Keam was an established trader, indeed the most widely recognized Southwest Indian art supplier for Eastern museums,[139] Stephen's catalog of his collection would have been received seriously by the academic establishment at the time. As Stephen and Keam relayed to Nampeyo and other potters what pottery they wanted reproduced, they responded to fill the market demand. However, within the desired parameters of revival style pottery, Nampeyo showed her innovation and agency as she created pieces that were not merely replicas, but unique and inventive, as she was no slavish imitator.

In their book, *Canvas of Clay*, Edwin Wade and Allan Cooke provide several examples of pottery created by Nampeyo that do not adhere to the traditional Sikyatki polychrome pottery formula. Wade mentions a unique storage jar dating to circa 1905 that impresses with its thumbnail pressed appliqué which integrates into the mid-shoulder of the pot, and adds amazing dimension and movement (See Figure 2).[140] Another example offered is a "Polacca Polychrome Seed Jar Likely by Nampeyo, ca. 1885-1890" (See Figure 3).[141] Wade contends that this pot is a good example of the beginning of the Sikyatki Revival ware in that it is similar in style and form to its historical predecessor. What makes this piece significant however, is that Nampeyo

[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid., 11.
[139] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 171.
[140] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 164-167.
[141] Ibid., 100-101.

modified the original design slightly; leaving some areas free of paint, changing the number of tail feathers on some parts, and playing around with various sizes of design motifs. This showcases perhaps both her recognition of the history of experimentation within Hopi ceramic tradition, as well as her own artistic agency.[142] Most importantly, it shows how even when creating a copy of an ancient pot as demanded by the market, she still showed innovation, demonstrating that she was, as Wade puts it, "Never content to merely copy a favorite design."[143]

Perhaps one of the most intriguing examples of Nampeyo's experimentation and innovation is a pot Wade dubs "A Surreal Polacca Polychrome Likely by Nampeyo, ca. 1890-1895" (See Figure 4). In this pot with a creamy white ground and black abstract decorations, we can see that the shape follows a traditional style, but the designs are unusual. Wade argues that the pot, if it is by Nampeyo, is exciting because of its sense of movement, abstraction, and placement of shapes. He argues that in this pot, "Nampeyo ascended the strictures and aesthetic covenants of her tribal origins and suddenly presaged the intellectual tenets of Abstract Expressionism and the lucid Constructionism of the mobile makers."[144] While I agree that this piece certainly shows innovation, a departure from traditional polychrome style, and a resemblance to the work of the modernists, I feel as though Wade has it backwards. In other words, Nampeyo did not somehow magically "slip out of time," as Wade puts it,[145] but instead created an experimental design that played off the already abstracted motifs that were

[142] Ibid., 100.
[143] Ibid., 140
[144] Ibid., 104.
[145] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 104.

an existing part of the Hopi pottery tradition for centuries. As Jackson Rushing has effectively argued, many Anglo modernists were inspired by Native American subject matter, and translated that source material into their own abstracted imagery.[146] Post WW I, as a part of American nationalism, the country became enthralled with Native American art and the ideals it represented, and thus it became a large part of the avant-garde art world at the time.[147] Thus, it seems far more likely to me that modernists would later admire both Nampeyo's innovation in this "surrealistic" pot and the traditional abstracted Hopi motifs, rather than the other way around. In other words, this design doesn't seem to me to "magically" exist as some sort of prefiguration of modernism, created by chance, in a vacuum. While I think Wade does give credit to Nampeyo for her unique style and its resemblance to later modern artists such as Alexander Calder, David Smith, and Ibram Lassaw,[148] he does so without revealing the full context of the inter-relationship between Native American artists and the Anglo-American modernists. While I don't claim that he is ignorant of this association, I think he chooses instead to draw attention to the innovation of Nampeyo, compare it to the innovation seen in the work of the modernists, and give Nampeyo her due in achieving comparable originality. However, he would be doing her work even more of a service if he acknowledged the ways that works such as hers served as an inspiration for some of the great modernists. For example, Will Barnet (1911-2012), American painter and

[146] W. Jackson Rushing III, "Pictures of Katsina Tithu: Georgia O'Keefe and Southwest Modernism," in *Georgia O'Keefe in New Mexico: Architecture, Katsinam, and the Land*, ed. Barbara Buhler Lynes and Carolyn Kastner (Santa Fe: Georgia O'Keefe Museum, 2012), 27.

[147] Ibid., 33.

[148] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 104.

printmaker, sometimes incorporated decorative motifs reminiscent of Hopi ceramic designs in his modernist works.[149]

Within the Adkins Collection at the University of Oklahoma's FFJM, there is one pot attributed to Nampeyo (See Figure 5). Described as a *Polychrome Jar* dated to 1898-1900, this piece features a stylized bird that adorns the middle register of the pot. The stylization of this bird is similar to what Wade categorizes as one of Nampeyo's design elements (See Figure 6). Wade classifies this particular style of bird as being in the Acoma style.[150] He notes that this motif, which is derived from Acoma-Zia designs, begins to appear on her pots in the 1880s and then makes a re-emergence on a pot dated to ca. 1918-1920 (See Figure 7).[151] Thus, this particular piece shows how Nampeyo experimented with different motifs at different times in her career, and did not constrain herself to rigid parameters in terms of when she worked in a particular style. Because this pot utilizes a motif adapted from another Puebloan culture, it illustrates the ways in which Sikyatki Polychrome pottery motifs are derived from the Katsina Cult, a belief system shared by many Puebloan cultures in the 15th and 16th centuries.[152] In particular, the Sikyatki ceramic designs and the San Bernardo kiva murals both feature asymmetric compositions that include stylized feathers, birds, geometric and figurative designs.[153] Therefore, this piece illustrates the fluidity of motifs across both Pueblo culture and across media (kiva painting and pottery).

[149] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 148-149.
[150] Ibid., 235.
[151] Ibid., 128.
[152] Ibid., 127.
[153] Ibid., 39.

While Nampeyo's pottery certainly showed innovation and creativity, it also sometimes created contention with her conservative Pueblo values and her community. She dared to use katsina imagery on pottery and create three-dimensional katsina sculptures. A woman portraying sacred beings in art was certainly taboo for the conservative Hopi. Perhaps the reason this was not a bigger issue was that Nampeyo was of Tewa ancestry, not Hopi.[154] Nampeyo's unique compositions, impressive talents, and willingness to participate in a cash economy with outsiders meant that she gained fame, which came with both rewards and challenges.

Nampeyo was one of the earliest named Pueblo potters. An Edward Curtis photograph (1900) is perhaps the first to identify both her and her pottery by her name.[155] The Fred Harvey Company, the first major commercial purveyor of Indian handicrafts, also marked Nampeyo's work by name. In publicizing a named artist, they could market her work more aggressively and achieve a higher price for her wares.[156] A tourist guide titled *The Moki Snake Dance* (1898), published by Fewkes' assistant, Walter Hough, refers to Nampeyo as "best potter in all Moki-land."[157] As Nampeyo's reputation grew, the Fred Harvey Company continued to capitalize on her name, using her picture in an advertisement for the Hopi House in 1905 and 1907.[158] While this fame afforded her family financial gain, it set Nampeyo apart and placed her "above" her community, a status that went against the traditional Hopi view that advocated equality and group conformity.[159] As such, some have speculated that Nampeyo had to

[154] Ibid., 13.
[155] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 78.
[156] Ibid., 85-86.
[157] Traugott, "Fewkes and Nampeyo," 7-8.
[158] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 92-96.
[159] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 121.

take measures to assuage herself of the burden of fame. For example, it has been suggested that her goodwill in sharing pottery designs or her financing of ceremonies may have contributed towards the community's tolerance of her elevated status as master potter. Also, perhaps her Tewa ancestry freed her from some societal pressure and allowed the Hopi to accept her success more readily.[160] Regardless of the degree to which her community accepted her fame, Nampeyo challenged conventional models of behavior.

Nampeyo also had a keen business sense and an awareness of marketplace demands. Because she did not speak English, she relied upon her brother, Tom Polacca, to assist her with business transactions.[161] While Polacca certainly helped with her commercial success, Nampeyo proved to be capable of making business decisions as well. In August of 1901 alone, Nampeyo sold 44 pots, an astonishing number. She had been following the increasing number of visitors to see the Snake Dance in 1895, 1897, and 1899, and correctly hypothesized that more would be there in 1901. Thus, she produced more pots specifically for this particular tourist market.[162] Even at this early point in her career, Nampeyo showed foresight as she sought to create for a market. When the market increasingly demanded more of her work at Hopi House, Nampeyo created less expensive bowls, as they were easier for tourists to carry home.[163] Post WWI tourists at Hopi wanted inexpensive souvenirs, so Nampeyo complied, creating rain god figures in the Tesuque Pueblo style.[164] She also created other non-traditional

[160] Ibid., 122.
[161] Ibid., 121.
[162] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 82.
[163] Ibid., 103.
[164] Ibid., 174.

items specifically for western tourists, such a decorative canteen (ca.1905) (See Figure 8).[165] These types of vessels were frequently sold at Hopi House and the Grand Canyon National Park.[166] While Nampeyo catered to buyer's demands, she never compromised her creativity in the process. In fact, in this canteen, she remarkably balanced what could be seen as a "kitschy" form with a serious handling of katsina imagery. In this work, she polished the surface, creating a finish that imitated ancient Sikyatki ware. In addition, by using the natural shape of the vessel to her advantage, she achieved a sense of dimensionality with the painted imagery, as the face seems to project, and the headdress recede.[167] Additionally, the circular katsina face echoes the circular form of the vessel, giving a sense of visual harmony. Nampeyo's ability to combine incredible, widespread, and enduring market success without sacrificing her own individuality, agency, or creativity, truly illustrates both her huge talent and her strong personality and will.

Nampeyo collaborated with family members who learned from her aesthetic sensibility. In the 1920s, as her eyesight began to fail, daughters Fannie and Annie helped her paint designs.[168] Fannie's *Polychrome Jar* (1972), a part of OU's Adkins Collection, features the "migration pattern," a motif Nampeyo often utilized (See Figures 9 and 10).[169] Like Nampeyo did, Fannie placed the design strategically to create dynamic impact; the vibrant motifs work well with the undulating shape of the vessel itself. In both pots, the artists convey movement, show control of line, and

[165] Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 173.
[166] Ibid., 172.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid., 204.
[169] Nampeyo initially appropriated this design from prehistoric black on white ware.

demonstrate mastery of geometric precision. Thus, through its use of a historical motif and its astounding technical quality, Fannie's *Polychrome Jar* exemplifies the continuation of Nampeyo's legacy. Dextra Nampeyo, Nampeyo's great-granddaughter, also creates pottery inspired by Nampeyo. Her *Untitled* pot in the Adkins Collection, (1980s) features an upper register filled with abstracted forms meant to allude to sherds of ancient pottery[170] (See Figure 11). In utilizing this design, Dextra pays homage to some of Nampeyo's inspiration. Her control of line and mastery of form align her with Nampeyo, but her unique style sets her apart. Whereas Nampeyo created lyrically balanced compositions with elegant simplicity, Dextra utilizes abstraction and fragmentation, which recalls the aesthetics of Cubism and also the history of pottery.

Nampeyo's agency, innovation, tenacity, and legacy are difficult to match, but Maria Martinez certainly exhibits many of the same qualities. Like Nampeyo, Maria also had interactions with anthropologists who influenced her work. In 1907, Edgar L. Hewett, founder of the School of American Research, began excavations at Pajarito Plateau.[171] Hewett needed help digging at this prehistoric pueblo site, and Maria and Julian Martinez were among the workers who assisted in this endeavor. Upon seeing some prehistoric pottery sherds, Maria, with some urging from Hewett, decided to create some pottery that referenced this ancient ware.[172] However, rather than produce an exact replica of ancient pottery, Maria and Julian created innovative pieces in a polychrome style.[173] Whereas Hewett suggested they create works using Biscuit ware

[170] Blair, *The Legacy of a Master Potter*, xx. See page xx for another example of a "sherd bowl" by Dextra.
[171] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 11.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

(pots with a cream colored slip and black painted decoration), Maria and Julian instead created pottery in a polychrome style (cream slip with black and red paint). Perhaps Maria and Julian chose polychrome because it was the current prevailing style at San Ildefonso.[174] The Adkins Collection at the University of Oklahoma includes an example of Maria and Julian's work in this polychrome style (See Figure 12). In this piece from the 1930s, Maria and Julian utilize traditional pottery motifs painted in the polychrome style on a form, the plate, which would have appealed to the tourist market at the time. Tourists were looking for souvenirs that were easy to transport and that would be easy to display and integrate into their homes. This mix of elements shows that Maria and Julian were keenly aware of market demands and were willing to meet them, while still maintaining artistic agency and creativity.

Beginning around 1912, Maria and Julian began experimenting with plain polished black ware. They were inspired by historical precedents, as this type of pottery had an established tradition at San Ildefonso, San Juan, and Santa Clara.[175] Additionally, in 1908, at the site of Puye, two thousand year old black pottery sherds were unearthed, and archeologists from the Smithsonian Institution and Heye Foundation asked Maria and Julian to replicate these wares.[176] Maria and Julian were acutely aware of the demand for such revival style pottery, as a conversation between Maria and family illustrates: Maria says they should make more of this "new kind," Julian says, you mean "the old kind," Maria's dad says, "the new old kind," and Maria

[174] Ibid., 12.
[175] Ibid., 13.
[176] Susan Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations* (Washington, D.C., The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1997), 62-63.

finally says, "the kind white people want."[177] Indeed, the pottery Maria created and Julian painted was both old (in that it was inspired by ancient wares), and new (in that it was contemporary and creative), and definitely the kind white people wanted, as her success illustrates. Because they were driven, creative individuals, Maria and Julian worked to not merely replicate ancient black ware, but to modify and improve upon it. For example, Maria worked diligently at polishing her pots, creating a sheen that came to exemplify her work.[178] Additionally, she experimented with firing pots at a lower temperature, a factor which rendered them less utilitarian, but made their appearance more appealing to non-Native buyers.[179] While these could be considered minor alterations, Maria and Julian also developed a new style of pottery, black on black ware, around 1919-1920.[180] Because Maria and Julian Martinez got great response to their "accidental" black on black pots that resulted from an initial firing error, they thus demanded more money for them, noting that they were more expensive because they were different.[181] Maria and Julian continued to produce black pottery because it was easier to perfect than polychrome, and they knew that Anglo patrons desired perfect pots. They also understood that black pottery fit better into contemporary décor at the time.[182] In these ways, Maria and Julian Martinez demonstrated acute awareness of market desires. Far from being conciliatory, these actions ensured economic prosperity and a strengthening of culture.[183]

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[177] Alice Marriott, *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1948), 167.
[178] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 29.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Ibid., 17.
[181] Marriott, *Maria*, 202.
[182] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 49.
[183] Ibid., 71.

The Adkins Collection at the University of Oklahoma includes a plate, dated 1963, that is a result of a collaboration between Maria Martinez, her son, Popovi, and her grandson, Tony Da (See Figure 13). Done in the black on black style, this piece features an *avanyu*, or water serpent, circling around the rim of the plate. The polished form of the serpent stands out visually against the matte background, and the polished interior creates a sense of depth for the plate. The motif used here is one that Julian was responsible for reviving from prehistoric sources.[184] Since Julian's use of the motif, it has become ubiquitous among San Ildefonso pottery and also popular with Santa Clara potters.[185] The execution of this particular plate shows how even twenty years after Julian's death, Maria and her family are honoring the tradition that Julian revived and established. This piece also shows how Maria and Julian worked collaboratively with their family and how they passed along their skills and passion to their descendants. Maria worked with her daughter-in-law Santana beginning around 1943, following Julian's death, until 1956, creating pieces primarily in the black on black style. In this collaboration, Maria maintained her role as the shaper of the pottery, and Santana took over Julian's job of painting.[186] Maria forged another collaboration with her son, Popovi Da, which lasted from1956 to 1970.[187] Popovi's son, Tony, the third artist of this *avanyu* plate, became a well-known artist in his own right. In 1966, he moved in with his grandmother Maria, who taught him the art of pottery for six years, until Tony

[184] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 23.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Ibid., 61, 64.
[187] Ibid., 85.

moved out and got married.[188] Tony was very much a part of a pottery legacy that throve on pushing the boundaries of creative expression.

Tony Da's *Lidded Turtle Vessel* from 1970, in the Adkins Collection, provides a great example of his individual style (See Figure 14). Da became well known for his figurative work in pottery, particularly his bears and turtles. This work, shown at the Scottsdale Annual Art Show in 1971, combined heishi, inlaid turquoise, black and sienna colors, and *sgraffito* on a turtle with an avanyu design on its shell and a bear figure on its back. The typical reaction to this style was exemplified by a reporter at the art competition who stated, "To the purist this is a shocking piece that brazenly defies the limitations of the medium…. All the rules of polite ceramic society seem to be shattered. Yet it is delightful!"[189] Part of this innovation can be explained by Da's own personal style and confidence, but the increasingly accepting art market of the 1970s perhaps also encouraged experimentation.[190] I would also argue that this piece certainly is a tribute to the artistic innovations pioneered by Da's well-known family. Maria and Julian achieved fame by creating black on black ware in 1919,[191] and Popovi's innovations were numerous: sienna, black-and-sienna, and gunmetal ware, *sgraffito*, and the addition of turquoise to pots.[192] The work of his predecessors inspired Da and gave him the confidence to innovate as well.[193] He sought to honor his background while also achieving artistic freedom of expression: "I try to combine tradition and

[188] Ibid., 139.
[189] Charles S. King and Richard L. Spivey, *The Life and Art of Tony Da* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo, 2011), 51.
[190] Ibid., 59.
[191] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 7, 20.
[192] Ibid., 95-108.
[193] King and Spivey, *The Life and Art of Tony Da*, 38.

contemporary design in a unique way, no matter what the medium."[194] Building on his father's experiments, Da established both the addition of turquoise to pottery and the use of *sgraffito* as hallmarks of his work.[195]

Tony and Popovi Da were able to succeed in the art world because of their own talents and hard work, but also due to the fact that Maria and Julian taught them how to make pottery, take risks, and have conviction in their beliefs and work. Maria had a truly phenomenal career, but it was not one without its challenges, as she learned how to balance her livelihood and passion with her traditional Pueblo values. Pueblo artists producing work for a white Euro-American market must negotiate conflicting systems of value concerning the idea of success. Whereas Euro-American society places value on money, publicity, and prestige, traditional Pueblo society treats these by-products of success as suspicious and out of line with the representation of a "good" tribal member.[196] In addition to not drawing too much individual attention and accolades, Native American artists were nevertheless expected to humbly accomplish their duties as both professionals and tribal members. Even into the 1970s, Native American artists still faced pressure to make sure that their artistic careers did not mitigate their responsibilities to their tribe and family. For example, men were expected to tend to the fields and women to maintain their roles as mothers, wives, and housekeepers. In order to simultaneously achieve success as commercial artists and fulfill their traditional cultural obligations, both Maria and Julian hired Spanish Americans to assist with their

[194] Ibid., 74.
[195] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 108.
[196] Edwin L. Wade, "Straddling the Cultural Fence: The Conflict for Ethnic Artists within Pueblo Societies," in *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*, ed. Edwin L. Wade (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1986), 246.

duties.[197] This thoughtful delegation allowed them both to live up to the standards expected of them.

In 1919, Maria and Julian were a part of Kenneth Chapman and Wesley Bradfield's Pottery Improvement Project, in which they sought to increase pottery values by encouraging potters to produce higher quality pottery in exchange for greater financial reward. Maria and Julian's involvement was considered a success, as they produced pieces that were of a high artistic caliber and technical quality.[198] As the demand for her pieces grew, Maria was increasingly encouraged to use her signature to identify her work. By 1923, she became the first Pueblo Indian potter who was signing her pottery as a regular practice.[199] As a forerunner in her field, she set an example for other Pueblo potters on how to deal with the challenges of negotiating the new space created by named artists. As Maria developed a reputation as a noted potter, it created uneven opportunities for others to succeed, a factor that sometimes contradicted traditional Pueblo values and relationships.[200] Her black polished pots sold for more money than others, a factor that created resentment of her disruption of the egalitarian society.[201] Maria was aware of this tension and tried to rebalance the distribution of worth and success. Around 1910, when Maria was asked by a shopkeeper to produce more pots, she said just sell some of my sister's, it's the pueblo that makes the difference, not the woman. She said this despite the fact that the shopkeeper told her that people were getting to know her work and came in specifically to ask for her

[197] Ibid., 247-248.
[198] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 32-33.
[199] Ibid., 162.
[200] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 153.
[201] Wade, "Straddling the Cultural Fence," 250.

pots.[202] When pressured to sign pottery, Maria still managed to find a way to make this practice about community, offering to sign pots for other artists at San Ildefonso if they wanted her to; Maria didn't want theirs not to sell or for them to get their feelings hurt.[203] While Maria was a named, successful individual in the art world, she also ensured that her talents and skills were not hers alone. She taught her family members pottery making and was not protective or guarded with her process.[204]

Despite these efforts, Maria's financial success and the success of other noted San Ildefonso potters created social change within the culture. In order to meet demand for pottery, Maria and others instituted a "factory" system, in which employees were hired to complete certain parts of pottery production, and paid a very low wage.[205] As this hired labor became necessary, it created two economic classes from one previously equal group.[206] Within San Ildefonso, competition to sell pottery even created a divide between the North and South Plazas, with each side feeling as though they were treated unfairly at the Santa Fe Indian Fair.[207] Maria was a part of the North Plaza group, where women potters increasingly became the bread-winners of the family. Perhaps unable to effectively cope with this change in social roles, some men turned to alcohol. By 1930, many women found themselves taking over as heads of household, as alcoholism sharply increased amongst men of the North Plaza.[208] In response, some women, including Maria, encouraged men to get sober and become interested in

[202] Marriott, *Maria*, 200.
[203] Ibid., 235.
[204] Spivey, Martinez, and Lotz, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 185.
[205] Wade, "Straddling the Cultural Fence," 250-251.
[206] Ibid., 251.
[207] Ibid., 252.
[208] Ibid., 253.

community affairs. Some women also financially sponsored community events and generally guided men towards social recovery.[209] While Maria kept a level head amongst the trappings of fame, Julian was not as successful. He became an alcoholic and used his financial awards from pottery to buy alcohol.[210] However, he made a remarkable comeback, as he was elected governor of the pueblo in 1940.[211] He was appointed, in part, because as an artist he would be a good liaison between the San Ildefonso community and the outside world.[212] The re-establishment of men in positions of political power within the pueblo provided them with a renewed sense of purpose, pride, and religious obligation, all of which contributed to their desire for sobriety.[213] Although they ultimately overcame their struggles, fame and its resulting environment posed challenges for Julian and Maria both. By balancing communal Pueblo values with individual recognition and assisting Julian with his recovery, Maria proved that she was a strong woman of character. Speaking about the similarities between Maria and herself, Velarde said that they were both stubborn. She also noted that Maria had to be strong to deal with the alcoholism in her family.[214] Maria found a way to both encourage Velarde and at the same time make light of the struggles they each faced. As Velarde recalled:

> She would tease me. Her being a woman too, and me trying to do my thing, only in a different way, she thought that was great. Because she would tease me about competing with the men and giving the men a hard time, this kind of thing. She did it in such a nice, pleasant way, I never got mad at her. [laughs][215]

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[209]Wade, "Straddling the Cultural Fence," 253.
[210] Marriott, *Maria*, 257.
[211] Wade, "Straddling the Cultural Fence," 253.
[212] Ibid., 253-254.
[213] Ibid., 254.
[214] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 15, Side 1, October 5 and 19, 1993, 298, 299.
[215] Ibid., 298.

Maria set an example for Velarde with her strength and drive to succeed.

The art produced by the Martinez family of San Ildefonso is truly a remarkable example of both individual innovation and cultural continuity. Both Maria and Julian used cultural imagery mainly on pottery, although Julian did experiment with painting pottery motifs on paper. Gilbert Atencio, Maria and Julian's nephew, painted complete pots in his figural compositions. In the next generation, Tony Da created abstract work with Mimbres style animals and geometric fragments of Pueblo pottery motifs. Currently, Jarrod Da, Tony's son, is creating dynamic, brightly colored works that refer to pottery abstractly and that portray the natural landscape. These different approaches show that as time progresses, members of the Martinez family continue to use pottery motifs in their works, but do so in an increasingly modernist and abstracted way. Jarrod expresses this cultural continuity very well, as he says;

> I see art as a link between past and present. As a child I watched my great grandmother, Maria Martinez, bring the images of our culture to the world through pottery. I sat in my father's studio watching the way he translated those images into his own vision. Through the process of creation, I am joining my ancestors and honoring my culture, and I am also attempting to send a message of optimism to those generations yet to come.[216]

Because Maria left behind such a legacy, her family's work provides an apt comparison to the generational differences and similarities between the art of Pablita Velarde, Helen Hardin, and Margaret Bagshaw.

While Nampeyo and Maria Martinez were matriarchs in the world of Pueblo pottery, Tonita Peña was a true pioneer in the area of Pueblo painting. Tonita Peña (Quah-Ah) was born in 1895 at San Ildefonso Pueblo.[217] From around 1899-1905,

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[216] Jarrod Da, "Artist Statement," http://jarrodda.com/artist_statement.php.
[217] Chase, *Indian Painters of the Southwest*, 38.

Peña attended the San Ildefonso day school, where she first began painting watercolors due to the encouragement of Esther Hoyt.[218] Peña later noted that Hoyt told her charges to "think of the dance in the plaza and of how they felt when dancing, and to paint that."[219] Like Maria Martinez, Peña was also encouraged by Hewett to create art. Samuel Gray, Peña's biographer, argues that while Peña was at the San Ildefonso day school, Hewett fostered her talent by providing supplies and asking her to paint; a directive that resulted in Pueblo genre scenes that depicted everyday activities such as making pottery and dancing.[220] However, J.J. Brody contends that there is no evidence that Peña was in contact with Hewett at all prior to 1920.[221] Whatever the case may be, it is clear that Hewett took an interest in Peña's career following the death of her second husband, Felipe Herrera, in 1920.[222] Hewett helped facilitate her work by providing art supplies, and she was supported even after his death, as she worked under Kenneth Chapman's guidance.[223]

Many San Ildefonso watercolorists, including Tonita Peña, Oqwa Pi, Richard Martinez, and Julian Martinez, sold their first paintings around 1920,[224] an outcome, that for Peña, seems to be a result of both the publicity of the 1919 exhibition at the Museum of New Mexico, as well as Hewett's sponsorship. Indeed, from 1920-24 Hewett acted as an agent for Pueblo paintings, as he started buying paintings from Peña and other artists for resale.[225] However, while these factors certainly contributed to

[218] Samuel Gray, *Tonita Peña* (Albuquerque: Avanyu Publishing, 1990), 12.
[219] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 39.
[220] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 12.
[221] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 113.
[222] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 16.
[223] Ibid.
[224] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 102.
[225] Ibid., 104.

Peña's commercial success, they also coincided with the beginning of her professional painting career in general. While she did paint under the encouragement of Hoyt at the San Ildefonso Day School, she was a very young student at the time, only around 10 years old by the time she left in 1905. She was married at age 13 in 1908, and again in 1913 following the death of her first husband, Juan Rosario Chavez. With Juan she had two children, Helia and Richard, and with her second husband, Felipe, she had one child, Joseph Hilario Herrera.[226] Although she had a lot of personal responsibility to family at a young age, Peña still managed to complete her education at St. Catherine's Indian School during her marriage to Felipe, as well as paint during her free time.[227] While painting evidently remained a consistent interest for Peña, it did not become a career until 1920. Through letters between Peña, Hewett, and others working at the School of American Archaeology, we can surmise that it was in that year that her paintings first traveled from Cochiti Pueblo.[228] Beginning in 1920 and continuing for the next year and a half, the school provided Peña with art supplies and bought around forty of her paintings for a total of around $130, valuing each work between $1.50 and $5.[229] Hewett may have begun his sponsorship of Peña partially for sentimental, philanthropic reasons; he wanted to help a twice widowed mother of three children.[230] The proceeds from painting sales during the time between her second and third marriage did provide a needed income for Peña and her family.[231]

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[226] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 15-16.
[227] Ibid., 16.
[228] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 113.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid., 115.
[231] Marilee Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña (Quah Ah), Pueblo Painter: Asserting Identity Through Continuity and Change," *American Indian Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1994): 372.

Although Hewett's sponsorship certainly helped facilitate Peña's career, she was an independent, creative woman who asserted herself though her subject matter in her paintings. Peña's first paintings, likely done in 1920-21, feature Cochiti winter dances.[232] Peña frequently painted moments from ceremonial dances that were accessible to visitors, such as the Cochiti Women's dance, Green Corn dance, Eagle dance, Buffalo dance, Animal dance, and Gourd dance.[233] The mere fact that Peña chose to paint this particular subject matter is noteworthy, as many were actively attempting to suppress Pueblo culture at the time. In 1915, Bureau of American Ethnology employee, Matilda Cox Stevenson, publicly attacked pueblo ceremonials in articles published in the *Washington Times*, the *New York Times*, and Santa Fe newspapers.[234] Then, in 1923, the Secret Dance File, a collection of affidavits condemning "pagan Indian dances," led to authorization for the Indian Office to use punitive measures to suppress ceremonial dances.[235] Executed in this environment, Peña's paintings can be seen as a symbol of her belief in the value of Pueblo ceremonials.[236] Additionally, they signify her own strength of character, as she was not dissuaded from representing an integral part of her culture. Of course, there were those that audibly opposed suppression of Native culture, including notably, Hewett. In fact, Hewett's preservationist attempts extended to ceremonial dances, as he envisioned the Pueblo ritual dances being reenacted as an entertaining and educational part of the Santa Fe Fiesta.[237] The New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs formed in 1922, and

[232] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 116.
[233] Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña," 372.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 120.

worked to advocate for Native cultural practices, and to respond to various governmental attacks against them.[238] It was in this time period when her culture was being both attacked and also held up as worthy of celebration and preservation, that Peña painted many images of ceremonial dances.

In the Bialac Collection at the University of Oklahoma's FJJMA, there are several Tonita Peña paintings of dances. One such example is *Comanche Dance*, a pencil and watercolor image dating to 1920-21 (See Figure 15). In this early painting by Peña, one can see evidence of her relative inexperience in handling paint. The pigmentation is not uniform, indicating the wash was not applied evenly. Additionally, there is relatively little detail in the costumes, and not very much emphasis on shade or shadowing. The image is of two participants of a Comanche dance, one female and one male. The figures are in a line, and Peña chooses to show the female dancer in front of the male. She is more central to the composition; the male figure is even somewhat cropped, as his full body is not illustrated. As Marilee Jantzer-White has argued, Peña frequently highlighted female dancers in her compositions in order to illustrate their important roles within Pueblo society, notably their association with continuance.[239] While I agree that Peña's tendency to showcase female figures does assert their importance to Pueblo society, I think that this representation also speaks to the artist's desire to demonstrate the importance of women more generally. One cannot overlook the fact that Peña was the only female Pueblo watercolor painter of her generation. As such, she stepped outside of what was then considered to be a traditional Pueblo role for

[238] Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña," 375.
[239] Ibid.

women.[240] While Peña's paintings documented women's traditional roles, they did so in a newly non-traditional media for female artists.[241] Thus, I would argue that in highlighting Pueblo women and their roles, Peña affirms not only her culture, but also her own importance and value.

While many of Peña's paintings are of dances, she also painted some genre scenes. For example, *Cochiti Lady Baking Bread in the Oven*, also from the Bialac collection, features two women absorbed in the task of baking bread (See Figure 16). This painting is somewhat unusual in her *oeuvre*, as it includes a setting; an adobe building and a horno. Within the Bialac collection, this is the only piece of hers that includes a background for the figures at all, and perhaps not coincidently, it is the only painting that doesn't include figures from a ceremonial dance. Although this piece is not dated by the FJJMA, I'd like to propose that it dates to 1922, based on a letter written from Tonita Peña to Lansing Bloom at the Museum of New Mexico. In this letter dated April 7, 1922, Peña states, "The pictures I have just done are real nice, the new dance which they danced this winter, one is the war dance, (also) the dog dance and the eagle dance, and two Indian ladies baking bread in the oven. Each picture cost $4.00."[242] Peña's description of her 1922 painting of "two Indian ladies baking bread in the oven" matches the visual depiction seen in *Cochiti Lady Baking Bread in the Oven*. As this was a rare subject matter for Peña, it seems probable that this letter refers to the painting in the Bialac collection. To further support this dating, I look to the style in

[240] Chase, *Indian Painters of the Southwest*, 38.

[241] Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Sherry Farrell Racette, and Lara Evans, *Art in Our Lives: Native Women Artists in Dialogue* (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2010), 62.

[242] As published in Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña," 370. Original source is from the Letter to the Museum of New Mexico, Library of Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe: Hewett papers.

which the work is executed. Like *Comanche Dance*, dated to 1920-21, this piece also has areas of uneven pigmentation, as well as a looser feel, perhaps indicating less brush control, and it shows relatively little detail in the dress. When compared to some of her later pieces that are much more detailed, crisper in terms of color, and have more defined forms that are sharply delineated, this piece feels like one of Peña's early attempts. This piece is also a good example of Peña's tendency to highlight the roles of women in her paintings. Whereas in *Comanche Dance* the focus on the female figure is somewhat subtle, *Cochiti Lady Baking Bread in the Oven* overtly celebrates the roles of women in Pueblo society.

I argue that Peña's paintings are auto-ethnographic, as they were created with a self-conscious response to market demands for authenticity. However, I contend that Peña maintained agency, often making deliberate aesthetic choices to visually highlight the importance of women to Pueblo culture. Peña painted images of her own culture and did so in ethnographically accurate way; showing specific parts of dances and depicting details of costumes. In her piece titled *Basket Dance*, which is dated to c.1919 and which is also a part of the Bialac Collection, one can see the level of detail Peña put into representing dances that were an important part of her culture and society (See Figure 17). Because of the level of detail included in these dance costumes, as well as the complex linear layering of forms, I am questioning the assignation of the date 1919 for this piece. It seems as though this piece might date to a later time, as it seemingly shows a more accomplished hand than *Comanche Dance*, a piece dating to 1920-21. In *Basket Dance*, we see a line of male dancers in identical costumes standing shoulder to shoulder. The repetition and the strong diagonal of their line creates a sense

of dynamism and movement that seems to allude to the movement of the dance itself. Also included in the composition are a grouping of women, all of whom are seated in a line, and placed in the foreground. Jantzer-White uses a painting with a similar composition, *Gourd Dance*, to argue that by placing female figures on a blanket on the ground, Peña is highlighting their connection to the earth[243] (See Figure 18). She also maintains that this placement is an aesthetic choice, and one not used by many other Pueblo painters at the time.[244] While I agree that Peña's depiction does tie women symbolically to the earth, I think it does so merely by representing the dance itself. It seems likely to me that Peña was depicting with accuracy a part of the dance that might associate women with the earth and its' fertility and fecundity. Thus, placing the women on blankets on the ground seems to be a representation of ethnographic accuracy, rather than a calculated and invented aesthetic choice. However, I do think that Peña was thinking strategically about how to highlight that female role in the dance and gives it value and importance by placing the women in the foreground of the composition. In both *Basket Dance* and *Gourd Dance*, Peña places the female grouping of dancers on blankets and in the foreground. She also gives them some space around each other, whereas the male figures are crowded together. This spacing appears to serve two purposes; it allows us to focus a little more closely on the individual profiles of the women, and it balances out the composition as a whole. In *Basket Dance*, there are three female figures and nine male figures, yet they are given almost equal visual weight, perhaps suggesting their equal importance.

[243] Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña," 376-377.
[244] Ibid.

In addition to demonstrating agency in her placement of female figures, Peña also asserts herself by not including a background for her ceremonial dance paintings. Jantzer-White claims that Peña's paintings of dances are ethereal, in that they lack background, and are executed in a flattened style without traditional perspective. She argues that these ethereal depictions mimic the nature of the dances themselves.[245] While I agree with this assessment, it seems possible that there is more to Peña's depictions than a desire to convey an ethereal aura. Sascha Scott has argued that modern Pueblo painters maintain "aesthetic agency" in their works by various means, including through silences.[246] She claims that the lack of background in paintings of Pueblo ceremonial dances is intentional and serves to both prohibit outsiders from understanding the esoteric meaning of the dance, and also to make an anti-colonial statement about the impossibility of control or ownership over land.[247] Peña was not alone in omitting the background of her dance paintings, as many other Pueblo painters shared the same convention. However, considering that Peña and others often depicted dances that were readily accessible to outsiders, leaving off a background in order to protect knowledge or culture seems unnecessary, and doing so in order to make an anti-colonial statement seems a bit far-fetched. Despite my misgivings with Scott's theory, I do think that Peña's choice to not depict the background of her dance paintings demonstrates her agency. While she was creating accurate work that was auto-ethnographic, she was also not revealing the full experience of the dance to her viewers.

[245] Ibid., 374.

[246] Sascha Scott, "Awa Tsireh and the Art of Subtle Resistance," *The Art Bulletin* 95 (December 2013): 602.

[247] Ibid., 604-605.

In making this conscious choice, Peña is asserting her power to both play to the market for ethnographic authenticity, while still maintaining control over the representation.

Like Nampeyo and Maria Martinez, Peña also had to face how her professional career contended with traditional Pueblo values. For Peña, that proposition was perhaps even more challenging, as she was the first female modern Pueblo painter. Traditionally, women worked in pottery and men painted, but that was a convention Peña was not afraid to break. While Brody claims that no one made an issue with Peña's gender as a Pueblo watercolor painter,[248] conversations between Peña and Pablita Velarde reveal that being a female artist working in a media dominated by males carried challenges. Speaking about Peña, Velarde said: "She would say, "Who cares what the men think?" I thought, she doesn't care what they think, so why should I care? I think she kind of planted a seed. She was the first…liberated woman. Who cared what the men think, as long as you are happy. I admired her very much."[249] Despite breaking convention in the media she worked in, Peña also demonstrated that she cared about her Pueblo community and values. Although Peña apparently tolerated allowing Hewett to set the price for her paintings, she expressed concern about the process, as she reflected upon her responsibility to people she used as subjects in her paintings. While she was advised to not pay these subjects anything, Peña perhaps felt guilt over this, and as a result may have painted a kiva mural at Cochiti years later.[250] This incident represents an example of the tension Peña felt between conflicting expectations from two sources: white patrons and the Pueblo community. Like Maria Martinez,

[248] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 115.
[249] Shelby Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words* (Santa Fe: Little Standing Spruce Publishing, 2012), 56.
[250] Brody, *Pueblo Indian Painting*, 118.

Peña attempted to atone for her commercial success that disturbed the communal equilibrium with an act of service for the community as a whole. In a similar calculated move, Peña requested that the school provide her with a studio space in Santa Fe, saying that she didn't want people to come see her paint every day, like they did at Cochiti.[251] While this may have been an appeal for privacy, it also seems likely that it was a way for Peña to gain some separation between her professional individual success and her Pueblo values of humility and community. Peña also had to learn how to balance her obligation to family and pueblo with her emerging professional career. She had her older children help watch the younger children, so she could have more time to paint.[252] She also painted in order to help support her family, assisted with community affairs, helped her husband with farming, and mentored young painters just starting their careers,[253] such as Velarde.

In addition to acting as a mentor to Velarde, Peña also passed on knowledge to her family, just like Nampeyo and Maria Martinez did. Peña's son, Joe Herrera, became a very well-known painter. Herrera was first encouraged to paint by his mother, as she gave him the ends of her paint tubes to practice with.[254] While Herrera's early works were done in the Studio style, his later works are decidedly more modern. After being introduced to the modernist painter Raymond Jonson in 1950 at the University of New Mexico, as well as studying ancient rock art and kiva murals, he produced images such as *Fox Hunter (Petroglyph)* (c. 1954) (See Figure 19).[255] In this

[251] Ibid.
[252] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 20.
[253] Ibid., 61-62.
[254] Ibid., 59.
[255] W. Jackson Rushing III, "Making Modern: Selected Paintings, Drawings, and Prints," in *The James T. Bialac Native American Art* Collection, ed. Mark Andrew White (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 107,109.

image from the Bialac Collection, one can see how Herrera's style departs from his mother's. Whereas Peña focused on ethnographic realism and ceremonial dances, Herrera refers to ancient petroglyphs and the modernist preoccupation with primitivism.[256] However, despite these stylistic differences, I would argue that Herrera was inspired in part by his mother's own artistic freedom. While Peña used traditional cultural subject matter, she did so in a non-traditional media for female Native artists. Also, she subtly arranged compositions to demonstrate the value of women, the importance of her culture, and her power in controlling representation. While Herrera often included cultural imagery in his compositions, he mixed it with geometric abstractions, creating entirely modern works of art. Both Herrera and Peña showed their artistic creativity in different ways, and to different degrees, yet each demonstrated how tradition could pair with innovation.

As was also the case with Nampeyo and Maria Martinez, Peña's ability to overcome obstacles was crucial to her success. Peña experienced great tragedy and faced personal challenges throughout her life. In 1905, her mother and sister both died from influenza, when she was only ten years old. As a result, she went to live at Cochiti with an aunt and uncle, so that she would have someone to care for her when her father worked in the fields.[257] In moving from San Ildefonso to Cochiti, Peña had to learn a new language, Keres, as well as new customs, songs, and dances.[258] After marrying at 14, she lost her husband after four years, and was left with two children. Her second husband died in an accident at an iron oxide mine, just two months after they had their

[256] Ibid., 109.
[257] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 12.
[258] Ibid., 13.

first child together.[259] Despite these obstacles, Peña thrived. She married a third time and had five children[260] with a man who was very supportive of her career.[261] Her enormous strength of character and her passion for painting served as a great inspiration for Pablita Velarde. Indeed, Peña was a true mentor to Velarde, who claimed that she would never had begun painting without the encouragement, help, and friendship of Peña.[262]

[259] Ibid., 15-16.
[260] Ibid., 19.
[261] Ibid., 55. Pablita Velarde told Howard Shaw that Peña always married men that supported her career.
[262] Ibid., 53.

Chapter 2: Pablita Velarde

Pablita Velarde (1918-2006) lived a long life as a prolific artist. She painted over seven thousand paintings during her 75-year career.[263] Born September 19, 1918 at Santa Clara Pueblo, she was given the Tewa name Tse-Tsan, or Golden Dawn, by her grandmother, Qualupita. In retrospect, it seems a fitting moniker, as Velarde forged new beginnings throughout her life.[264] During her career, as her style changed, she painted various subject matter and experimented with many media. She painted large scale murals that were public commissions and also created small scale works to sell to individual buyers. While she was a student at the Santa Fe Indian School under Dorothy Dunn, from 1932-1934, Velarde learned to create her own pigments, using rocks and clay from the earth.[265] During the 1950s, she revisited this method; collecting rocks and hand grinding them on a stone *metate*, she used the pigments to create "earth paintings."[266] In addition to this laborious process, she also learned how to create her own frames; assembling and painting them herself.[267] Her work ethic, creativity, and commitment to her method were certainly admirable. Though her career is hers alone, one could argue that it would not have been what it was without the influence of Peña, who was an important part of Velarde's life. The two artists shared similar goals and backgrounds, and each faced comparable challenges. As I address Velarde's relationship with Peña, I will strive to answer the following questions: In what ways did

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[263] Rose Mary Diaz, "3 Generations of Significant Art," *Santa Fean* (August/September 2011): Indian Market Pull-out Section.

[264] Mary Carroll Nelson, "Pablita Velarde," *Women's Caucus for Art Honor Awards for Outstanding Achievement in the Visual Arts*, 11th Annual Exhibition, 13-15 February 1990.

[265] Maureen E. Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House: Pablita Velarde and the Unraveling of Traditional Womanhood," in *A Woman's Place: Women Writing New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 262-263.

[266] Nelson, "Pablita Velarde."

[267] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 139.

Velarde learn from Peña? How did she serve as a mentor to Velarde? To what degree did Velarde adopt a similar style and/or subject matter in her own art? In investigating these questions, I hope to understand the significance of their unique relationship and friendship.

Velarde first met Peña at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1934. While Velarde was there as a student, Peña was there in a professional capacity, working on art for the school's Indian Service buildings. Peña's work was sponsored by the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP), a federally funded program that was a part of New Deal policies.[268] From 1933-1943, a time dubbed the New Deal era, the PWAP and other government sponsored art programs provided opportunities for many artists, including Indian artists.[269] The PWAP in particular lasted from December 1933 to June 1934, and hired around 3,750 artists, with the goal of supplying financial assistance to artists on the basis of need.[270] Opportunities for Native American artists centered around the Santa Fe Indian School, as it served as the headquarters of the Indian Division of the PWAP.[271] As a result, artists such as Tonita Peña (San Ildefonso), Velino Shije Herrera (Zia), Tony Archuleta (Taos), Emiliano Abeyta (San Juan), Jack Hokeah (Kiowa), and Calvin Tyndall (Omaha), were invited to create art for the Indian Services buildings on campus, which were being built as a part of the Works Progress Administration (WPA).[272] The students had a chance to learn from and work with more established artists, as they were given studio space and board at the school. It seems that one of the

[268] Ibid., 53-55.
[269] Ibid., 54.
[270] Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 166.
[271] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 54.
[272] Ibid., 55.

most fruitful relationships to emerge from this project was the one between Peña and Velarde. Velarde was only fifteen years old when she met Peña in 1934, and Peña quickly became a mentor to her.[273] At this time, Velarde was not considering painting as a professional career, in part because she didn't see that there was a market for young Indian painters. As she noted, "I mean, who wants some kind of a painting that was done by a young Indian? Who wants it? They're not known and it wasn't any good, according to their opinion. They paid for art—they liked to see an apple on a plate better than they did the Indian picture [laughs]. I wasn't about to paint apples on plates."[274] This statement demonstrates that Velarde was never willing to "sell out" just to make some money. She would enter the market on her own terms. Although initially she questioned the possibility of painting professionally, Peña's example and success no doubt encouraged her to follow that path.

Peña had been hired specifically to help paint a series of murals at the Santa Fe Indian School. Velarde had also signed up as a volunteer to paint oil mural panels.[275] However, it was not merely their shared responsibilities that bound them, but rather their capacity to relate to one another, as they were both female Native American painters at a time when that professional designation was virtually unheard of. While Peña was staying at the school and working on murals, Velarde used the opportunity to learn from the more experienced painter. She would visit Peña in her room, and the two would speak in Tewa together. Pablita watched her paint and observed her use of color and brushstrokes.[276] Although Peña didn't offer direct instruction to Velarde, she

[273] Ibid.
[274] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Margaret Connell Szasz, February 9, 1972, 4.
[275] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 55.
[276] Ibid., 56.

nevertheless made an enormous impression on the young artist, who began to imitate her style. As Velarde noted of Peña's influence:

> I started doing the same style of painting, you know, two-dimensionals…no background. Just white. Floating. But, I was surprised I did this kind of stuff in school. She was the one that got me involved in doing a lot of detail, because she put a lot of detail into her costumes…. Just by watching her. She never said "do this, do that," because she knew I didn't like to be told. But she would let me just sit there and just watch her while she's talking and she'd be painting. And I'd just watch her. That influenced me to put a lot of detail in my open work.[277]

While it is certainly important to establish that Velarde strove to emulate her mentor's level of detail, what is particularly interesting is her surprise that she was already doing the same style of painting. This commonality probably encouraged Velarde to continue to refine her work. In retrospect, it is evident that Peña and Velarde's stylistic similarities were a consequence of Dunn's teaching methods and inspirations. Velarde, as a student working under Dunn, was taught to emulate the style of the first generation of self-taught Pueblo painters, one of whom was Peña. Although Dunn encouraged Velarde to paint in Peña's general style, Velarde was also inspired by personally observing Peña's attention to detail. Including lots of detail made Velarde's paintings more marketable. The payoff was twofold; detailed depictions of traditional clothing appealed to buyers looking for ethnographic accuracy, and it also demonstrated that she was a technically skilled artist with a sure and capable hand. Dunn recognized this interest as well. Speaking about Velarde's work, Dunn noted: "The paintings were warm and meaningful with perhaps as much appeal to the ethnologist as to the artist."[278]

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[277] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 5, Side B, May 24, 1993, 106-107.

[278] Here Dunn refers to Velarde's 1933 oil painting of a Santa Clara girl, which was done for the Indian exhibition at Chicago's Century of Progress, and another mural sized composition of potters and corn harvesters. Dorothy Dunn, "Pablita Velarde: Painter of Pueblo Life," *El Palacio* 59, no. 11 (November 1952): 336.

In order to demonstrate the degree to which Peña influenced Velarde's style, it is helpful to compare paintings done by both artists in 1934, the year they first met each other. Although Sally Hyer, longtime researcher of Velarde, has noted that the two WPA murals are similar,[279] she has not expanded upon their formal similarities and differences, which is something I'll explore more fully. In 1934, Peña painted a mural for the Public Works Art Project at the Santa Fe Indian School. A photograph of this mural in progress shows the artist seated and holding a ruler over her work (See Figure 20). The mural includes five figures in profile view that appear to be stepping in time to music, and one figure slightly higher on the picture plane, suggesting his recession into space. Peña used large blocks of color to create forms amid a blank background and included incredible detail; fringed strands of the dancer's skirts, buttons on boots, patterns on bracelets, and feathers on shawls. Her use of a ruler illustrates her commitment to precision and patterning. Peña's interest in detail and dress, already evident, would undoubtedly have become more apparent as she refined and completed the mural.[280]

In a similar photograph, Velarde stands in front of her 1934 mural, holding her paint palette (See Figure 21). Her painting features three seated women working on different stages of pottery production; one polishes a large pot, another shapes a pot using the coil method. A finished pot in the foreground provides a sense of completion in the composition. Like Peña's mural, Velarde's is also devoid of a ground line and a background. Both murals create spatial depth by placing a figure higher on the picture

[279] Velarde, interview, Tape 5, Side B, May 24, 1993, 106-107.

[280] In speaking with Sally Hyer about this mural, Velarde notes that it has been stolen and its location is unknown. Velarde, interview, Tape 5, Side B, May 24, 1993, 106.

plane, and they each contain figures modeled with flat blocks of color. Even in this early stage of painting, Velarde had already included details such as patterned belts, hair ties, and a necklace.

Peña and Velarde created stylistically similar murals that also both feature Pueblo women engaged in cultural activities. Peña depicts an Eagle Dance in which the alternation of male and female dancers creates a rhythmic quality. The progression from the more upright female dancers to the male dancers cloaked in eagle feathers creates a sense of movement. The dancers have one raised foot, one planted foot, giving the impression that each figure steps and actively performs the dance. This composition would likely have appealed to outsiders intrigued by what they might perceive as the exoticism of Pueblo culture. Additionally, the mural represented Peña's cultural pride. Velarde's mural also highlights the important roles of women in Pueblo culture, specifically how they contribute to pottery production. It also satisfies outsider fascination with Pueblo culture and values, such as communal production and the appreciation of high quality, handmade objects. In 1934, Peña and Velarde each created murals that were similar in their style, level of detail, subject matter, and aims.

Most of Velarde's paintings done before meeting Peña have minimal details. For example, *Woman Making Tortillas* (c. 1932) has broad patches of unevenly painted pigment and little detail; this, combined with the unpainted *horno*, make the work seem sketch-like or incomplete (See Figure 22). Likewise, *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar* (c. 1933), with its forms filled with flat swaths of solid color, does little to suggest texture or depth in the clothing (See Figure 23). Velarde intended for this work to speak to cultural synchronicity. She explained her aims thus:

> Well that's trying to show the cultures mixing without hating one another. They do that nowadays, even today. On feast days they bring all the saints out and put them in that little stall. And then visitors can go in there and light a candle and pray if they want to. And the Spanish people come down and they sing in Spanish, their hymns, and they pray in Spanish. And then the dancers go in there and touch all the saints and give them thanks and ask for blessings.[281]

She saw this mixing of cultures as worthy of preservation, as she noted: "And this is one of their scenes that I thought I should record, so that, in case they quit doing that in the future, at least there is something of a record of it."[282] Both *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar* and *Woman Making Tortillas* demonstrate her relative inexperience at the time, as they have uneven lines, patches of color, and minimal details. Dunn witnessed Velarde's technical progression and explained it thus: "Through steady, serious application, her technique gained in facility of line and brushwork, and, by the end of her first year, her painting had lost much of its original unevenness."[283]

Although these two examples of Velarde's early work show little attention to detail, *Buffalo Dance* (1931) contains lots of detailed work. Also done early in her career, this casein on board image includes delineated fringe strands on moccasins, feather details, and individually outlined leaves of plants (See Figure 24). Produced one year before Dunn arrived at the Santa Fe Indian School, this painting illustrates that Velarde was already painting in a style inspired by the first generation of professional Native American painters, such as Peña and Awa Tsireh. *Buffalo Dance* features several elements that would come to define the "Studio" style as formulated by Dunn, such as linear figures in profile view, with no ground line to anchor them or any background to provide context. As I will refer to the "traditional" style or "Studio"

[281] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview with Sally Hyer, Tape 10, Side A, July 8, 1993, 190.
[282] Ibid., Tape 15, Side 1, October 19, 1993, 303.
[283] Dunn, "Pablita Velarde," 336.

style throughout my discussion, I will attempt to offer a comprehensive definition of its' stylistic markers. Velarde explained Dunn's preference for this style:

> That's the old traditional painting style, like the old painters from San Ildefonso. They'd put no background on, just the figure and let it float by itself. Just have enough movement in there to give you some feeling of action. That's the way Dorothy [Dunn] more or less thought Indian art should have been. Because there were a lot of Plains artists that used to do poster-style painting, putting in a whole cluttered background scenes of tepees and weeds and rocks and mountains, this kind of thing. And she didn't like that.[284]

Jeanne Snodgrass King, curator of American Indian art at the Philbrook Museum of Art from 1956-1969, elaborated on the formal qualities of this "traditional" style of Native American painting. She spoke of the first generation of artists who began working in 1920s, and noted that their work often had the following features:

> …. strong outline, executed on paper, using water colors, tempera or casein, applied in flat, solid color areas. The compositions are usually arranged in formal, often symmetrical designs with the subjects relating to almost every facet of Indian life. Because this subject matter holds tribal, religious or ceremonial significance, careful execution of detail has become an integral part of the Indian's approach to his art. Action figures are highly animated and are suggestive of the actual restraint and control which governs the movements of the Indian in work, sport and ceremony. Because of the accuracy of character, costume and custom, these paintings are valuable ethnographic records of American Indian culture, as well as significant art expressions.[285]

These two descriptions provide a good basis for understanding the hallmarks of Studio style.

Velarde's *Buffalo Dance* (c.1931) is strikingly similar to Peña's *Buffalo Dancers with Drummer* (ca. 1926) in both style and composition (See Figure 25). Both have four profile view figures that alternate male-female-male-female and have legs raised as if stepping in time to the dance, creating an effective rhythm. Neither have a

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[284] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview with Sally Hyer, Tape 2, Side A, April 19, 1993, 28.

[285] Jeanne Snodgrass King as quoted in "Modern American Indian Art: An Art Exhibition from the Collections of The Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa," (Browning, Montana: *Museum of the Plains Indian,*1963),13. From Laboratory of Anthropology archives, Santa Fe, 93DDK.090.

background, but both have detail in regalia and clothing. The compositions differ slightly; Peña's features a drummer and Velarde's does not, and each has a slightly different palette. However, they share more similarities than differences. Velarde's *Buffalo Dance* demonstrates not only the influence of first generation painters, but also her early interest in portraying detail. Why does this painting include such a plethora of detail while her other earlier paintings, such as *Woman Making Tortillas* and *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar* do not? In both *Woman Making Tortillas* and *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar*, Velarde included a setting: a *horno* and tortillas on a blanket in the former, and an altar table with saints and candles in the latter. While it is difficult to say with certainty what distinguishes *Buffalo Dance* from the other two early works, perhaps its lack of background allowed Velarde to more fully focus on the figures and their details. Also, it's highly probable that in painting *Buffalo Dance* (c.1931), Velarde drew inspiration from Peña's 1926 *Buffalo Dancers with Drummer*, which would have led her to include more detail.

Although Velarde did have an early foray into exploring detail, this tendency seems to have expressed itself more after she met Peña, and certainly as her career progressed. One example that highlights her love of detail and patterning is her section of a mural at Maisel's Trading Post, completed in 1939 (See Figure 26). Maisel's is located on historic Route 66 in downtown Albuquerque. The owner, Maurice Maisel, hired leading Pueblo-style architect, John Gaw Meem, to build his trading post. [286] Meem recommended that the empty exterior spaces above display windows be

[286] Marcus Whiffen and Carla Breeze, *Pueblo Deco: The Art Deco Architecture of the Southwest*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 19.

decorated with murals. Initially he suggested that Olive Rush complete all the murals, but Rush recommended that she share the work with a group of young Native artists. [287] Thus, Rush became supervisor of this project, one of the first murals executed by Native artists outside of the Santa Fe Indian School.[288] The mural was commissioned as a part of the Federal Arts Project.[289] Velarde was invited to participate in this collaborative project, along with artists including, but not limited to, Harrison Begay (Navajo), Joe Herrera (Cochiti), Narciso Abeyta (Navajo), Awa Tsireh (San Ildefonso), and Pop Chalee (Taos).[290] While each artist was responsible for their individual section of the mural, Dunn maintained that the group worked together, just as they did when painting murals for the Santa Fe Indian School.[291] When asked about the project, Velarde clarified that Rush was friends with Dunn, and that's probably how she got the job. Also, she explained that Rush probably went through the school files to help determine the subject matter.[292]

Velarde's part of the mural, which Clara Lee Tanner notes is titled *Santa Clara Women with Pottery*, features a group of Pueblo women standing next to their pottery.[293] Each woman wears a different patterned shawl and dress, yet they all complement each other. The vibrant colors, precision of line, and dynamism of pattern create a visual feast for the viewer. The black incised pots in the foreground carry their

[287] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 82-83.
[288] Whiffen and Breeze, *Pueblo Deco*, 49.
[289] Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 246.
[290] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 82-83.
[291] Ibid., 83.
[292] Velarde, interview, Tape 9, Side A, July 1, 1993, 165.
[293] Clara Lee Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 171.

own patterns. In her book *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas,* Dunn described the mural at Maisel's:

> The inscrutable, stolid strength of character of Pueblo women is contained here in a massive, simple way that is more emotional in effect than passively decorative. Yet, there is decoration too, in the clothing and pottery, and in the faces-each a different design in itself. The calico dresses are minutely patterned with almost mechanical exactness, and the pottery forms are shaped firmly and painted precisely, as in life.[294]

Interestingly, Dunn noticed the way Velarde was able to create a composition that communicated the strength of Pueblo women. This celebration of the value of Pueblo women was consistently seen in many of Velarde's works, particularly those of pottery makers and sellers. Dunn also astutely observed Velarde's mastery of detail and ornament in this work. While it is difficult to determine whether it was Peña's influence or her increasing technical skills that led to such works, I expect that both factors contributed to Velarde's increasingly detailed paintings.

I would also argue that a variety of additional influences impacted the amount and type of ornamentation in Velarde's mural at Maisel's from 1939. By the time she was working on this mural, she had already emulated Peña's level of detail in her paintings. As Dunn's student until 1936, she learned to appreciate decorative forms. Dunn had an interest in abstract and symbolic images from Pueblo pottery and provided her students the opportunity to incorporate them into their paintings. She took her class at the Santa Fe Indian School to the Laboratory of Anthropology to hear Chapman lecture on pottery designs and motifs.[295] Inspired, Dunn made some studies of Santo

[294] Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 320.

[295] Velarde, interview, Tape 6, Side B, June 3, 1993, 127.

Domingo pottery motifs from pots in the Laboratory of Anthropology collection in 1932.[296] In one such image, Dunn sketched an abstracted flower, with curving leaves and linear petals. The graphic quality of this flower is similar to a skirt's floral design in Velarde's mural at Maisel's (See Figure 28). This is not the only part of the mural in which a textile design bears a semblance to a Pueblo pottery motif. A comparison between *Textile Pattern from an Acoma Motif* (1934) by Caroline Coriz and a detail of Velarde's shawl patterning reveals similarities (See Figure 29). Each image has a similar patterning, dynamism, angularity and sense of movement. Coriz' painting experiments with the transmigration of motifs; from pottery to a painted representation of a textile design.[297] While *Textile Pattern from an Acoma Motif* focuses solely on abstract design, Velarde's mural features decorative prints integrated into a figural composition. However, Velarde highlights the fabrics; their bright colors and centrality make them a focal point, and their flatness and breadth allow for a greater appreciation of their overall design. It seems likely that Velarde's use of decorative patterns could have been inspired by the precedent of other artists experiments with re-contextualizing motifs, Dunn's encouragement of such endeavors, and her own personal interest in abstracted patterning.

Dunn wanted her students to have tribal authenticity in their work, yet also appreciate other cultures. A product of her time, she indirectly advocated for modernist primitivism by discouraging students from borrowing tribal motifs and styles from

[296] W. Jackson Rushing, "Modern by Tradition: The "Studio Style" of Native American Painting," in *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 56.

[297] Ibid., 59.

outside of their own tribe, preferring their work to be ethnographically accurate.[298] Perhaps Velarde's mural at Maisel's adheres to this penchant and her clothing in the image is a straightforward depiction of the cotton calico fabrics that initially became available to Native Americans through trade.[299] She explained that her inspiration for the women's outfits in a Buffalo Dance painting at Bandelier came from direct observation: "I used to like to watch those old ladies when they all come up in their store-bought pattern mantas and their shawls. They'd just buy a piece of cloth and make shawl out of it, to wear in the summertime."[300] Although this firsthand experience served as starting point for her work, she also explains that she liked to invent her own patterns when painting highly detailed pieces of clothing.[301] Velarde and Dunn shared an appreciation for the value of artistic freedom. Dunn realized the limitations of enforcing tribal authenticity, noting, "if non-Indian and out-tribal sources might be intelligently used after the young artists were familiar with their own tribal source materials, the decision to do so would later be in the hands of the artists themselves, particularly after they had left school." [302] She exposed her students to a variety of non-Native art in order to help them understand the ways in which Native American art related to the broad spectrum of art history.[303] As Velarde noted, "She always showed pictures of other arts and comparing to our way of thinking how they're thinking more or less came in the same lines, but expressions were different, completely

[298] Ibid., 36.

[299] These fabrics were imported from India and France. Vickie S. Zimmer, "Native American Pow Wow: Through the Perspective of Women's Dress" (Master's Thesis, University of Wyoming, 1991), 59.

[300] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 1, Side 2, March 29, 1993, 12.

[301] Ibid.

[302] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 37.

[303] Ibid., 40.

different. And she would try to make these comparisons."[304] Velarde appreciated Oriental and Persian styles, as she noted: "Well, I throw that in once in awhile in my own work, but not very often. I have to get in a very, either educated mood or something."[305] This statement confirms that while rare, Velarde did experiment with using design elements from other cultures in her work. Dunn taught her students to conduct research on their subject matter, an approach Velarde readily adopted. For example, she interviewed elders and did library research to prepare for her documentary murals at Bandelier.[306] It's plausible that Velarde conducted research in preparation for her mural at Maisel's. It seems likely that she would have wanted to create a mural that appealed to the client, Maurice Maisel. As Maisel was an Austrian immigrant,[307] it's interesting to wonder if his ethnicity might have inspired her to look to the graphic designs of the Vienna Secession and the *Wiener Werkstätte*.

These two art movements, which spanned from 1897 to 1932, sought to elevate the decorative arts to the same level as fine art.[308] In particular, the *Werkstätte* was a reaction against increasing mass production. The fear was that uniformity would lessen the aesthetic value of decorative arts. Proponents of this movement also encouraged the consumer to interact directly with the designer and craftsperson.[309] These collective aims are decidedly similar to those laid out by Kenneth Chapman and other tastemakers, who in the 1920s and 1930s sought to elevate Pueblo pottery to the level of fine art. In

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[304] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 7, Side A, June 10, 1993, 132.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 87.
[307] Ibid., 82.
[308] Joann Skrypzak, "Viennese Modern Design and the Taste for Living," in *Design: Vienne 1890s to 1930s* (Madison, Wisconsin: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003), 19.
[309] Ibid.

fact, the ascension of Pueblo pottery to a fine art developed out of a reaction to its devaluation that occurred because of mass production of curio wares for tourists.[310] In 1922, Hewett sought to demonstrate the economic viability of high quality Native American art, which led to the development of the first Southwest Indian Fair and Arts and Crafts Exhibition.[311] Later known more simply as Indian Market, this and other Native American art markets and fairs owe their success in part to their ability to provide the consumer with unmediated contact with artists. The similarities between the *Werkstätte* and the movement to make Native American "craft" rise to the level of fine art are striking, but perhaps should not be entirely surprising. Following a period of increasingly mechanized production in the late 19th and early 20th century, there was a reactionary and collective yearning for goods produced with authenticity and tradition. This led to a variety of artistic movements, such as the Arts and Crafts movement of the 1870s and 1880s, which favored handmade objects, "honest" materials, and simple lines.[312] The proliferation of various international art nouveau movements became known as *Jugendstil*. The movement valued organic forms, curvilinearity, abstract patterning, movement, and rhythm. National variants often distinguished themselves by relating to local and folk-art traditions.[313]

Thus, we could say that art connoisseurs in America became interested in Native American art in the same way that other countries valued the folk-art movement. Maisel certainly found value and beauty in Native American art and made a career of

[310] Wade, "The Ethnic Art Market," 167.
[311] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Marke*t, 17-18, 21.
[312] Munson, *Kenneth Chapman's Santa Fe*, 149.
[313] Skrypzak, "Viennese Modern Design," 21.

selling it to the public. Interestingly, Native American artists were inspired by Art Nouveau and Art Deco. After World War II, Kiowa artists in Oklahoma, such as Herman Toppah and Al Momaday, incorporated deco elements in their paintings.[314] Momaday's paintings *Peyote Ceremony* (1948) and *Peyote Mystic* (c.1963), as well as Toppah's *Peyote Ceremony* (c. 1963) all combine the cultural subject matter of the peyote ceremony with art deco stylistic designs. The use of deco streamline combined with reflections on experiences in the Native American church proved to be a winning combination for both Momaday and Toppah, as they both were given awards for their aforementioned paintings in the 1963 Philbrook Annual.[315] Maisel also appreciated the aesthetic effect created when mixing Deco and Pueblo style. His trading post differentiated itself within the architectural landscape of Albuquerque as the only Pueblo Deco style building that featured paintings done by Pueblo and Navajo artists.[316] In Meem's notes from a meeting with Maisel, he wrote that Maisel was "not content with the usual conventional Indian thing."[317] As he explains, "It was agreed finally that my preliminary study was to be along the lines of a strictly modern structure using where necessary Indian symbols."[318] Interestingly, these Indian symbols incorporated into the design shared formal qualities with Art Deco style, as they were also angular, repetitive, and abstracted.[319] Given Maisel's preference for architecture that mixed Native American and Euro-American styles, it seems probable that he would approve of

[314] Lydia L. Wyckoff, *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art* (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, 1996), 43.

[315] Ibid., 43-44.

[316] "Maisel's Indian Trading Post," Albuquerque, New Mexico, *National Park Service*, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/route66/maisels_indian_trading_post_albuquerque.html.

[317] Whiffen and Breeze, *Pueblo Deco*, 19.

[318] Ibid., 49.

[319] Ibid., 19.

a mural, like Velarde's, that combined traditional Pueblo cultural subject matter with stylistic elements reminiscent of Euro-American decorative arts.

Some of the most well-known artists of the Vienna Secession were Austria's Gustav Klimt and Josef Hoffmann.[320] Klimt's *The Kiss*, like Velarde's mural at Maisel's, features figures that are cloaked in flattened, highly patterned, draped textiles (See Figure 30). Although Klimt's image features more abstraction than Velarde's, the two works share an affinity for pattern and flatness of design. Velarde might have been exposed to Klimt's work through one of Dunn's survey style lectures on Gardener's *Art Through the Ages*.[321] The work of Josef Hoffman also contains elements that are reminiscent of Velarde's patterning in Maisel's mural. Hoffman was an artist who aligned himself with the *Werkstätte,* a movement founded with the financial backing from textiles industrialist Fritz Wärndorfer.[322] Perhaps it was this association that led Hoffman to create several textile designs, including a floral one dating to ca. 1920 that features linear, geometric petals. This design is similar to one of the patterns Velarde used in a floral skirt in her mural at Maisel's (See Figure 31). Both florals have strong, geometric lines that add definition to each petal and a graphic quality to the design. One of Hoffman's geometric textile designs strongly resembles one of Velarde's patterned shawls in the Maisel mural (See Figure 32). Both share the same palette and feature dark angular blue and peach geometric forms set against a cream-colored background. One of the central figures in Velarde's mural wears a red skirt with a

[320] Skrypzak, "Viennese Modern Design," 19.

[321] From February 17-March 9, 1936 Dunn taught art history lessons to her students from Gardener's *Art Through the Ages*. Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 68.

[322] Julie Gibbons, "The Other Life of Josef Hoffman," *Pattern Observer*, https://patternobserver.com/2013/09/12/the-other-life-of-josef-hoffmann/.

gridded pattern of staggered rectangles. This pattern is evocative of another one of Hoffman's geometric abstractions, which contains staggered red, cream and light green rectangles. A block print, titled *Clan* (1928), by Austrian artist, Mathilde Flögl shares formal qualities with Velarde's patterning (See Figure 33). Both use repetition of rectangular forms to create rhythm, and contrasting colors of red and cream to make a graphic impact. The many similarities between these Austrian prints and Velarde's patterning suggests that she might have used them as a reference point. Even if she did not refer to these specific patterns, it is notable that there are so many formal similarities between her work and the designs of the Vienna Secession. Perhaps this speaks to the shared values and crossover of ideas happening between Native American art and many art movements of the late 19th and early 20th century.

The Vienna Secessionists and the *Werkstätte* believed in the idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, or unified work of art.[323] Proponents of this movement, such as Hoffman, wanted to unify architecture with interiors, reform applied arts, and elevate the status of decorative arts.[324] Maisel's mural was intended to complement the unique architecture and also advertise the type of wares housed within (See Figure 27).[325] In the same vein, the architectural design elements used on the building's exterior were derived from Native American pottery, basketry, jewelry, and textiles.[326] Both the mural and the architectural elements integrated the structure with the interior, and so the building as a whole can be seen as an example of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Architectural

[323] Skrypzak, "Viennese Modern Design," 19.
[324] Gibbons, "The Other Life of Josef Hoffman."
[325] Whiffen and Breeze, *Pueblo Deco*, 49.
[326] Ibid., 19.

elements on the exterior take inspiration from a variety of media, and thus their use represents a transmigration of motifs.[327] For example, aluminum molding around the entrance is executed in stepped diamonds, a design also seen in Navajo textiles, such as Chief's Blankets. Black Carrara glass below the windows is etched with a curvilinear pattern that is analogous to stylized plant forms, or perhaps the *avanyu* from Pueblo pottery.[328] Velarde's section of the mural plays with the idea of elevating textile design, a decorative art, to the level of fine art, merely through the process of including graphic textiles in her painted composition. In this way, her mural adheres to one of the tenets of the Vienna Secession and the *Wiener Werkstätte*. Whether she was directly influenced by these movements or not, her vibrant mural nevertheless reflected the cultural zeitgeist, and fit appropriately with the commission.

If Velarde did merge elements from these international Art Nouveau movements with calico textile designs, then she did just as Dunn desired, in that she sought to; "develop new forms related to and worthy of succeeding the old ones."[329] Meem, like Dunn, was also concerned with the syncretism of tradition and modernity. In his 1934 article, "Old Forms for New Buildings," Meem wrote: "Some old forms are so honest, so completely logical and native to the environment that one finds-to his delight and surprise-that modern problems can be solved and are best solved by the use of forms based on tradition."[330] This philosophy was applied to buildings such as Maisel's, where a Deco style building was painted with "traditional" Native American murals.

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[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Dorothy Dunn as quoted in Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 40.
[330] Bainbridge Bunting, *John Gaw Meem: Southwest Architect* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 24.

Given this prevailing interest in merging the traditional with the modern, it seems plausible that Velarde might have been thinking about ways in which to fuse traditional calico fabrics with more modern design elements when she created her clothing patterns in Maisel's mural.

Velarde probably was influenced by several factors that led to her development of detail and ornamentation in her mural at Maisel's. She included more detail in her work after meeting Peña but did not change her style from its already established format. Perhaps then, Peña's influence had less to do with formal art instruction and more to do with her inspiring determination and drive. Peña provided an example of how to overcome personal adversity. After losing her mother and sister at age ten, she moved from San Ildefonso to Cochiti, and had to adjust to the somewhat different culture there.[331] As noted above, by age eighteen, she was already a widow with two children, and was widowed again shortly after having a child with her second husband.[332] In spite of these tragedies, Peña went on to achieve personal happiness and professional success.

Like Peña, Velarde also faced many personal challenges. She lost her mother to tuberculosis in 1921, when she was still a child.[333] After this tragedy, her father made his children sleep outside, in order to try to prevent them from getting the same disease.[334] Also during her childhood, she temporarily lost her sight from an eye

[331] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 12-13.
[332] Ibid., 15-16.
[333] 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), 275.
[334] Velarde, interview, Tape 3, Side B, May 10, 1993, 60.

infection.[335] Her grandmother, a medicine woman, provided an unknown cure that restored her sight.[336] Despite or perhaps because of this particular setback, she later became very interested in observing and recording visual details.[337] From 1924 to 1929, she attended St. Catherine's Indian School in Santa Fe, a quasi-militaristic missionary school with assimilationist goals. She was forced to learn English and was away from her family, home, and culture, which made the experience difficult.[338]

Adulthood brought its own set of problems for Velarde, including her troubled marriage to Herbert Hardin. The two met in Albuquerque, where Hardin was working as a security guard for the Indian schools, and Velarde as a switchboard operator for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They married on February 14, 1942.[339] Their inter-racial marriage had several negative implications. Velarde's family disapproved of her marrying outside the Pueblo, as they recognized that her future children would not be granted tribal membership in Santa Clara, and therefore would not be able to ever vote or own land there.[340] Under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Santa Clara had the freedom to set their own tribal rules. One new rule they implemented was that membership to the tribe would be passed solely though the patrilineal line. Thus, women who married outsiders had to forfeit their children's tribal membership.[341] Speaking about this rule, Velarde said, "I think it's very unfair. Just because you didn't

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[335] Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," 275.
[335] Velarde, interview, Tape 3, Side B, May 10, 1993, 60.
[336] Ibid., Tape 4, Side A, May 17, 1993, 77-79.
[337] Gary Hood, "Three Generations: Pablita Velarde, Helen Hardin, Margarete Bagshaw-Tindel," in *Original Woman: The Changing Traditions of Helen Hardin, Pablita Velarde, Margarete Bagshaw-Tindel* (Santa Fe: Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 1999).
[338] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 17-19.
[339] Ibid., 100-101.
[340] Ibid., 102.
[341] Ibid., 102-103.

want to marry a Santa Clara man they have no right to disqualify you and your children by not putting them on the roll."[342] Perhaps this stressor added to the tension in Herb and Velarde's marriage. Another issue was that her husband was not supportive of Velarde's work, and was often immensely irritated by the physical mess it created.[343] He would do things like make her move her paintings to the garage, thus dismissing the importance of her work. Velarde seemed at times to resent the responsibilities of family and home, and worried they might negatively affect her career.[344] In 1957, she began drinking more heavily and was often verbally and physically abusive to those around her.[345] From 1955-1957, Hardin had an extra-marital affair with Alice Darbee, a fellow police officer.[346] They could not resolve all of these issues, and the two divorced on July 29, 1957.[347] Although she faced childhood trauma, assimilation, divorce, and drinking problems, Velarde did not let these struggles define her. Instead, she persevered and became a very successful Pueblo painter, perhaps due in part to Peña's inspirational example.

For Velarde, Peña exemplified how to overcome personal setbacks. She also helped her develop conviction in her professional career. Peña was passionate about painting, but also interested in domestic endeavors. She found satisfaction in household work, as her daughter Victoria Melchor noted: "She also had a lovely flower garden, all around the front of our house, which she tenderly cared for. She made our house the prettiest house in Cochiti! She was also a great cook. She enjoyed cooking all of our

[342] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 8, Side A, June 17, 1993, 145.
[343] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 139-145.
[344] Ibid., 139, 127.
[345] Ibid., 146.
[346] Ibid., 148.
[347] Ibid., 148.

traditional foods, which she always prepared from scratch."[348] Velarde showed no such interest in these traditional women's roles. Upon meeting Peña, Velarde told her she wanted to pursue painting, as she had gotten tired of gardening, housecleaning, and other woman's work.[349] When Velarde asked Peña why she liked to paint in her spare time she said: "Well, it's better than washing clothes, or taking care of children, or fighting with my husband."[350] Velarde undoubtedly would have agreed with that sentiment, and she also appreciated Peña's light-heartedness.[351] Although she could be carefree at times, Peña had an enormous strength of character that Velarde admired. She advised Velarde to be persistent and determined and gave her reassurance that with self-confidence she could succeed as a female painter in a male dominated field. Velarde recalled Peña's conviction: "Because only men were supposed to be painters, which was very prejudiced, I thought. And so did Tonita. So she broke the ice, Tonita did, by rebellion, and became a painter. And then Dorothy opened the doors for the younger people, like me and a lot of other women students that she had."[352] When she dealt with harassment from her fellow male students, Peña's wisdom encouraged her. Velarde explained how Peña talked to her: "Oh yes, she says, "Don't get discouraged because it's just men don't like women to do things that they can do, that they think they're the only ones that can do it. This is why if you like to do it and want to do it," she says, "it's no reason why you should pay attention to them. Just ignore them." She used to tell me that."[353] Velarde took this message to heart and acknowledged the

[348] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 62.
[349] Ibid., 52.
[350] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 56, 57.
[351] Gray, *Tonita Peña*, 52.
[352] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 15, Side 3, October 19, 1993, 319.
[353] Ibid., Tape 5, Side B, May 24, 1993, 108.

impact Peña had on her career: "painting-wise there was only Tonita Peña. She was the rebellion way back in the early 1920s. She gave me the inner strength that I needed to dare the men to put me in my own place or let me go."[354] Peña's courage and tenacity made an impression on Velarde, as she strove to become just as resilient. Velarde expressed her determination this way:

> If you are going to go into the art field, you have to be a very self-disciplined person. You have to have control of all your aims and not be a dropout every time you get discouraged or criticized. That'll put a hard shell around you so it bounces off as fast as it hits you. That's about it. You've just got to stick to it if you're going to be successful.[355]

Encouraged by Peña, Velarde continuously confronted social expectations; she married outside her tribe and race, finished school, built and paid for her own house, lived alone, and pursued a full-time career as a female painter. To do all of these things as a Pueblo woman in 1941 was quite unusual. Indeed, as Velarde noted, "I was the first woman to build and own her own home at Santa Clara Pueblo. Many people said I was crazy."[356] Reflecting on the experience of building her own house, she noted that she set an example for women, by taking action and not letting others' opinions sway her decisions.[357] Peña also set herself apart from others in the pueblo, when she bought a car in the early 1930s. At that time, few people, especially Indians, had cars.[358] It seems Peña understood perfectly Velarde's independent spirit. Although she was her mentor, Peña didn't dictate how she should paint. As Velarde explains, "She never

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[354] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 56.

[355] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 6, Side B, June 3, 1993, 124.

[356] Ibid., 96-98.

[357] Velarde, interview, Tape 6, Side A, June 3, 1993, 120-121. Perhaps Velarde was also inspired by the enterprising example her dad set. He spoke three languages and went out of state to work for the railroad in order to make a living, setting himself apart from other Indian men. Velarde, interview, Tape 3, Side B, May 10, 1993, 66.

[358] Ibid., Tape 5, Side A, May 24, 1993, 97.

said, "do this, do that," because she knew I didn't like to be told."[359] Nevertheless, Velarde certainly respected and admired Peña, and was inspired to emulate her work.

Peña often created compositions that highlighted the important role of women in Pueblo culture. For example, she painted genre (or cultural) scenes of women making pottery, grinding corn, and participating in dances.[360] Like Peña, Velarde produced many similar scenes of Pueblo women, particularly early in her career. Interestingly, Velarde notes that in several of these types of images, "It's just not one woman doing it. It's several women helping one another. And that's about it."[361] Thus, these paintings are reflective of the *communal* aspects of pueblo culture, as well as *alliances* amongst women, such as the mentorship between Peña and Velarde. Velarde's choice of subject matter was guided by Dunn, who asked Velarde to paint what her people would be doing at home right then.[362] Velarde often thought of the women of Santa Clara, and their daily tasks that supported the community.[363] Dunn recognized these aspects in her work, as she described Velarde's early genre paintings as "thoroughly Pueblo and distinctly feminine."[364] In choosing to focus her depictions on women's activities, Velarde took a risk. At the time, other Pueblo artists and non-Indian observers were not interested in this subject matter.[365] Perhaps Dunn saw this disinterest as a possible opportunity for Velarde to capitalize on; by concentrating on women's roles in her paintings, she could carve out a niche for herself as an authentic representative of a

[359] Sally Hyer and Pablita Velarde, "Pablita Velarde," *Art Journal* 53, No. 1 (Spring 1994): 63.
[360] Ibid., 31
[361] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 2, Side A, April 19, 1993, 36.
[362] Pablita Velarde as quoted in Hyer and Velarde, "Pablita Velarde," 47.
[363] Ibid., 48.
[364] Dunn, "Pablita Velarde," 336.
[365] Shelby J. Tisdale, "Tse Tsan: Pablita Velarde: From New Deal Painter to Legendary Artist," *El Palacio* 112, no.3 (Fall 2007): 67.

particular aspect of culture.[366] Images such as *Woman Making Tortillas* (c. 1932), *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar* (c. 1933), and her 1934 PWA mural of women making pottery illustrate her early interest in this type of subject matter (See Figures 21, 22, and 23).

Throughout her career, Velarde revisited the subject matter of Santa Clara women, particularly as it related to one of their main jobs, making and selling pottery. She used to watch her grandmother, sisters, and aunts make pottery, so she was familiar with the process.[367] Dunn described Velarde's first painting as depicting, "Santa Clara women molding coils of red-brown clay into large storage jars."[368] Dunn explained that in her early works, Velarde did an initial drawing in charcoal and chalk and a final drawing in pencil, prior to applying opaque paint.[369] As her career progressed, however, she became less reliant on preparatory studies.[370] Velarde's genre paintings of pottery making sometimes focused on a single female figure. *Woman Making Pottery* (ca. 1950), features a seated woman carefully stacking coiled clay to make the pot's overall structure (See Figure 34). She is shown in profile view and set against a blank background. Several already formed pots rest at the woman's feet in the foreground, suggesting depth and demonstrating progression in the pottery making process. This work focuses entirely on the action taking place, rather than on the setting or any ornamentation. In a similar vein, *Making Pottery at Santa Clara* (1952) depicts a single woman absorbed in the process of preparing the clay (See Figure 35). She leans over

[366] Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 244.
[367] Velarde, interview, Tape 2, Side A, April 19, 1993, 26.
[368] Dunn, "Pablita Velarde," 335.
[369] Ibid., 335-336.
[370] Ibid., 336.

her working surface, pours liquid into the clay, and prepares to mix it together. Although Velarde didn't include a background in this composition, she provided a sense of a ground line. On the painting's right side, a can of paint or clay is shown with spills down its sides. Fanning out from the can, a jagged line in the same color suggests that the spilled material has created the foreground and ground line itself. A similar effect can be seen in *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara* (1953). In this image, a single woman seated upon the ground paints the interior of a potted bowl (See Figure 36). Again, the foreground seems to have been created from the paint that sits beside the woman. The pot's painted decoration and the foreground are the same color, and the "ground" line is jagged, creating a painterly feel. These two visual aspects suggest that the woman in the painting has painted the foreground. This depiction plays with the idea of the artificiality of painting. It effectively reminds the viewer that this is a constructed reality; it is not a woman painting a pot, but rather a painting of woman painting a pot. This self-referential quality makes Velarde's painting knowingly modern.

One can argue that modernism in Euro-American art began as early as 1863, with Edouard Manet's (1832-1883) *Luncheon on the Grass,* which sought to critique the history of painting itself. While Manet's representation was perhaps covertly subversive, as modernism progressed, references to the artificiality of painting became more overt. For example, René Magritte's (1898-1967) *The Treachery (or Perfidy) of Images* (1928-1929) features a meticulously painted image of pipe with the words "Ceci n'est pas une pipe" or "This is not a pipe" painted underneath it. This image literally spells out for the viewer the artificiality of painting, reminding them that no matter how

realistically painted a thing is, it is not the thing itself. As Clement Greenberg (1909-1994), a notable art critic has explained:

> Modernism used art to call attention to art. The limitations that constitute the medium of painting-the flat surface, the shape of the support, the properties of the pigment-were treated by the Old Masters as negative factors that could be acknowledged only implicitly or indirectly. Modernist painting has come to regard these same limitations as positive factors that are to be acknowledged openly.[371]

Although *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara* (1953) was executed many years after the advent of modernism in Euro-American art, it is perhaps understandable for Velarde to still be preoccupied with the questions it raised. Under Dunn, she had learned that flatly painted compositions with little to no background were the preferable style, as they followed the precedent of the first generation of Pueblo painters, as well as historic kiva murals.[372] Velarde reflected upon this tendency to paint compositions without a background:

> That's because the early artists, like the San Ildefonso artists--I think Fred [Kabotie] was the only one that put buildings in his paintings, Fred Kabotie…. I think that's where the idea of no background was connected to Indian art. And I grew up—more or less at this stage I was still under the influence that this was supposed to be the way you painted. So I didn't put much background in my paintings except those poor trees. I don't know how they're standing on top of nothing! [laughter].[373]

Although Velarde was trained to paint in this particular style, her art nevertheless evolved throughout her career. While the majority of her works done in the 1930s and 40s were executed in the classic Studio style, the decade of the 50s ushered in changes in her style. Clara Lee Tanner has suggested that Velarde's paintings produced from

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[371] Clement Greenberg, *Forum Lectures* (Washington, D. C.: Voice of America, 1960).

[372] J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 134.

[373] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 1, Side 1, March 29, 1993, 8.

the mid to late 60s ranged in style from semi-realism to full abstraction.[374] Although I disagree with her assessment that Velarde's work was ever fully abstract, I concur that she explored a variety of styles. While Velarde's oeuvre most certainly did not follow a strictly linear evolution from representational Studio style to quasi-abstractions, it did change definitively in response to emerging trends in Native American painting.

The direction of Native American painting began to change with the appointment of Lloyd New as director of the Phoenix Indian School around 1939. He encouraged his students to explore more expressive and socially responsible directions than was typical under the Studio style and teachings.[375] However, it was the example of Anglo modernists, particularly Raymond Jonson, that paved the way for Native American artists to move from away from strictly representational compositions and explore modernism in their works.[376] In 1950, Peña's son, Herrera, enrolled in the University of New Mexico, where he was greatly inspired by Jonson. For Herrera, Jonson's work provided an example of how to combine the modernist tradition with an interest in Indian pictographs and petroglyphs, historic pottery, and textile designs.[377] As the market demonstrated an interest in the Anglo moderns, and also in Herrera's "abstract symbolic" work, other artists felt freed to explore similar styles in their work as well.[378] Perhaps it was this positive market response to Herrera's style, as well as the passing on of Peña in 1949, that led Velarde in new directions.

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[374] Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting*, 175.
[375] Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, 161-162.
[376] Ibid., 170.
[377] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 61.
[378] Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, 170.

Beginning in the 1950s, Velarde sought to move away from her "memory paintings" done in the Studio style and experimented instead with painting animals and including abstracted motifs into her compositions.[379] These efforts resulted in abstracted images such as her *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird* (c.1955) (See Figure 37). By combining abstracted pottery motifs with a vibrant palette, Velarde created a work that was about culture and tradition, and also modernist formal concerns. Herrera's work also utilized traditional cultural motifs in a modernist way. Merely by incorporating ancient Native American imagery into his paintings, Herrera spoke to modernism's concern with the "primitive," as well as to the Studio's desire for an authentic American Indian art.[380] A comparison between an untitled work by Herrera dated to 1951, and Velarde's *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird* (c.1955) reveals several similarities (See Figure 38). Both Herrera and Velarde use arching forms, pops of blue amongst an earth toned color scheme, and abstracted motifs derived from Native American culture. Velarde's image includes a curled serpent which is a symbol of wisdom and knowledge, birds that stand for the forces of nature, and the clouds and rain which symbolize the continuation of life.[381] Both Herrera's and Velarde's compositions contain elements that are reminiscent of imagery found on Native American pottery. The curved forms in each suggest the arching structure of a clay pot or plate. Herrera's composition, with its zoomorphic abstractions contained within sweeping bands, evokes decorative ornamentation that might be found on the rim of a potted plate or bowl. The addition of "incised" lines, which refers to Jonson's experimentation with abstracting

[379] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 124.
[380] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 66-67.
[381] Pablita Velarde as quoted in "Modern American Indian Art,"13.

Mimbres pottery designs,[382] further supports the idea that Herrera's work is partially about the transmigration of motifs from pottery to painting. Likewise, Velarde's *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird*, with its arching repeated triangular patterns and its coiled *avanyu*, shares formal elements with Pueblo pottery. For example, similar designs can be seen in a decorative canteen by Nampeyo and a pottery plate by Maria and Popovi Martinez and Tony Da (See Figure 39). Velarde clarified her use of pottery motifs in this painting, as she stated: "I did that more for a design. I used the thunderbirds that they used to use as pottery motifs. The Avanyu was just more or less put in there dancing with the thunderbirds. They both represented rain."[383] Herrera's untitled watercolor (1951) and Velarde's *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird* (c. 1955) share formal similarities and a concern with the abstraction and transmigration of motifs. Therefore, it seems entirely possible that Velarde's composition arose in response to the type of work that Herrera was producing. While this comparison demonstrates many affinities between the two artists, it also highlights the fact that Velarde's interpretation is more figural and less abstracted than Herrera's.

However, Velarde would go on to produce works that shared an even closer resemblance to Herrera's paintings. As W. Jackson Rushing demonstrated in *Modern by Tradition*, paintings such as Velarde's *Thunderknives* (1957) tie her stylistic journey to Herrera's[384] (See Figure 40). In *Thunderknives*, Velarde did not include a background, and instead focused on "incised," jagged lines that bisect abstracted animal

[382] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 68-69. For further discussion of Jonson's abstractions from Mimbres pottery see Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 84-85.

[383] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 19, Side 2, November 16, 1993, 441.

[384] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 69.

forms. Earth pigments give the piece a grainy, textural look. Speaking of her use of media, Velarde said: "At that time I was going through a phase of wanting to change my style. And that's when I started doing the earth pigments. I started to do an experiment with the earth pigments."[385] This statement emphasizes the visual, stylistic distinction earth pigments provided. However, Velarde's earth paintings also appealed to market desires. At the time, the market wanted Native American paintings that were about "tradition," "authenticity," and "culture," as well as the formal concerns of modernism, such as abstraction and re-contextualization. Although Velarde initially learned the technique of using earth pigments at Dunn's studio, she played up its ties to ancestral processes. For example, she compared hand grinding pigments to how ancient Indians ground corn for tortillas.[386] The media followed suit and publicized her earth pigment paintings as "traditional" and "ancient."[387] A pamphlet published by the Enchanted Mesa gallery, where Velarde showed her work, suggested her inspiration came directly from her cultural roots:

> Pablita is famous for her earth paintings. This technique was employed by her ancestors in their kiva murals. Using hand-ground rock and earth beautifully colored by Mother Nature, Pablita's secret formula produces distinctive earth paintings which convey an impression of endless source material at this artist's facile brush tip.[388]

This explanation does not fully address how Velarde was initially exposed to the idea of working in this media. Nor does it account for the complex ways that her earth paintings were able to mix the "traditional" with the modern. Whereas her tempera

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[385] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 12, Side A, September 7, 1993, 235.

[386] Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 262-263.

[387] Ibid.

[388] Margarete and Fred Chase, "Pablita Velarde: Famous Indian Artist from Santa Clara Pueblo," Albuquerque: Enchanted Mesa Gallery.

memory paintings featured highly detailed figures set in representative spaces, her earth paintings often portrayed abstracted animal and human figures on a flattened picture plane.[389] Thus, although they were produced in a "traditional" way, using hand-made pigments, Velarde's earth paintings were also modern in their abstraction and re-interpretation of "primitive" cultural material. Speaking about her inspiration for this particular image she said:

> This is an Awatovi. The mural at the Awatovi, that's a Hopi design of the ancient kiva that they dug up. Peabody [Museum], I think, dug that up. And it was a mural on the wall. And they had all these little frogs carrying lightning things, different colors, that's the four directional symbols. And then a great big old fish coming out of there. I don't know what the fish represented. Maybe a *patowah* or whatever they call those fish people. That's what they probably had in mind, was referring to the *patowah*. That's a person that is represented under the water. He looks like a fish. I think that's what they meant.[390]

She also explained that she added her own design elements, saying of the creature on the right: "That's just a little fish that I probably threw in there to fill in that space. That's about it. But the old designs I copied—or stole—from the Hopi mural. [laughs]"[391] As she witnessed Herrera's stylistically similar compositions achieving commercial success, it seems likely that Velarde modeled her earth pigment paintings in response to his efforts. The formal elements of both *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird* and *Thunderknives* demonstrate that Velarde was responsive to Herrera's experimentations in the 1950s.

Another piece that is evocative of Herrera's work is Velarde's *Mimbres Quail* (1987) from the Bialac Collection at the FJJMA. In this work, Velarde ornaments realistically rendered quail with abstracted geometric medallions derived from Mimbres

[389] Nelson, "Pablita Velarde."
[390] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 19, Side 2, 439.
[391] Ibid.

pottery. These stylized animals contrast with the more realistically rendered and flattened landscape (See Figure 51). Velarde explained how she creatively interpreted Mimbres designs in her own unique compositions: "I do a lot of Mimbres, because I love those designs. I make them do different things. I don't do it like the Mimbres, but I use their idea. But I make my quails do different things."[392] Interestingly, Velarde sometimes wrote descriptive poems to go along with her paintings, such as the following titled "Quails":

> Like little piñon nuts, you scatter upon the earth,
> hidden safely by the earth tones you wear, seen only
> like little flashes of lighting when you run, and only
> the tall grass and bushes know your hiding places.
> Your tracks are misleading, for they point to the four
> sacred paths, and I cannot find you. Like the dreams I
> have which I try to catch, they too play the hiding
> game with me.[393]

By attaching these verbal descriptions to the back of her paintings, Velarde effectively added additional interest and dimension to her works. While it's not clear whether this poem definitely accompanied *Mimbres Quails*, it does match the subject matter, and it adds richness to the visual depiction. For this work, Velarde used earth pigments. She felt a strong connection to this media, as she noted to Dunn: "I feel that I'm keeping the old art alive by painting the ancient way with my earth pigments and my traditional designs, I feel that I'm keeping them alive and they're keeping me alive."[394] Velarde saw her use of earth pigments and cultural designs as a method of preservation**.** However, her utilization of both in this composition seems to have added significance. In using earth pigments, a media commonly used by potters to paint their wares,

[392] Ibid., Tape 16, Side 2, October 26, 1993, 332.
[393] Ibid., Tape 13, Side B, September 13, 1993, 265-266.
[394] Pablita Velarde as quoted in Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," 291.

Velarde speaks to her work's re-contextualization of motifs from pottery to painting. This trans-migration of motifs may have been inspired by Dunn's interest in pottery designs, or Herrera's similar experiments. *Mimbres Quail* is also akin to Herrera's work in that it mixes the abstract with the representational.

Both Velarde and her daughter Helen were influenced by Herrera's style in the 1960s. When Helen participated in the Southwest Indian Art Project in the summer of 1960 and returned home, she brought back some new ideas. Velarde explained how she came to use a spattering technique: "Helen went to university here—no, the University of Arizona--and that year Joe Herrera was out there as an instructor. And he taught the young students that technique. Then when Helen got back home, she was using that technique. So copycat mama [laughter] decided to try it."[395] In an interview with Sally Hyer in 1993, Velarde expanded on her process: "I do my three steps. I do the solid painting of the geometric design in the background, and then I splatter it in different shades. And then after that sets in, then I bring out my form and set it out so that it will be the foreground. The splatter will be second and the silhouette will be way in the back."[396] The fact that she was still using the spatter technique occasionally in 1993 illustrates the impact it made on her.

While Herrera's influence likely pushed Velarde to expand her formal design choices, she also created paintings that more subtly engaged with ideas of modernism. As noted earlier, works such as *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara* (1953) and *Making Pottery at Santa Clara* (1952) attempt to both negate and affirm the flatness of the

[395] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 17, Side 2, November 2, 1993, 372.

[396] Ibid., 374.

picture plane. They each create a foreground for the realistically painted figure to occupy, while at the same time remind the viewer of the artificiality of painting. They highlight the inherent contradiction between the construction of space and the flatness of the paper. These works can be seen as transitional pieces, in which Velarde was moving away from strictly representational compositions but was not yet totally embracing abstraction. Velarde, speaking to Hyer in 1993, notes how her work changed formally over the years;

> Yeah, it has changed from the two-dimensional, no background style, the old traditional painting. But I now put in either abstract designs or splatter it or put a scene in, a Pueblo scene. And on my animal pictures I even put mountains and trees. So it has changed a lot from the old way. I still like once in awhile to do a real traditional kind, the two-dimensional.[397]

In studying Velarde's paintings of women making pottery, one can see the evolution of her style over time.

A comparison between two similar compositions reveals stylistic changes. *Pottery Maker* (n.d.), a work at the FJJMA, is another variation of Velarde's single female potter (See Figure 41). This tempera painting features a female potter kneeling on a rug, with a board and pot on her lap. The figure places coiled pieces of clay together to form a pot. *Woman Making Pottery* (ca. 1950) also features a woman engaged in making a coil pot. In each painting, the women wear similar clothes and are shown in a similar posture (See Figure 42). Despite these similarities, the two paintings have some important formal differences. In *Pottery Maker*, there is a ground line and a foreground, and the forms are outlined in shadow. These changes suggest that Velarde is now experimenting with ways to create depth. Her use of crisp lines and focus on the

[397] Ibid., Tape 6, Side A, June 3, 1993, 122.

gathering of cloth over the human form add to the sense of volume. In comparison, *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara* (1953) features an evenly, softly painted figure (See Figure 43). These two works are also differentiated by their use of color. Whereas *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara* features muted earth tones of forest green and brown, *Pottery Maker* is almost shocking in its color intensity. In the later work, the woman wears a bright orange and red checkered skirt under a bright teal dress.

The intense color in *Pottery Maker* is also seen in another one of Velarde's images from the FJJMA, *The Battle* (1958) (See Figure 44). The color of the trees in this work almost matches the color of the dress in *Pottery Maker*. The two works also both include volumetric forms that are delineated with crisp brushwork. In each image, Velarde uses a stippling technique to create texture and give shape to forms. In *Pottery Maker*, she painted small, precisely patterned lines in order to imply the rug's texture. In *The Battle*, a similar brushstroke can be seen on the trees, which gives them a distinct geometric appearance. *Pottery Maker* has not been assigned a date by the FJJMA, but I propose that it dates to ca.1958. As both *The Battle* (ca.1958) and *Pottery Maker* demonstrate an interest in crisp lines and form, patterning, and color intensity, it seems likely that they date from the same time period.

Woman Making Pottery, Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara, and *Pottery Maker* all demonstrate ways that Velarde made small aesthetic changes to experiment with formal problems. The similarity between these three images also illustrates the market demand for such pieces. This sort of repetition, a churning out of a predetermined subject matter done in a formulaic manner, led many to critique the Studio model, and to advocate instead for a new direction in Native American Art. As Robert A. Ewing,

curator at the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe in the early 60s, explained: "But inevitably, much of Indian art fell into a static repetition of the accepted, and easily recognized, style."[398] Although Pablita found personal frustration with continual requests for the same composition, she was also reliant upon market demand. She explained that although Dunn, the Chases, and traders were criticized for exerting too much influence on artists, their role was critical to her artistic development. As she said, "I figure I don't know if I would have kept up my art if I didn't have sponsors."[399] Likewise, she explained how commerce affected her painting: "The encouragement of our own people can help our spirits if they approve of what we do. But it's the white people who influence us more. When they buy our pictures they encourage us to go further."[400] Velarde clarified that painting was a way for her to make a living, as she stated: "Well, golly, you have to survive. If you are going to do anything, you can't just do it for love alone. You have to at least have some compensation, or otherwise how are you going to survive if nobody else helps you?"[401] However, she was adamant that J.J. Brody's assessment of Native painters and their patrons was incorrect. She expressed her rationale: "I told him, I said, "Well, I don't think we were influenced." Because our basic old art, our kiva art, is all flat and two-dimensional…. And then, look at our pottery—symbolic, geometric designs. And that is why I don't see where white men, more or less, influenced us."[402] Velarde drew stylistic inspiration from her own culture, it was not dictated to her. While she was reliant on the market to make a living,

[398] **Ibid., 171-172.**
[399] Ibid., Tape 13, Side B, September 13, 1993, 260.
[400] Ibid., Tape 14, Side B, September 28, 1993, 287.
[401] Ibid., Tape 16, Side 2, October 26, 1993, 332.
[402] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Margaret Connell Szasz, February 9, 1972, 23-24.

and responsive to buyer's preferences, she was by no means going to be told what to paint or how to paint it.

Velarde valued content over aesthetics in her paintings, as she noted: "This is the way I think when I paint: it's not just painting a picture, just to be selling a picture because it's a pretty looking picture, but it's a picture that's going to tell somebody something someday."[403] Even with these goals in mind, she still often needed to make similar images again and again. In these cases, she was not content merely to repeat the exact same image, instead she made subtle changes to the compositions.[404] In 1953, Velarde wrote a letter to Dunn in which she expressed her frustration with repetition:

> Maybe you can help me with a few ideas, something new that hasn't been shown every year…. I always see one painting by some artist and then several others come along with the same idea, and it seems we all copy one another. I guess you know what I mean…. Also the figures of people, buffalo dancers, for instance, seem to all have the same position. I do the same thing over and over, too. Maybe you could help me out and suggest a few new ones.[405]

Her query shows that she was looking for ways to be creative, even when making several works of the same subject matter. Although she did paint many repetitive works that were similar, she found ways to make them unique. She explains this conundrum as it related to her coyote paintings:

> I have painted the coyote a hundred times because everybody wants the coyote painting. And I try not to remember what the last one looked like or what the other ones looked like. I just kind of change the scenery or put on a different angle or put mesas in a different shapes, this kind of a thing. But I've done that coyote so many times I was glad when they quit asking me to do coyote paintings…. I've made good money on the coyote.[406]

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[403] Pablita Velarde as quoted in Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 262.
[404] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 172-173.
[405] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 12, Side A, September 7, 1993, 235.
[406] Ibid., Tape 13, side A, September 13, 1993, 251.

In a similar vein, the many iterations of her individual female potter, as discussed above, perfectly illustrate the way in which she was able to both provide the market with what it wanted, while simultaneously expressing artistic agency.

In addition to creating many paintings of individual female potters, Velarde also painted several group compositions of female figures engaged in making or selling pottery. *Inside Santa Clara Pueblo* (1978) features a complete interior scene with two female potters (See Figure 45). While the middle figure in the composition strongly resembles her "stock" image of a seated woman in profile making a pot, this painting expands the scene. The figure is no longer floating against a blank background, nor is she isolated with only a foreground and a few tools to ground her. In this painting, we see the context surrounding her work; the space she works in, how it is decorated, and the other people that work alongside her. One can see how Velarde is perhaps not accustomed to painting interior scenes, as there are several formal inconsistencies in this image. For example, the figure on the left with a baby on her back is much smaller and shorter than her seated counterparts. Maybe Velarde was trying to suggest her distance from the others, as she did in images of dancing figures, such as *Cloud Dance* (c. 1977) (See Figure 46). However, while the diminishing size of the stacked figures in *Cloud Dance* creates depth and a sense of rhythm, the small size of the figure in *Inside Santa Clara Pueblo* is merely disorienting. Also, the perspective is not accurate in *Inside Santa Clara Pueblo*. The fireplace seems to lean, and it doesn't appear to have enough depth to hold the pot and katsina that rest atop it. Speaking about her work in the 40s, Velarde said: "I used to not know too much about perspective in those days. I just did them as they came out, when I was drawing. It didn't make that big a

difference to me whether they were in perspective or not, as long as I got a picture made."[407] Perhaps Velarde felt the same way with this later work, as her focus was not on perspective, but rather on getting the painting done, and recording the scene. *Inside Santa Clara Pueblo* demonstrates an expansion of Velarde's repertoire and speaks to formal challenges she encountered.

Just as Velarde made similar images of individual potters, she also made comparable paintings of groups of women selling pottery. Two such works are a part of the Philbrook Museum of Art's collection. Both watercolors, *Santa Clara Pueblo (Pottery Sellers)* (1946), and *Pottery Sellers (Selling Pottery)* (1947), demonstrate Velarde's ability to create similar, yet unique paintings (See Figures 47 and 48). In *Santa Clara Pueblo* she does not provide a setting behind the figures, but in *Pottery Sellers*, she includes the pueblo as a background. Speaking of these two works, Velarde said: "I did those at different periods, thinking like Dorothy Dunn the first time and then like me the second time. [laughter]"[408] Both works were in an exhibition at the Wheelwright, curated by Lynette Miller, who noticed a subtle difference between the two images. She observed that in the one without the background, the pots were much larger, perhaps in an attempt to bring balance to the work.[409] When Hyer pointed out this finding to Velarde, she responded: "I guess I didn't pay much attention to what made the difference, you know. Probably just an accident."[410] Despite this declaration, Hyer remained unconvinced, saying "No, I don't think it was an accident."[411] I agree

[407] Ibid., Tape 19, Side 1, November 16, 1993, 416.
[408] Ibid., Tape 2, Side A, April 19, 1993, 45.
[409] Velarde, interview with Hyer, 46.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Ibid.

with Hyer; while there are many similarities between the two works, there are also small changes that Velarde made, whether consciously or not.

In each image, she mixes standing and kneeling figures, which suggests movement. She also includes adults and children in both compositions, thus communicating how the making and selling of pottery is an inter-generational and community wide endeavor. Additionally, she uses different patterns for the clothing fabrics in these similar works, no doubt providing her with some relief from the monotony of creating the same scene again. Also, in *Pottery Sellers (Selling Pottery)*, Velarde's depiction of clothing reveals how different generations have chosen to wear different styles of garments. While the more mature women wear "old style" clothing, the younger girls and women wear attire that is more Anglo.[412] For example, some women wear patterned shawls paired with longer skirts and white boots, whereas the children and young adults wear shorter dresses in solid colors and have bare legs and feet. Velarde alternates the two types of figures, creating a rhythm that moves the eye across the composition. In this image, she also mixes black on black pottery with red incised pottery, adding even more visual interest to the foreground. Both of these works from the Philbrook's collection bear a resemblance to her 1939 mural at Maisel's trading post as well.

Velarde's preoccupation with the subject matter of selling pottery suggests that it was both personally important to her, as well as successful with the market. One of the reasons Velarde painted images of her culture was to preserve and record it for posterity. Speaking of *Pottery Sellers*, she said: "This is the way the old ladies used to

[412] "Modern American Indian Art," 13.

sell pottery. The Fred Harvey buses would come and then the old ladies would get their baskets and put out the pottery. In the summertime when we were home my sister would chase us down and make us help her sell her pottery." [413] Thus, this subject matter was personally important as it represented a part of her history, and a preservation of that way of doing things. Perhaps due to the urging of Dunn and other proponents of cultural preservation, Velarde created many such paintings of her culture that she dubbed "memory paintings."[414] She saw these works, which recorded the daily activities of Pueblo people, as fulfilling her obligation to record what she felt was a quickly disappearing traditional way of Pueblo life.[415] She also created a book, *Old Father Storyteller*, which was published in 1960. This text featured Velarde's illustrated images of Tewa stories. She carefully researched to prepare for painting these works, interviewing her father about stories he could recall hearing as a child. This text was a labor of love that brought her closer to her dad, yet paradoxically further isolated her from her Pueblo roots. Merely by recording culture, she met opposition within Santa Clara, as some felt her work was exploitive and for personal gain.[416] While traditional Puebloans wanted to only have an oral history, Velarde felt that led to confusion, untruths, and exaggerations. She wanted to record history, so that it would be available and unchanging for future generations.[417] The publication of *Old Father* is a testament to Velarde's tenacity. Even her husband Herb discouraged her, telling her she couldn't even write a letter that made sense. She explained her resolve:

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[413] Sally Hyer, "Woman's Work: The Art of Pablita Velarde," (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum, 1993), 10.

[414] Ibid., 13.

[415] Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," 287.

[416] Ibid., 286-289.

[417] Velarde, interview, Tape 18, Side 2, November 9, 1993, 407.

> It was just a strong determination on my part to get it down, whether it was good or bad. It was just that way with me. Whether it's good or bad, I'm going to do it. And whether I find a publisher, or not. Maybe my kids will someday correct everything, and find a publisher and do it. That was my idea. But I got lucky! [laughs][418]

Although *Old Father Storyteller* is perhaps the "memory" work for which Velarde is most recognized, she made "memory paintings" throughout her career. However, the recording of culture was not always foremost on her mind. In the 60s, she focused on the marketability of her works. She explained in a 1993 interview: "Because I went into—I guess I'm still in that period now—of making paintings that are saleable. [laughs gaily] I'm in business now, not in the sentimental period! Now, I want to just paint pictures so I can make money."[419] Despite this acknowledgement, she continued to produce paintings that she felt were historic and symbolic. However, many of her later works were not strict "memory" paintings done in the Studio style, but rather included a background and ancient symbols. She explained one such work: "So, I'm combining the two things together right there, putting the ancient memory thing and also putting Pablita in for the background."[420] In addition to these types of paintings, Velarde notes she also made a lot of memory paintings of Santa Clara women selling pottery for the Harvey people.[421]

She entered one such painting, *Santa Clara Pueblo* (1946), in the first Philbrook Indian Artist's Annual. It was purchased by Clark Field, curator emeritus at the Philbrook, and donated to the museum in 1946.[422] Field was also a juror of the show

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[418] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 18, Side 1, November 9, 1993, 389.

[419] Ibid., Tape 16, Side 2, October 26, 1993, 331.

[420] Ibid.

[421] Velarde, interview, Tape 16, Side 1, October 26, 1993, 331.

[422] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 111.

that year.[423] While Velarde's painting didn't win an official award, the fact that it entered the museum's collection was certainly an endorsement. Despite this accomplishment, Velarde felt that her gender affected the reception of her painting. She noted of the Philbrook competition; "For the first few years I didn't win a damn thing because it was all men jury and men artists entering."[424] However, the 1947 catalog for the Philbrook show included two female artists, Yeffie Kimball, and Florence Nupok (Malewoktuk), in addition to Velarde.[425] It is worth noting that Kimball has since been proven to have fraudulently represented herself as being of Native American heritage. Perhaps, as Bill Anthes suggests in his book *Native Moderns*, her motivation for this deception was to create her own niche within the male dominated American art world.[426] This theory certainly aligns with Velarde's recollections of unfairness to female artists. However, in 1947, two more of Velarde's paintings were acquired by the Philbrook; *Koshares of Taos* (c. 1947), through a purchase directly by the Philbrook,[427] and *Pottery Sellers*, through a gift from Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Lawson. Additionally, in 1948, Velarde won an award at the Philbrook Indian Annual.[428] These early awards furthered her professional recognition, as the following decade of the 1950s would usher in a bevy of awards from various competitions and institutions.[429] By 1953,

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[423] Wyckoff, *Visions and Voices*, 40.

[424] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 111.

[425] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 12, Side A, September 7, 1993, 226. For a discussion of Yeffie Kimball, and the exposure of her non-Native heritage, see Bill Anthes, "Becoming Indian: The Self-Invention of Yeffe Kimball," in *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 117-141.

[426] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 118.

[427] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 112.

[428] Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 247.

[429] For more information about the role that the Philbrook annual played in creating exposure for Pablita, especially as it related to her overcoming the stereotype of a female Native American painter, see Christina Burke, *Impact: The Philbrook Indian Annual, 1946 to 1979: October 19, 2014-January 11, 2015* (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, 2014).

Velarde became the first woman to win the Grand Purchase Prize at the Philbrook Annual, for her work *The Turtle Dance*.[430]

Although she may have initially felt slighted due to her gender, it seems Velarde also recognized her accomplishments. Speaking of entering and selling her work in the National Exhibition of Indian Painting at the Philbrook, she said: "I sold my first big picture there, and I felt I had really done something."[431] She expressed herself as well to Joan Nordling, curator at the Philbrook, "I have always had the feeling that your annual exhibits at the Philbrook Art Center gave me confidence and encouragement in my work and want to thank all of you at the center for this and everything else."[432] Indeed, the Philbrook Indian Annual provided exposure and opportunity to show work for not only Velarde, but numerous other female painters, such as Geronima Cruz Montoya and Tonita Peña.[433]

Velarde's paintings of pottery sellers represented her personal dedication to cultural preservation. The fact that they were received so positively by the Philbrook and others also signified that the market valued their "traditional" style and cultural subject matter. In a letter to Nordling, dated July 8, 1954, Velarde asked for advice about her upcoming one-woman show, "Do you have any suggestions as to what the nice Tulsa people like most, ceremonial, home life, deer, horses, etc.?"[434] In response, Nordling said:

> Concerning subject matter, our gallery visitors always enjoy animals and the ceremonials are of particular interest to anthropologists and other students of

[430] Robert M. Church, letter to Pablita Velarde, May 18, 1953, Philbrook archives.
[431] Pablita Velarde as quoted in Dunn, "Pablita Velarde," 340.
[432] Pablita Velarde, letter to Joan Nordling, December 18, 1954, from Philbrook archives.
[433] Burke, *Impact*, 21.
[434] Pablita Velarde, letter to Joan Nordling, July 8, 1954, from Philbrook archives.

> Indian life. I personally would like to see some paintings of the "home life" scene as you suggest. One of your works in our collection, which I particularly like, is the "Pottery Sellers of Santa Clara Pueblo." I think it makes a nice variation from the usual "Buffalo Hunt" or dance scene, and it does direct the casual gallery visitor's thinking toward the activities of the Indian people when they are living their "every day lives."[435]

This interaction demonstrates that Velarde was painting specifically to appeal to a market, and that the market valued genre paintings of cultural activities. Indeed, the stated goals of the Philbrook Annual were to "document the records of Indian life and culture" and to do so "through traditional expression."[436] However, the competition seems to have frequently valued Indian subject matter more so than paintings done in a traditional style. Although submissions could be works in a variety of media and styles, conditions were made that subject matter "should concern traditional, ceremonial or mystic themes relating to the life or thought of Indian peoples."[437] In the first year of the competition, 1946, jurors gave a citation of honor to Patrick DesJarliat (Ojibwe) for his work *Maple Sugar Time*. This painting combined a traditional cultural subject matter with an innovative style influenced by cubism and the Mexican muralists.[438] Over the years, the competition continued to reward stylistic innovation, as is evidenced by the Philbrook's purchase of Velarde's *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird* in 1955. The submission of a variety of paintings in many styles challenged the organizers of the Indian Annual to define and defend their characterization of traditional vs. non-traditional Native art.[439] Following a rejection of his work, *Umine Wacipe: War and*

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[435] Joan Nordling, letter to Pablita Velarde, July 15, 1954, from Philbrook archives.
[436] Wyckoff, *Visions and Voices*, 40.
[437] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 126-127.
[438] Ibid.
[439] Burke, *Impact*, 11-12.

Peace Dance, from the Indian Annual in 1958, Oscar Howe wrote a letter of complaint to Philbrook curator Jeanne Snodgrass. In this letter, he questioned why Native artists were denied individualism, and rallied against the notion that they should feel pressure to endlessly create "pretty, stylized pictures."[440] The jurors of the Annual tried to justify their rejection of Howe's work, noting, "In future, it is hoped that purely decorative elements that serve only to fill up space will be kept to a minimum, if not altogether excluded. The jury feels strongly that the use of pseudo-symbols detracts, rather than adds, in any painting."[441] However, facing such pushback from Howe led the Philbrook to designate a "Special Category" intended for non-traditional paintings submitted to the Indian Annual.[442] Snodgrass recommended that this "Abstract &/or Symbolic Painting" category incorporate "almost any painting which is not commonly accepted as pictorial or representational." However, despite this progressive notion, there was still the expectation that all entries represent "Amerindian culture," which Snodgrass perceived as excluding influences of urbanity.[443] All of these carefully worded phrases mattered because the Philbrook, as an institution that promoted and collected contemporary painting, had a valuable opportunity to help shape the market for Native American art.

Interestingly, Velarde appears to have had some influence on the development of the Philbrook Annual herself. She made suggestions to the Philbrook regarding their judging categories. In a letter dated May 9, 1955 to Mr. Denys P. Myers, Art Director at the Philbrook, Pablita stated:

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[440] Ibid., 11.
[441] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 159.
[442] Burke, *Impact*, 12.
[443] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 169.

> I have, however, one suggestion to make and that is that the Pueblos be placed in a separate group from the Navajo and Apache for the purpose of judging. Although we live in approximately the same geographic locals, our cultures are very different and I believe that I share the feelings of other Pueblo artists in not wishing to have my work judged in a group with cultures which have nothing in common with ours.[444]

In response, Myers replied: "I note the cogent reasons underlying your suggestion that a separate division be made for Pueblo artists. I will bear your suggestion in mind when we determine the policy by which next year's exhibition will be governed."[445] This encouraging response was echoed by Joan Nordling who stated, "I was most interested in your letter and the suggestion it offered. I think your point is a good one. The division, separating the Pueblo group from the general southwest area is certainly logical and perhaps that change can come about in next year's show."[446] Despite these considerations, by 1958 the categories remained unchanged; Plains, Woodland, and Southwest/Pueblo. However, the Philbrook seems to have appreciated Velarde's feedback and her contributions to the success of the Annual. As Nordling wrote to Velarde in '55:

> We were disappointed that so few entries came in this year; however, we are planning to go ahead with next year's show and any encouragement you can give the artists who are working in your area will be appreciated. I'm going to do everything I can to keep this show going for I think it is an important one. Of course if the artists do not send in their paintings, then the officials here feel that they aren't interested and that the show is not then justified.[447]

The fact that Velarde was working as a recruiter of sorts, encouraging artists to enter the competition, speaks to her value to the Philbrook.

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[444] Pablita Velarde, letter to Denys P. Myers, May 9, 1955, Philbrook archives.
[445] Denys P. Myers, letter to Pablita Velarde, May 23, 1955, Philbrook archives.
[446] Joan Nordling, letter to Pablita Velarde, May 16, 1955, Philbrook archives.
[447] Ibid.

In 1941, Velarde painted *Pueblo Craftsmen, Palace of the Governor, Santa Fe*, another painting that is, at least in part, about pottery sellers. A part of the collection at the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, Oklahoma, this image shows a variety of Native artists seated under the portal at the Palace of the Governor, with their commercial wares displayed in front of them (See Figure 49). Jewelry, drums, and pottery are among the goods available for purchase. Here, Velarde made efforts to create depth; the standing figures in the foreground add dimensionality, and the log roof supports or *vigas* appear to recede into space. In this composition, the inclusion of a background is neither generic nor merely ornamental. It serves not merely as a suggestion of the type of setting, or as a device to create depth, but is significant instead for its specificity.

The Palace of the Governors was important for Velarde, as she and Peña used to sell their artwork there together. They displayed their paintings next to each other,[448] a factor which probably gave a young Velarde a boost of confidence to be closely associated with the already well-established Peña. Reflecting on the experience, Velarde mused: "Of course she always outsold me because she had the experience and the recognition and me, I was just an amateur painter then. [laughter]"[449] She explained how she fit selling into her schedule: "At the time, I used to come there to sell my little pictures. I only went on Saturdays, because I had to work during the week, and then on Sundays, I stayed home to do the laundry."[450] Selling with Peña was educational for Velarde, as she learned how to market herself, interact with potential customers, and make a sale, all by observing a more veteran painter. While Peña priced her works

[448] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 59.
[449] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 9, Side A, July 1, 1993, 163.
[450] Ibid., Tape 19, Side 1, November 16, 1993, 424.

around $50 and up, Velarde priced her small watercolors of dance figures or women in genre scenes around $5-10.[451] While the two artists sold together, they also got to know each other better, as they gossiped, compared notes, and teased each other.[452]

As well as being a personally significant place for Velarde, the Palace of the Governor also has an important history in the marketing of Native American art. In 1931, the tenth year of the Indian Fair in Santa Fe, the fair was held outside for the first time, under the portal of the Palace of the Governors. The shift in location was important, but perhaps more significant was the marketing strategy that accompanied this move; artists would now be responsible for selling directly to consumers.[453] In a June 6, 1931 letter disseminated to the Pueblos, Indian Fair committee member Margaret McKittrick Burge noted of the 1931 fair: "If the Indians wish to sell their things at the Fair, we will have some place where they can sell their things, but we cannot sell their things for them."[454] By 1936, Maria Chabot, secretary of the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs (NMAIA), had successfully implemented weekly Saturday markets for one to two featured pueblos to sell their work under the portal at the Palace of the Governors.[455] These Saturday markets, which continued almost without interruption until the dawn of World War II,[456] ushered in important changes for Native artists. Chabot asked Native artists to participate directly, rather than sending an invitation through the pueblo governors, and she requested that they serve as

[451] Velarde, interview, Tape 9, Side A, July 1, 1993,164.
[452] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 59.
[453] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 81.
[454] Margaret McKittrick Burge as quoted in Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 81-82.
[455] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market*, 91-92.
[456] No Saturday markets were held in 1937. Ibid., 97, 101.

judges, and help publicize the markets.[457] Even though she asked Native American artists, including Peña, to judge the markets, they were not comfortable with judging each other and refused the offer.[458] Velarde explained that this sort of job would have gone against traditional Pueblo cultural values of equality within the community. "Indians don't judge paintings. They look at it, if they like it they'll say so and if they don't like it they'll also say so."[459] Although none of the artists had the role of judge in the Saturday markets, they did all represent themselves. They were now responsible for determining sale prices for their wares, conducting transactions, and acting as interpreters of culture for potential buyers.[460]

Speaking about *Pueblo Craftsmen, Palace of Governor, Santa Fe* (1941), Velarde explained that the painting is of the Santa Fe Indian Market as she remembered it.[461] "So, all I wanted to show was what the Indians were peddling, and how it looked to me, from a distance, if I was standing out by the Plaza and looking over the tourists and seeing--….. You see a lot of little people that are being cared for, at the same time, trying to make a sale."[462] By including children in the painting, Velarde documented that the process of selling was a family and community affair. She noted that she didn't include tourists in the composition, because: "Well, who wants to see tourists?"[463] By excluding tourists in a composition where the setting is decidedly about tourism and selling, Velarde intentionally focuses on the Native artists and their wares, and thus

[457] Ibid., 95.
[458] Ibid., 96.
[459] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 2, Side A, April 19, 1993, 29.
[460] Ibid., 99.
[461] Velarde, interview, Tape 19, Side 1, November 16, 1993, 423.
[462] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 19, Side 1, November 16, 1993, 425.
[463] Ibid.

celebrates their inherent value, even as she edits out any direct reference to inter-cultural commerce.

Velarde saw herself, and by extension her work, as a vehicle for cultural interpretation for a non-Indian audience. This self-designation began when she was working on a commission for Bandelier National Monument. Between 1939 and 1945, she completed eighty-four paintings that illustrated social, political, and economic components of the Pueblo lifestyle.[464] The paintings depicted daily and ceremonial life of modern Puebloans and ancient Cliff Dwellers.[465] Thus, they served as a record not only of history, but also of contemporary culture. Given that Velarde saw herself as both preserving and in turn interpreting culture, and that the Palace of the Governors was symbolic of Native artist's roles as cultural "brokers," *Pueblo Craftsmen, Palace of the Governor, Santa Fe* effectively demonstrates increasing Native agency.

While selling at the Palace of the Governors, Velarde learned about conducting transactions through experience. For example, she disdained the tourists that tried to bargain and get sellers to lower their prices. She came up with a solution to this problem: "I write my price down and I sit there like this: take it or leave it…. That way, they can't be saying, "How much is it?" And if I forget, I might say the wrong thing. And this way, I say, "I have price listed there, you can look at it."[466] Although this method was a success, Velarde still sometimes struggled with business transactions. At times, she regretted selling certain pieces. For example, she recalls she sold her painting, *Betrothal*, to Mr. Bialac when she was desperate for money. Although she

[464] Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," 282.
[465] Nelson, "Pablita Velarde."
[466] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 19, Side 1, November 16, 1993, 426.

later offered to buy back the painting from him, he refused. He said he would give her some of the money back if he sold it, but she told him; "Gee, how generous. I want the painting."[467] This experience was no doubt a lesson learned for Velarde. Hyer explained to Velarde Bialac's collecting process; that he has an example of each artist's work early and late in their career in order to try to get a survey type of collection. When asked for her response to this type of collecting, Velarde was quite candid:

> Collectors have different ways of collecting. They collect so many from one artist, then so many from some other artist, so they can have a complete collection of all the painters they have come in contact with. Bialac is a good person, as far as I know, but he is also Jewish, so I know he is in for the money. And besides that, he's a lawyer, he's not a dummy.[468]

Velarde's reference to Bialac's ethnicity and culture as linked to his desire to have a collection as an investment seems unnecessary. However, despite her brash manner, Velarde considered Bialac a friend. She explained that he would come to talks she would give and offer suggestions for what she should discuss. She welcomed his input, as she noted: "I don't mind, because when you are in the spotlight you tend to forget a lot of things, and it is always nice to have a friend sitting in the audience reminding you that you forgot to say this or that."[469] Bialac later went on to donate his collection, which included several of Velarde's works, to the University of Oklahoma's FJJMA in 2010.

Interestingly, Velarde was also remotely connected to the University of Oklahoma through her father's friendship with Dr. Edward E. Dale. Velarde recalls that

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[467] Ibid., Tape 15, Side 2, October 19, 1993, 310. Although this painting was at one point in the Bialac Collection at the FJJMA at the University of Oklahoma, it has since been sold and now belongs to the Heard Museum in Phoenix.

[468] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 13, Side A, September 13, 1993, 248.

[469] Ibid., Tape 16, Side 1, October 26, 1993, 321-322.

Dr. Dale used to come out to visit her dad every summer. Although they were friends, Velarde explains that he also had a professional interest in his visits; "Later on I found out that he was a historian, and he was writing everything my dad said. [laughs]."[470] Dr. Dale was a history professor at the University of Oklahoma from 1924-1942, and in 1928 he co-wrote, with Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration.*[471] Better known as the Meriam Report, this document led to sweeping reform and improvements for Native Americans, including those at various Indian boarding schools. In 1948, Dale wrote *The Indians of the Southwest*. Perhaps the information he recorded from Velarde's father assisted in writing this book. Dale's contributions to western and Oklahoma history are significant, and in 1967, the University of Oklahoma named a building after him, Dale Hall.

Velarde's career flourished in part due to commissions she received from government run programs that developed out of changes to federal Indian policy. In 1934, under President Roosevelt's leadership, both the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act passed.[472] Each created tremendous change in Native communities. The IRA put an end to allotment, allowed tribes to self-govern, and helped them recover land lost during allotment. The Johnson-O'Malley Act promised to provide educational, medical, agricultural, and social welfare assistance to tribes through a partnership with the Interior Department and states and territories. As a result, young Indian children were no longer automatically sent to boarding school for

[470] Ibid., Tape 18, Side 1, November 9, 1993, 391.
[471] "Dale, Edward Everett (1879-1972)," *Oklahoma Historical Society*, http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=DA005, Accessed 10-18-2017.
[472] McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 76.

education.[473] These two pieces of legislation reflected changing attitudes towards Native Americans, as a shift began away from paternalism, and towards collaboration, increasing self-reliance, and independence. As social attitudes regarding the value of Native Americans began to change, the government began to endorse art produced by Native artists. John Collier, Bureau of Indian Affairs commissioner at the time, developed the Committee on Indian Arts and Crafts in 1934, with the goal of understanding how a government agency could help make Indian arts and crafts economically viable.[474] The result was the formation of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB) in 1935, an agency that worked to understand how best to facilitate the production of high quality Native art.[475]

These positive measures and reforms were due in part to the findings of the Meriam Report of 1928, that reported on general Indian affairs and policy, health and economic conditions, community life, and missionary efforts, among other things. The report condemned the treatment of children at Indian boarding schools and argued that Native arts and crafts had declined in quality and had not been sufficiently encouraged.[476] In the 1920s, Native communities were impoverished,[477] and as the Great Depression hit in the 1930s, most of the nation suffered hardships. This unstable economic climate, combined with a national trend that valued the authenticity and traditions of Native American culture, resulted in a movement that sought to revive

[473] Ibid.
[474] Ibid., 78.
[475] Ibid. For an earlier study on Native American art and the New Deal, see Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Policy*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983.
[476] McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 66-69.
[477] Ibid., 65.

traditional Indian arts and crafts in order to provide both economic stability and cultural pride.[478]

I want to analyze what impact these changes had upon Velarde's art. To what degree did she express her own agency, at a time when Native Americans were increasingly gaining freedoms? In her book, *A New Deal for Native Art*, Jennifer McLerran speaks of Native people's role in overcoming the Great Depression, and argues that their work was romanticized, and that they were unfairly categorized as the pre-contact "other" in order to fulfill pervasive primitivist desires. As she claims, "New Deal Indian art program administrators advocated the production of art and craft forms that elided evidence of native artists' accommodation to market forces and thereby denied them agency as modern subjects who actively negotiated their position in the contemporary world."[479] I would like to challenge this supposition. As I have already discussed, several of Velarde's images of women making and selling pottery speak to both her engagement with and understanding of modernism and the importance of the marketplace. Additionally, her work produced in response to Herrera's commercial success also demonstrates her willingness to cater to a market. Art historian Ruth Phillips notes that in recognizing that Native artists create in response to market demands, they are given "modern" status.[480] In this sense Velarde was completely modern, as she not only created for the market, but responded to its desires.

Velarde's modernity and reliance on market demands, however, did not mean that she supplied only paintings that fit a pre-determined mold of acceptability. In fact,

[478] Ibid.
[479] Ibid., 1.
[480] Ibid., 2.

within her series of mural paintings at Bandelier, Velarde included an image titled *Governor Greeting the Tourists* (c.1940) which challenges the relationship between Native people and the very people representing the emerging market for Indian art (See Figure 50). In this painting, a man stands in the foreground with his arm raised. Situated across from him is a car full of white tourists approaching the pueblo. Velarde populated the pueblo with figures, the majority of which have their backs turned to the viewer, as they focus their attention inward. A single figure in a black shawl peers over her shoulder at the car, perhaps annoyed at the intrusion. The posturing of Velarde's figures creates an exclusionary feeling, in which the tourists and by extension the viewer, are made to feel like unwelcome outsiders. Although the pueblo and its residents form the background of this work, the relationship between the governor and the tourists is in the foreground, implying its elevated importance. On feast days, the governor of the pueblo sometimes greets visitors, holding his cane of authority, a symbol of his elevated position amongst his village.[481] The cane has a long history, as Abraham Lincoln gave the first cane to the Governors of New Mexico, and then the people began making their own canes for their government officials.[482]

Interestingly, this painting has been interpreted two different ways. While to some it suggests that the governor is raising his hand in a greeting or welcoming gesture towards the tourists, others feel that he is doing the exact opposite, and turning them away.[483] This difference in interpretation has led to the work having two titles; *Governor Greeting the Tourists* and *Guard Turning Tourists Away*. The later title is the

[481] Tisdale, "Tse Tsan," 64.
[482] Velarde, interview, Tape 10, Side B, July 8, 1993, 205.
[483] Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde*, 115-116.

one assigned to the work by Bandelier National Monument, as is shown on the National Park Service's website. McLerran argues that this painting depicts the governor stopping tourists from entering the pueblo and viewing private ritual ceremonies.[484] This reading of the work makes sense, given how some Pueblo people felt about the invasive role of tourism in the Southwest. Faced with increasing interest in their culture, many felt a pressing desire to maintain privacy, particularly regarding ceremonial dances. Velarde explains that this tendency towards secrecy probably began when the Spanish tried to get rid of Pueblo religion and convert them to their religion of Catholicism.[485] Speaking of a Bandelier painting titled *Men Guarding House Block during Secret Meeting of Men*, Velarde notes that a tribal official with a cane in his hands is outside the plaza (where a dance is going on), guarding and saying to tourists, "Hey, you can't come in here. [laughter] No tourists today."[486] Although it is not entirely clear, it seems the image under discussion here is probably *Governor Greeting the Tourists*. If not, the subject matter and meaning is certainly applicable to that work as well. The choice of this subject matter by Velarde, particularly as a part of a government sponsored commission for a site under the direction of the National Park Service is very interesting.

I propose that Velarde deliberately designed this piece to be a vehicle for discussing and thinking about the impact of tourism in the Southwest. The Bandelier commission as a whole was intended to educate non-Pueblo individuals about Pueblo

[484] McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 194-195.
[485] Velarde, interview, Tape 18, Side 3, November 9, 1993, 409.
[486] Pablita Velarde, as quoted in interview by Sally Hyer, Tape 10, Side A, July 8, 1993, 185-186.

culture, and Velarde saw this as an opportunity to act as a cultural ambassador.[487] Therefore, as visitors to Bandelier, i.e. tourists, would be the primary audience for this piece, Velarde seems to be asking them to be more than mere passive consumers of culture, and instead consider their place in the dialogic relationship between Natives and whites. The painting seems to offer a critique of the touristic spectacle Native American culture had become in the wake of efforts towards economic regrowth. At the same time, its ambiguity is perhaps based on Velarde's own uncertainty about tourism. During her tenure at Bandelier, she witnessed many tourists visiting the place, including busloads of people on Harvey Tours. She remembers them as wearing wide brimmed hats and suits.[488] When they approached her with questions, she said "Half the time I didn't even answer them."[489] This duality of response is reflective of the two interpretations of the piece, either welcoming in or shutting out of visitors. Velarde seemed irritated with the ignorance of tourists, as she said:

> They're always asking why do they wear kilts and why do they wear skunk bands around the ankles, why do they wear different parts of the costume. And you just stand there like a dummy and give them some crazy answer. If they can't figure it out that it's just a costume. It's funny. Indians go to a lot of doings where whites are performing. We don't go around asking dumb questions like that. So why should they ask <u>us</u>? [laughter] You know.[490]

Velarde had a complicated relationship with disseminating culture; on the one hand, she built her career upon the sharing of culture, on the other hand, her ultimate goal was cultural preservation for her own people.

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[487] Reed, "No Woman Ever Built a House," 247.
[488] Velarde, interview, Tape 9, Side A, July 1, 1993, 171.
[489] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview with Sally Hyer, Tape 9, Side A, July 1, 1993, 172.
[490] Ibid.

Velarde's dynamic career was marked by drastic changes in Indian policy, and it was notable for both its breadth and its specificity. Although she explored many media and styles, Velarde's paintings consistently celebrated various aspects of Pueblo culture. Her work changed in response to her evolving skill set, commission requirements, the demands of the marketplace, and emerging trends in Native and Euro-American art. Most importantly, it always demonstrated her control over representation, and spoke to larger issues of both Native and personal agency. Her painting *Koshares of Taos* (c.1947), which is a part of the Philbrook's collection, is representative of her more traditional style, yet is notable for its portrayal of a cultural ceremony outside her own Pueblo (See Figure 52). Although it depicts a culture not her own, it demonstrates Velarde's commitment to research of her subject matter. Speaking of this celebration which was a part the Taos Fiesta, Velarde stated:

> The pole climbing signifies a story of long ago. Because of a long war, the people had not taken the time to plant crops and seldom took part in big hunts and everyone was starving. The Koshares sent four groups out in search for food and medicine and during this period of high tension they attempted to keep the spirits of the people at a high pitch. The first group returned with weeds, the second returned with pinon nuts, the third group brought rats, squirrels and birds and last group returned with one venison. The Koshares made a healing tea from the weeds and instructed the people to eat the nuts and drink the tea. The women prepared the small animals and birds for eating and made jerky (dried meat) from the venison. Everything was eaten sparingly. This lesson taught the people that there is always enough food if they are only willing to look for it and not give up.[491]

In recounting this detailed story, Velarde reveals that she understood the details of the event she was painting. She felt she should be loyal to Dunn's school of thought that you ought to be "honest with your subjects. Be able to explain what you're trying to

[491] Pablita Velarde as quoted in "*Modern American Indian Art*," 13.

pass."[492] She explains that this event takes place on September 30th on San Geronimo Day.[493] The pole the clowns climb up is about 80 feet tall, and topped with a sheep, bread, melons, and sometimes blankets.[494] She included the creek that separates the north and south pueblo at Taos, and clothed people in a mix of old style of dress and a more modern type.[495] When asked about whether Dunn would approve of her including the river in the painting, she responded that she wouldn't have discouraged that. Velarde clarified Dunn's opinions, as she noted: "For a fact, a lot of the Navajo artists just suggested a line for a horizon, or a mesa, and this kind of a thing. She never objected to that."[496] In addition to knowing a lot about the ceremony in this painting, Velarde also had firsthand experience viewing it, which she recalled: "I used to like doing the Taos thing; because I used to go to Taos almost every year. I like the clowns."[497]

Speaking about this subject matter, Velarde says she did a few of this topic, but she doesn't know how many.[498] She also painted this subject as a part of her commission at Bandelier and again at the very end of her life, working on a piece titled *Taos Pole Climb* in 2006 (See Figure 53). The fact that she painted this subject several times suggests it could have held some personal significance for her. Perhaps she was inspired by the story's illustration of how tenacity was rewarded. Certainly, Velarde's

[492] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview with Sally Hyer, Tape 13, Side A, September 13, 1993, 254.
[493] Velarde, interview, Tape 19, Side 2, November 16, 1993, 432.
[494] Ibid., Tape 10, Side B, July 8, 1993, 201-202.
[495] Ibid., Tape 19, Side 2, November 16, 1993, 432.
[496] Pablita Velarde as quoted in interview with Sally Hyer, Tape 19, Side 2, November 16, 1993, 433.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Velarde, interview, Tape 19, Side 2, November 16, 1993, 433.

own personal persistence led to professional success. In comparing *Koshares of Taos* (c.1947), with *Taos Pole Climb (*2006), the latter is more dynamic, with its bright colors, crisp lines, and cubistic forms. The off-center pole and vertically sloping background in this later iteration create more movement and drama. Interestingly, Velarde's daughter, Helen Hardin, also paints this same subject matter in her work *San Geronimo Day at Taos* (1967), which is a part of the Bialac Collection at the FJJMA. Hardin, both inspired by, and reacting against her mother's work, nevertheless continued her legacy forward into the next generation.

Chapter 3: Helen Hardin

As an artist and daughter of Pablita Velarde, Helen Hardin has often had her work compared to her mother's. Many writers have classified Velarde's work as stylistically traditional and Hardin's, by contrast, as modern. However, this simple delineation between the two generations does not account for the evolution of Velarde's or Hardin's style. As I demonstrated in Chapter 2, Velarde's style was not always strictly traditional. At times her paintings were subtle in their modernity, as they played with the flatness of the picture plane. Sometimes her paintings were more overtly modern, as they engaged Herrera's "abstract symbolic" style. By re-contextualizing motifs, utilizing the splatter technique, and creating abstracted compositions, Velarde showed that she was receptive to experimenting with style. Likewise, Hardin's artistic career was not all one-note either. While her early efforts emulated her mother's more traditional works, her later paintings, for the most part, became increasingly modernist. Additionally, this dichotomy between traditional and modern in speaking about Native American art is troublesome. In his book, *Native Moderns*, Bill Anthes notes that for scholars to point to the use of abstraction and Western pictorial styles as the sole markers of modernity for Native artists is unfair.[499] As he explains:

> Imagining the tradition-modernity distinction primarily in terms of style risks creating the false impression that Native American artists who did not work in "modernist" styles were "backward" in the sense of belonging to another era.[500]

Throughout my earlier discussion of Velarde's work, I argued that hers was often modern, not only in style, but also in its ability to respond to the market. Likewise, her paintings that addressed tourism were responding to modernity. Finally, her desire to

[499] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 29.
[500] Ibid.

paint in order to preserve her culture also speaks to her awareness of modern issues. Thus, her work should not be considered "backward" in any sense of the word, but rather fully engaged in contemporary life. As Anthes explains, "While some artists have claimed an aesthetic and cultural authority based on their connections to "tradition," they found themselves living in a world transformed by modernity and, in response, sought to find a place for themselves in it."[501] Indeed, Velarde certainly found a place for herself. Just as I demonstrated how Velarde's modernity was the result of many factors, I will likewise take a similarly complex look at Hardin's work. In an effort to allow Hardin to speak for herself, I will quote her directly when appropriate in order to explain her exact viewpoint.

Hardin greatly disliked having her work compared to her mother's. This feeling began even before her career really took off. However, she did acknowledge her indebtedness to her mother: "Children have a tendency to imitate their parents…and this was how I started…simply by imitating my mother."[502] Although this was how she began painting, Hardin disliked working in a similar style as her mother: "I watched her paint, and I painted just like her. And people would come along and say, 'Oh Helen, you're painting just like your mommy.' And they patted me on the head because I was such a nice little girl. But I hated it."[503] This resentment grew as she established her career. In 1970, she spoke out about the comparison:

> Some of those who do know my work are constantly comparing it with my mother's. I do my own thing. You cannot compare us. My mother is a 'traditional' painter. I feel that Indian art is growing away from traditional

[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid., 30.
[503] Helen Hardin, as quoted in "Helen Hardin, Tewa Painter," in *This Song Remembers: Self-Portraits of Native Americans in the Arts*, ed. Jane B. Katz, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 119.

> painting. Let the traditional painting be done by the artists who originated it and lived it. I am not and never have been, a traditional Indian. This doesn't stop me, though, from wanting to express my Indian self. I see beauty in many things that my cousins living traditionally on the reservation take for granted. I apply it in a new way, nontraditionally.[504]

This revealing statement speaks to Hardin's desire to separate from her mother's legacy, but also her passion for being authentic and true to herself. Hardin and Velarde both felt that they should only represent the experience and culture they knew.

In this chapter, I explore how Hardin's work correlated with her mother's. Both created works that celebrated pueblo culture, both made series of images that were about women, and both responded to Herrera's style. I will investigate how Hardin approached the related issues of tourism, marketing, and selling her work. I will note if/how she addressed cultural preservation in her works, and how she negotiated the demands of the marketplace with personal artistic agency. By discussing the same themes that I have already addressed with Velarde, I provide a framework for noting similarities and differences between the two artists. I will explore the stylistic differences between them, as well as their commonality of innovation. I will investigate how personal circumstances affected Hardin's production of art, as well as how market demand ultimately affected her use of media. I will discuss the degree to which changing social ideas in Hardin's generation of the 60s and 70s led her to investigate the spirituality of her art. I will explore how Hardin asserted herself as an individual artist and how she felt about her culture and ethnicity in relation to her artistic identity. I will note how both Velarde and Hardin were progressive in their notions about women's roles, while neither could be considered activists by any means. Although I will offer a serious stylistic analysis of Hardin's

[504] Walter Briggs, "Tsa-sah-wee-eh Does Her Thing," *New Mexico*, March/April 1970, 4.

paintings, I will refrain from using only formal analysis as a means of comparison between her work and that of her mother's. Instead I present a fuller, more complex analysis of the two artists and their paintings. I will explain how Hardin's work stood alone as unique and different from her mother's and how she developed a signature style that was inimitable in its precision and creativity.

In speaking about Hardin's body of work, I will use the terms traditional and modern in reference to her style. I acknowledge the semantic problems inherent in using these words, as they could be seen as limiting. However, I knowingly employ these distinctions despite their limitations. In a chapter titled "Sanctioned Scribes: How Critics and Historians Write the Native American Art World," Margaret Dubin explains some issues with terminology and postulates that the binary of traditional/contemporary is often unhelpful:

> In the Native American art world, however, old and new forms exist simultaneously and self-consciously…. The simultaneous production of disparate forms, which I conceptualize as hybridization that blurs tribal and chronological boundaries, is impossible to reconcile with the Western concept of aesthetic evolution.[505]

Indeed, Hardin's work, like Velarde's, was often hybridized, and thus it is difficult to discuss in terms of an aesthetic evolution. Despite these challenges, I will discuss Hardin's work in a loosely chronological format, beginning with her images from the 60s. However, I will note the syncretic nature of her paintings, as well as the complex factors that contributed to her unique style. Additionally, I will not claim that her work "evolved"

[505] Margaret Dubin, "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 III, (London: Routledge, 1999), 154.

linearly from one style to another, but rather that it was modified in varying degrees due to a confluence of reasons.

Many of Hardin's paintings from the 1960s demonstrate her maturing aesthetic and increasing separation from her mother's style. However, she did paint some works in the 60s that were more traditional in style, such as *San Geronimo Day at Taos* (1967) (See Figure 54). This work resemblances Velarde's *Koshares of Taos* (c. 1947), as they both depict the same subject matter of the pole climb, a part of the Taos Fiesta. Velarde and Hardin depict slightly different moments in the climb and viewpoints of the Pueblo in the background. In Hardin's version, several koshares stand at the base of the pole, as one pulls on the rope, while another to the top of the pole. Both artists provided a setting for their figural compositions, perhaps to suggest the importance of specificity of place for this ceremony. Both works are similar stylistically, in that they are both realistically rendered with little to no abstraction. Velarde's composition has crisper lines and more evenly applied color than Hardin's. Although Hardin's painting is largely "traditional" in style, it does offer some hints of her more abstracted style. For example, she differentiates the shrubbery on the right of the composition; the bright green appears to have been stippled. The effect gives a touch of abstraction, a *suggestion* of greenery, rather than a meticulously detailed rendition of it. In addition, Hardin's rendering of the two robed figures in the right foreground hints at her more abstracted series of robed figures done throughout the 60s and onward through 1980, such as *Medicine Talk* (1964) and *Vision of a Ghost Dance* (n.d.). In *San Geronimo Day at Taos*, these robed figures are almost entirely engulfed by their wraps, making them columnar in form. In contrast to Velarde's robed figures, where the emphasis is on the flat patterning, Hardin's

repetition of slightly undulating vertical lines hints at the depth of the fabric folds. This linear style shows up later in Hardin's *Fireside Prayers* II (1980). In this work, which was her first etching, she portrayed an abstracted group of robed figures with their backs to the viewer. Thus, although Hardin's depiction of the pole climb initially appears very similar to Velarde's, it distinguishes itself in subtle ways. This subtle integration of innovative stylistic elements into "traditional" painting is, as I argued in Chapter 2, reminiscent of Velarde's work as well.

Although *San Geronimo Day at Taos* (1967) was characteristic of Hardin's work in terms of pueblo subject matter, it was not characteristic of what would become her general style. This type of work from Hardin in '67 illustrates that her artistic development was not entirely linear. As early as 1960, she produced abstracted, modernist work, yet she continued to produce traditional genre scenes such as this much later in the decade. Jay Scott, Hardin's biographer, argues that *San Geronimo Day at Taos* exemplifies Hardin as a "compliant illustrator," and that this type of painting would not continue after her trip to Bogota in 1968.[506] Indeed, perhaps market demand can help to explain Hardin's stylistic choices. When patrons asked her to paint an image just like an earlier work, she would reluctantly comply. She explained her ambivalence: "I was everybody's good little girl, but I was angry about it, every minute I was doing it."[507] This attitude toward providing for the market is similar to Velarde's. Both artists seemed to resent the repetition the market required, as they perhaps felt it stifled their creativity. However, I would argue that each found ways to continue to innovate and be creative, in

[506] Jay Scott, *Changing Woman: The Life and Art of Helen Hardin*, (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing, 1989), 65 67.

[507] Helen Hardin as quoted in Scott, *Changing Woman*, 66.

spite of producing many similar images. Speaking about her early work painted for the inner-tribal ceremonial at Gallup, when she was just nine years old, Hardin noted: "I was painting Indians because that's what the whites wanted. They certainly didn't want fire engines."[508] Thus, Hardin, as Velarde's daughter, was raised to cater to the market's desires.

As the 1960s marked the beginning of Hardin's career, I will analyze several of her works from the decade in order to understand her aesthetic and the factors that contributed to her style. During the 60s, she began to develop a style which was distinctive from her mother's, as she experimented with new techniques and modes of representation. I discuss Hardin's biography, and the then emerging trends in Native American art in order to explain why the 1960s were significant for her. I argue that Hardin's paintings provide a visual record of her engagement with other contemporary Native American modernists, even as they document her complicated feelings about her family, her culture, and her sense of identity. Utilizing the collections of the FJJMA and the Philbrook, I examine several of her Mimbres paintings, and explain their inspiration, innovation, and response to market demands. I discuss a few of Hardin's figural works and explore how these fit into her oeuvre. I utilize Hardin's *Winter Awakening of the O-khoo-wah* (1972) in a discussion about the commodification of culture and spirituality. This work also provides an example of Hardin's ability to effectively combine traditional subject matter with contemporary style. Finally, I discuss Hardin's series of etchings done near the end of her life, including *Changing Woman* (1981) and *Listening Woman* (1982). This analysis includes a discussion about her ability to respond to the market, her

[508] Helen Hardin as quoted in Tricia Hurst, "Crossing Bridges: Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, Helen Hardin, Jean Bales," *Southwest Art*, (April 1981), 85.

views on the value of women, and her signature style, characterized by geometry and precise linearity. These works celebrated pueblo women, just as Velarde's genre paintings also celebrated women's contributions to Santa Clara Pueblo culture.

Hardin was born on May 28th, 1943 in Albuquerque and given the traditional name Tsa-sah-wee-eh, or Little Standing Spruce. As the daughter of Velarde, a Santa Clara woman, and Herbert Hardin, an Anglo man, she was subjected to a 1939 law passed by Santa Clara Pueblo which stipulated that children whose mothers married outside the Pueblo were banned from tribal membership. Not only were such children denied benefits such as land and voting rights, they also were also considered outsiders and not allowed to participate in tribal ceremonies.[509] These limitations placed Hardin in a difficult position, as she was excluded from Pueblo culture in a way that Velarde was not. Although the law stated that children with paternal lineage outside the Pueblo could participate in ceremonies with the sponsorship of a Santa Clara relative, Helen and her brother Herby never took advantage of that loophole, perhaps due to physical distance from the Pueblo. The family moved just outside Albuquerque when Hardin was six years old. Kate Nelson, Hardin's biographer, has suggested that this separation from culture spurred Hardin to define her own concepts of cultural identity and establish herself as a unique artist.[510] I agree with this assessment, but also argue that Hardin's depictions of cultural subject matter and her concept of her own artistic identity as it related to ethnicity and culture resulted from a confluence of factors. I

[509] Kate Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved* (Santa Fe: Little Standing Spruce Publishing, 2012), 16-19.

[510] Ibid., 17. Although this move could partially explain why Velarde's children didn't participate in ceremonies, it does not seem to tell the whole story. It would be interesting to know why Pablita or another relative didn't sponsor the children and allow them to participate in their culture's ceremonies.

argue that changing social ideas about the role of the individual artist, and the role of the "Indian" artist and "Indian" art in the 60s influenced her philosophy.

In 1960, Hardin participated in a six-week summer art program at the University of Arizona in Tucson. The session Hardin attended was part of an initiative called the Southwest Indian Art Project, funded by the Rockefeller Foundation than took place during the summers of 1960, '61, and '62.[511] Responding to the 1959 conference Directions in Indian Art, also held at the University of Arizona, the Southwest Indian Art Project sought to provide a "new and unique approach to the problem of enabling the young Indian artist to make use of his abilities in a nontribal existence and still draw upon his heritage of spiritual and artistic values."[512] Hardin's recollection of the program was that it urged students to step away from traditional Indian art and create something new. However, despite this prescription, the program didn't seem to have clear answers regarding the ideal future of Native art. Hardin explained her frustration:

> They were trying to tell us the traditional Indian art was not the thing that we should be doing and we should be doing something else, but they didn't really know what we should be doing. We didn't know what they were trying to tell us …. And what it did to me was made me very unhappy.[513]

Although the idea of changing was perhaps a welcome departure for some Native artists who felt restricted by traditional subject matter, it still apparently felt controlling to Hardin. She said of the experience, "You can't bunch a lot of Indians together and teach them to be Indian artists."[514] This perspective reveals that Hardin had an independent spirit and didn't want to be constrained by either overt representations of

[511] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 172-176.
[512] Ibid., 176.
[513] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 42.
[514] Ibid.

Indian culture, or by a forced denial of Indian subjects or motifs. Indeed, her own art would prove to be a melding of the two; both Indian in content, and modernist in style. Organizers of the Southwest Indian Art Project recommend that Native artists create work that was not too "Indian" or "traditional," yet advised it should also draw upon "cultural heritage." This was perhaps perceived as paternalistic by attendees, such as Hardin. Indeed, Native artists seemed to be less concerned with arbitrary classifications and terminology and more concerned with how such an art would be received by the marketplace; i.e., if we make this type of art, will it actually sell?[515]

Nevertheless, despite the disconnect Hardin perhaps felt from the organizer's aims for the conference, the discussion and experience apparently got her thinking about Indian identity and what it meant to her. As she had been raised away from Santa Clara, the program offered her the opportunity to delve into some issues about cultural identity she might have otherwise ignored. Speaking about her time at the University of Arizona, Hardin noted:

> I found myself in a dorm with all Indian girls…. For the first time in my life I asked myself what an Indian really was. He was a Navajo, she a Crow, another something else, and I became outraged because one really can't make a clear definition. So I decided I wouldn't be a band Indian or a good Indian but a good *person*. Each tribal name means *people* or *human being,* so I thought I'd give that a try. There was no conflict. I make the most out of two worlds and I think my work shows this.[516]

In addition to clarifying her thoughts on cultural identity, the program was also valuable for Hardin in that it introduced her to the work of Herrera, a Cochiti artist, from whom Hardin appropriated the spatter technique.[517] Herrera, a student of Raymond Jonson at

[515] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 176-177.
[516] Helen Hardin, as quoted in Hurst, "Crossing Bridges," 86.
[517] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 42.

the University of New Mexico (UNM) in the early 1950s, had studied Anasazi rock art, and thus developed an interest in the spatter paint technique utilized in prehistoric kiva murals.[518] This process of spraying paint onto the surface of the canvas became one of Hardin's hallmarks in many of her later works.

Following her experience with the Southwest Indian Art Project, Hardin created a notable painting titled *Going Home* (See Figure 55). Upon leaving the summer program, Hardin realized she did not have enough money for a bus fare. When she called her mother to ask for help, Velarde replied, "You know how to make money. Paint a painting and sell it."[519] And the result was the aptly titled *Going Home*. In this image, two koshares stand on either side of a small girl. A rainbow terminating with two faces-one smiling, one frowning-frames the bottom of the scene. In pueblo culture, koshares are clowns that reveal the shortcomings of people, particularly those related to their egos.[520] Perhaps Hardin's use of the girl is self-referential, and the image represents her inner conflict about both going back home to her mother and about her developing sense of self. This painting highlights the fact that among other things, koshares are about duality. Their bodies are ornamented with stripes of contrasting black and white paint, one is skinny, wears red, and smiles, whereas the other is overweight, wears blue, and cries. Additionally, koshares are dualistic in that they use humor and light-heartedness to address serious social issues within pueblo society.

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[518] W. Jackson Rushing, "Authenticity and Subjectivity in Post-War Painting: Concerning Herrera, Scholder, and Cannon," in *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1991), 13. See also W. Jackson Rushing III, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera*, Norman: The University of Oklahoma, 2018.

[519] Margarete Bagshaw, "Helen Hardin," *Pablita Velarde Museum Show*, Golden Dawn Gallery. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ypV5ZS2b268.

[520] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 43-44.

Hardin's decision to use a subject matter about dichotomy in order to address her own personal conflicts was very appropriate.

By 1960, when Hardin painted *Going Home*, she was dealing with her parent's recent divorce in 1957, Velarde's increasing problems with alcohol, and her mother's verbal abuse about her art, her physical appearance, and her intelligence.[521] Thus, one can understand how Hardin must have had complicated feelings about both her mother and her value as an artist and individual. The little girl in *Going Home* shows similar ambivalence and hesitancy, as well as a sort of self-consciousness, as she wraps her oversized cardigan around her body and hugs her arms to her chest in a protective gesture. Although Hardin would later mature into a confident young artist with a strong personality and sense of self-worth, dealing with her mother's recriminations, her father's abandonment, and her weight gain made the adolescent Helen unhappy.[522] I expect that in painting *Going Home,* Hardin was figuring out a way, consciously or otherwise, to insert herself into a narrative painting and express some personal issues that plagued her at the time.

The idea that *Going Home* is biographical gains additional traction when we consider that she had made a similar painting about duality and family in the past. According to Kate Donohue, a scholar who has analyzed Hardin's paintings from a psychological perspective, she painted a portrait of her family in 1950, at the age of seven, that reveals her emotional reactions to a complicated family dynamic. This portrait consisted of Hardin's happy brother and father facing Velarde and a sad Helen with down-cast eyes. Donohue argues that this painting is about Hardin working out

[521] Ibid., 36-40.
[522] Ibid., 39.

the duality she saw between her two parents, as well as within her mother, a person who could be both loving and nurturing when sober, yet abusive and unpredictable when under the influence of alcohol.[523] As the issues that bothered Hardin at age seven continued to affect her at age seventeen, it seems probable that she would continue to use art in a similar way as an expressive vehicle for processing her psychological issues. Although I agree with Donohue's assessment that Hardin's paintings may reflect her psychological state, I think that *Going Home* is perhaps more multi-valent. Given that the 1960 seminar was eye-opening for Hardin in terms of her conception of ethnicity/culture as it related to self/artist, I propose that this work could also be about her discovery of those issues as well. Likewise, the summer program dealt heavily with concepts of duality and imposed binaries, such as traditional/modern, Indian/contemporary, and authenticity/innovation, to name a few. Given that Hardin painted *Going Home* just as she was leaving this important discussion, it seems that it could be her response to being in between these seemingly warring factions.

While *Going Home* seems to allude to Hardin's personal reflections at the time, *Hungry Bugs* (1960) is perhaps more significant for its use of a new aesthetic technique (See Figure 56). Painted when she was just 17, this work, according to her daughter Margarete, was the first time she employed the spatter technique after learning it from Herrera.[524] Consisting primarily of a trio of pots and a variety of bugs, this painting offers much less narrative content than many of her earlier works, such as *Going Home*. Also, *Hungry Bugs* proffers less overt cultural symbolism than do her earlier works.

[523] Kate T. Donohue, "Paradox, Precision, and Passion: Passing on the Spirit, Helen Hardin, 1943-1984," *The San Francisco Jung Institute Library Journal* 14, no. 3 (1995): 32.

[524] Bagshaw, "Helen Hardin."

Although the pottery forms included in the painting may refer to pueblo pottery, they are not ornamented with motifs from Puebloan culture, but instead they are each a solid color, which places emphasis on form rather than iconography. In stripping the pots of their iconography, and thus their tribal specificity, Hardin has also made them decidedly not ethnographic in nature. In this painting, Hardin emphasizes not content or meaning, but rather stylistic experimentation and technique. Here, the spatter technique adds texture and also alludes to the physical texture of clay used to make pottery. In overlapping the pottery forms and creating "ghosted" shapes, she adds depth to the composition. In these ways, *Hungry Bugs* departs significantly from her earlier paintings which were often done in the more "traditional" Studio style.

In 1962, Hardin enrolled at UNM and took an art history and an anthropology course, both of which inspired her to look more closely at ancient pueblo imagery from cultures such as the Mimbres.[525] For Hardin this was personally important, as she noted, "this formed a point of departure for me to explore the ancient art history of my own people, as evidenced on the walls of caves and pottery of the Pueblo people."[526] This opportunity must have seemed especially poignant for Hardin, as she was denied the chance to participate in her own Santa Clara ceremonial culture. Her interest in Mimbres culture led her to create paintings such as *Underwater Life Cycle of the Mimbres* in 1962 (See Figure 57). In this work, Hardin included animal imagery appropriated from Mimbres pottery, such as fish and turtles. She layered these with twisting vines, a dotted pattern, and geometric shapes evocative of Mimbres designs.

[525] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 59.

[526] Flo Wilks, "A Spiritual Escape from the World of Reality," *Southwest Art* 8, no. 3 (August 1978): 68.

Hardin painted another similar image in 1962, now lost, titled *Feast of the Mimbres*, which won an honorable mention at the 1962 Scottsdale National Indian Arts Competition.[527] Its positive reception at a national competition must have given Hardin, then only 19, a boost in confidence. Mimbres imagery would continue to be a subject matter for her throughout her career, as she created works such as *Mimbres Deer in the Desert* in 1978 (See Figure 58). In this more mature work, Hardin created a more tightly controlled, geometrically precise, and focused composition featuring a Mimbres style plate surrounded by enlarged, abstracted pottery motifs. For Hardin, the highly geometric style she would develop was in part inspired by the geometry of ancient Anasazi and Mimbres designs.[528] Hardin's *Underwater Life Cycle of the Mimbres* is notable, as it shows her budding interest in this ancient culture, her response to current trends in Native art, and exemplifies an early attempt to develop a layered composition that mixed geometry with cultural motifs. Hardin often created acrylic on board paintings that effectively combine modernism and tradition.[529] Like Velarde, Hardin created works inspired by ancient imagery. Perhaps also inspired by the anthropology books on the Hohokam, Mogollon, and Anasazi that filled her childhood home,[530] Hardin created works such as *Flute Players in the Moonlight* (1977) (See Figure 59). Flute players derived from Hohokam imagery stand in front of an ancient pottery piece, and dance along a ground line ornamented with geometric pottery motifs. In many images where Hardin utilized imagery from ancient pottery, she also utilized the

[527] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 59.
[528] Gary Allen Hood, "Helen Hardin," *Native Peoples* 7, no. 4 (1994): 37.
[529] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 166, 5.
[530] Ibid.,112.

stippling technique to allude to the texture of the clay itself; an effect also employed by her contemporary Tony Da.[531]

While Hardin drew significant inspiration from ancient pottery, she was not content to merely imitate old designs and ideas. She searched for "a way to make the Mimbres series art."[532] Despite these efforts, Hardin often used her Mimbres style paintings as a sort of technical exercise that warmed her up to do more complex pieces.[533] While she and Velarde both painted Mimbres inspired works, Hardin's were often more modern stylistically, as her use of patterned forms and lack of representational space overtly acknowledge the flatness of the picture plane. Another one of Hardin's paintings, *Untitled* (*Blue Bird with Red Flower*) (n.d.), in the FJJMA's collection, seems to draw inspiration from traditional pottery motifs (See Figure 60). Here, the form of the bird is juxtaposed against an abstracted decorative background. Curving linear bands of color complement the bird's coloration but provide no suggestion of background or depth. Instead, they function purely as decorative patterning. The colors Hardin uses in this composition are also not those traditionally seen on pueblo pottery. Rather than subdued earth tones, Hardin's bird is resplendent in the aqua color and red flower ornamenting its body. Again, Hardin utilized the spatter technique, echoing Herrera and alluding to the texture of clay. Hardin's *Untitled* (*Blue Bird with Red Flower*) is certainly distinguishable from Velarde's depictions of birds in works such as *Mimbres Quail*. Hardin's utilization of Mimbres motifs as inspiration in

[531] Hardin sprayed or painted dots onto the surface of her paintings. Ibid.
[532] Ibid.
[533] Ibid.,117.

her modernist works presents an opportunity to discuss how and why that syncretism works so well. As New of IAIA philosophized:

> I like to toy with the idea that a lot of these 'schools' of art-abstraction, surrealism, etc. were invented by Native Americans long before the so-called 'modernists'-that when our young people move out, they are not forsaking their heritage, they are just reclaiming it.[534]

Thus, he saw that "traditional" designs and styles were often seen as modern when looking retrospectively at them, because of their inherent design elements and also because of their appropriation by the Euro-American modernists. Therefore, in using such designs, Hardin was effectively re-making the modern, or as W. Jackson Rushing eloquently explained, making it "modern by tradition."[535]

While UNM exposed Hardin to Mimbres culture, it was also the place where she met Pat Terrazas, an abusive man who would make her life miserable.[536] Terrazas further complicated Hardin's relationship with her mother, as she noted: "My mom didn't like him and he didn't like her and I didn't like either one of them. It was horrible. Finally, I didn't paint at all."[537] While Velarde criticized her daughter's work, Terrazas wanted to control Hardin and didn't like the attention that her painting brought to her.[538] In the midst of this turmoil, Hardin had a gallery showing at the Enchanted Mesa Gallery in Albuquerque in 1964. The first formal showing of her work, this event helped to build her reputation.[539] The owners of the gallery, Fred and Margarete Chase, offered Hardin this show because they were concerned with her status as a victim of

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[534] Lloyd Kiva New as quoted in Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 179.

[535] For a complete discussion of how Native modernism was made modern by tradition, see Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*, Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995.

[536] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 59.

[537] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 65.

[538] Ibid.

[539] Hood, "Helen Hardin," 38.

domestic abuse, were friends with Velarde, and saw the young artist's emerging talent. One image Hardin created for the exhibition was *Medicine Talk* (1964) (See Figure 61). Consisting of three robed figures silhouetted against a background of layered shapes and sprayed paint, this image creates visual impact with the swirling, 60s style psychedelic colors of the robes.[540] In this image the abstraction extends to the smoke surrounding the figures, as it creates unique geometric patterns. The only visible part of the figure's bodies, their faces, are also abstracted and flattened.[541] Interestingly, Hardin has explained that this piece was done quickly, while she was having a serious conversation with her mother, and when she was not initially intending to paint.[542] Jay Scott, one of Hardin's biographers, argues that this work represents a small step by Hardin away from Velarde's style. Although still a genre scene of a sort, the focus is on abstraction rather than narrative content.[543] I would argue that this work represents not a "small step," from Velarde's style, but instead quite a large leap. Speaking about another robe image she created, *Chiefs' Robes* (1969), Hardin noted:

> I painted in such a way as to represent no particular tribe. What's more, the robes are bright, psychedelic, to represent the present generation. And those zig-zags and splotches in the background-you'll find these in none of the traditional paintings.[544]

This description could also be applied to Hardin's *Medicine Talk*. The specific elements Hardin points out about her work are quite revealing. She clearly didn't want her work to have an ethnographic quality to it; she was not concerned with accurately depicting specific details of costume for posterity's sake. By explaining that she

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[540] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 64-65.

[541] LouAnn Faris Culley, "Helen Hardin: A Retrospective," *American Indian Art Magazine* 4, no. 3 (1979): 72.

[542] Ibid.

[543] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 66.

[544] Helen Hardin as quoted in Briggs, "Tsa-sah-wee-eh Does Her Thing," 5.

doesn't paint with regard to cultural specificity, she is demonstrating that cultural preservation is not her primary goal. This philosophy differentiates her work from her mother's; Velarde was much more concerned with her work serving as a precise record of cultural life for future generations. When Hardin notes the way her patterning correlates to the present generation, she shows that she was plugged into the culture of the 60s and willing to reflect contemporary trends in her paintings. Here, the spattering of the background is also evocative of Herrera's stylistic choices as well. In incorporating influences from other contemporary Native artists who were innovating stylistically, Hardin demonstrates that she was responsive to emerging trends in Native American art. In *Medicine Talk*, Hardin was intentionally trying to create work that departed decidedly from the traditional paintings of former generations. It seems that Hardin's increasing level of confidence, spurred by successful exhibitions and social support in the art world, encouraged her to experiment with new styles and techniques in her work. Margarete and Fred Chase, with their dedication to helping Hardin, made a significant impression upon her, as she later named her only daughter Margarete, after the gallery owner.

In 1964 Hardin became pregnant with Terrazas' child, which made her mother both scared for her safety as well as concerned that the child would bond the two. In a protective gesture, Velarde arranged for Hardin to live on the Navajo Reservation, where her nephew was a police officer. While there, Hardin painted two images, titled *Navajo Women* and *Navajo Men*[545] (See Figure 62). Nelson argues that these images blend Cubist tendencies with Hardin's traditional style and that they effectively

[545] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 66.

combine humor and optimism.[546] While I agree that the figure's faces portray hints of Cubism, I do not think these works should be described as traditional to either Hardin's oeuvre at the time or to Native American painting in general. In these images, Hardin creates geometric backgrounds of layered, sprayed shapes, and utilizes a bright, almost neon color palette that is distinctive from any of her earlier work. As we know that Herrera's use of the spatter technique and ancient puebloan imagery inspired Hardin, it seems plausible that his color palette could have also affected her choices in this painting. Herrera often worked with a set of colors; melon, yellow ocher, stone gray, and shades of turquoise.[547] Although not identical in intensity or hue to Herrera's palette, Hardin's *Navajo Women* does contain a melon orange, a bright canary yellow, and a turquoise. Additionally, *Navajo Men* features a bluish grey and more hints of turquoise. What is most interesting about these images is that Hardin chose to depict contemporary life on the Navajo Reservation in 1964. While these images may not be strict representations of reality, as they are tinged with comedy and jocularity, they are certainly not idealized representations of auto-ethnography. The figures are engaging in their humanity; the men wear blue jeans, as one dons sunglasses and the other carries a flask in a back pocket and dangles a cigarette from his hand. One woman wears sensible oxford shoes with her pleated skirt and concha belt, and the other grasps a bottle of Coke. This type of representation departs greatly from the kind of genre scenes Hardin appropriated from her mother earlier in her career.

In addition to showcasing, perhaps, influences from Herrera, these paintings also seem to pay tribute to another revolutionary Native artist, Fritz Scholder (1937-2005).

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[546] Ibid.
[547] Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," 66.

In 1964, the same year Hardin painted *Navajo Men* and *Navajo Women*, Scholder famously declared he would never paint another Indian, as he noted: "The non-Indian had painted the subject as a noble savage and the Indian painter had been caught in a tourist-pleasing cliché."[548] Scholder decided not to hold himself to this axiom, instead vowing to create a new representation of the Indian as "real, not red."[549] Hardin sparred with Scholder about his macho male posturing and his lack of Indian-ness, once saying to him that with a punch to the nose, "You would lose all your Indian blood in five minutes."[550] Despite these sorts of attitudes derived perhaps from jealousy, Hardin acknowledged Scholder's importance in re-establishing what it meant to be an Indian artist, as she noted: "He showed Indians what they could do if they wanted to, he showed them the way."[551] Indeed, it seems that he showed Hardin the way, as her presentation of "real" Indians in *Navajo Men* and *Navajo Women* seems to be a response to his new conceptualization of Indians.

The timing of these works seems especially relevant, too, as they were produced just two years after the development of the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) in 1962. One of the major goals of IAIA was to develop Native artists as autonomous individuals. However, this proved to be challenging. As Bill Anthes has explained; "Individuals who were marked socially by race and gender were not able to reconstruct themselves vis-à-vis the universal; rather, they remained local and particular-limited by identity."[552] Indeed, Hardin felt these limitations frustrating, as she noted: "I'm

[548] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 21.
[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid., 25.
[551] Ibid., 26, 22.
[552] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 146.

categorized as an Indian and then I'm categorized as a woman. So I have to try harder."[553] Furthermore, she explained, "I don't want to go down in an Indian art book as a good Indian painter …. I want to go down in an art history book as a good artist of my time."[554] Again, Anthes recognized the tension inherent in Native modernism:

> Whereas the predominant critical model of modernism emphasizes formal exploration to the exclusion of all else, Native modernism engages-whether by design or circumstance-the politics of modern identity.[555]

In my serious analysis of Hardin's use of form, as well as my discussion of her work as it related to her identity, I strive to provide a nuanced analysis of her Native modernism.

1968 was a seminal point in Hardin's career as it was the year that she traveled with daughter Margarete to Bogota, Columbia to visit her father, who was working for a U.S. Agency of International Development as a trainer of local police.[556] By this point, Hardin was weary of her abusive relationships with both Velarde and Terrazas and longed to get away. While there, Hardin worked on some paintings which attracted the attention of a cultural attaché from the US Embassy who had come to Hardin's father's house on business.[557] Soon Hardin had a show at the US Embassy, where she exhibited 27 paintings and sold them all.[558] Although Hardin wrote a letter to her mother about her success at the show, she received no reply from Velarde, suggesting that the relationship was still strained.[559] Despite this, Hardin gained confidence from the positive reception of the exhibition, particularly as it related to her artistic merit

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[553] Helen Hardin as quoted in Scott, *Changing Woman*, 20.
[554] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 140.
[555] Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 148.
[556] Hood, "Helen Hardin," 38.
[557] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 88.
[558] Karen Shane, "Helen Hardin (1943-1984): Casting Her Own Shadow," *Southwest Art* 15, no. 1 (1985): 43.
[559] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 104.

independent of her family lineage. She expressed her feelings clearly: "I decided I wanted to be an artist when I knew I would not have to live in the shadow of my mother."[560] In Bogota, Hardin enjoyed her anonymity, as she noted: "It was a sell-out and it gave me confidence that people weren't buying simply because I was Pablita Velarde's daughter. Down there, they never heard of my mother or her Indian paintings."[561] Despite this relative independence, Hardin still created mainly traditional style works for the exhibition, but also contributed some that were more modernist, such as *White Buffalo Dance*[562] (See Figure 63). In this work, Hardin introduced Cubism in a minimal way in the figure's faces. However, a painting done just two and a half years later in 1971, titled *Courtship of the Yellow Corn Maiden,* features a much more developed Cubist style applied to essentially the same subject matter (See Figure 64). Additionally, the background became much more geometric, and the color palette changed.[563] Speaking of this work, Hardin noted of the subject:

> Every pueblo artist has painted it many times. If you'll examine my rendition, you'll see that the dancers are squared off, not rounded, and that they're in three dimensions. Also, I designed a background after the Indian ceremonial kilt and have the dancers floating against it. I did these things so I wouldn't be a traditional buffalo dance painter.[564]

Indeed, this painting is quite a departure from works of the same subject matter done by her mother, such as Velarde's *Buffalo Dance,* c. 1931. A comparison between the two reveals just how much Hardin departed from Velarde's traditional style (See Figure 65). Hardin's rendition is much more dynamic; the shaded angular forms add depth to the

[560] Shane, "Helen Hardin," 43.
[561] Maggie Wilson, "Movable goals bring success to 'liberated' triple winner," *The Arizona Republic* (Phoenix, AZ), March 28th, 1972.
[562] Bagshaw, "Helen Hardin."
[563] Ibid.
[564] Briggs, "Tsa-sah-wee-eh Does Her Thing," 4.

dancers and the geometric splattered background adds another dimension to the composition. However, it is interesting that Hardin, who clearly desired to not be traditional in terms of her stylistic choices, remained traditional in terms of subject matter. She chose to paint commonly depicted cultural subjects, but to do so in a new and innovative way. As she concisely explained: "Of course I'm constantly changing my style. I'll always experiment. But basically-in subject matter-I'll remain an Indian."[565] *Courtship of the Yellow Corn Maiden,* with its bold design elements, is illustrative of how Hardin's style blossomed after her trip to Bogota. With a renewed sense of self and separation from her mother's identity and reputation, Hardin seemingly felt free to express her own interpretation of her Pueblo culture.

Perhaps a transitional painting between Hardin's more "traditional" style based on her mother's work and what would become her signature contemporary style, is her *Little Brother Before Me* (ca. 1969) (See Figure 66). A casein and acrylic work that is a part of the Philbrook's collection, this painting features two figures set against a geometric, splattered background. In this composition, two koshares seem to be in conversation with each other. Hardin has offered the viewer a sort of behind the scenes look at what may be the preparation for a dance or ceremony. While the figures are relatively realistic, the forms of their faces are exaggerated and hint at Cubism. Additionally, the focus is on their faces, as their torsos become "ghosted" and fade into the abstract background. This combination of the figural with the abstract is almost haunting, a feeling that is compounded by the psychological intensity between the two figures. They gaze at each other and the viewer may feel almost voyeuristic for

[565] Ibid., 7.

intruding on their intimacy. Thus, this painting can be seen as transitional in Hardin's repertoire, as it is not an entirely realistic figural composition, nor is it a fully abstract one.

In contrast to *Little Brother Before Me*, Hardin's *Katsina Mask* (1977) is much more abstract (See Figure 67). Here, Hardin again utilizes a ceremonial figure as her subject matter, but does so in a much less figural way. In this painting, the figure is flattened to the picture plane, and focus is on patterning and ornament rather than modeling, although the subtly geometric background adds some depth. This piece is quite dynamic, in that Hardin extended the outermost feathers of the headdress outwards and made them come towards the viewer. In doing so, she suggests that the kachina is recessed in space, and she also creates a diagonal that pulls the viewer into the geometry of the composition. This work, a part of the FJJMA's collection, is also significant as an example of Hardin's use of katsina imagery. Hardin created many paintings throughout her career that featured katsina imagery. These works were often highly abstracted and mixed her interpretations of the spiritual beings with actual geometric elements from their garments.

Hardin's *Abstract Man* (n.d.), a part of the FJJMA's Bialac Collection, pushes figural abstraction even further (See Figure 68). In this acrylic painting, Hardin effectively blends the figure into the geometric background. Although basic figural elements are still visible, such as torso, arms, legs and head, the overall effect is much more abstracted than figural. In surrounding and filling the figure with colorful geometric designs, Hardin makes abstraction the focus, as is noted in the piece's title. The colors used are not descriptive but rather decorative. In contrast to *Katsina Mask*

(1977), this painting shows freer brushstrokes and lines; gone is the precision and linearity of the her more figural work. In noting some formal differences between *Little Brother Before Me, Katsina Mask,* and *Abstract Man,* I have illustrated the variety of ways Hardin approached the figure, as well as how she experimented with different levels of abstraction.

Hardin's abstraction of figural forms continued in many other compositions, such as *Vision of a Ghost Dance* (n.d.), a piece from the FJJMA's Adkins collection (See Figure 69). Here, Hardin created a horizontal line up of six abstracted figures whose blocky and columnar forms are filled with geometric patterns and designs. Three of the figures have faces of a sort, although they are haunting in their geometry, and are almost Picasso-esque. The other three figures have blank faces, which adds to the disquieting sense of this painting. Here, the focus is most certainly on geometry, shape, pattern, repetition and rhythm, and not on realistic depiction of form. In a 1970 article, Hardin explained her artistic priorities:

> I think the most important elements in my painting are design, then layout, then color-in that order. Designs fascinate me. By taking primitive designs from any Indian origin, then using them one or many times on the paper, then applying color to finish the painting, I can create 'contemporary Indian art.'[566]

One can certainly see her priorities at work in this painting, and thus it is a great example of her definition of 'contemporary Indian art.' By focusing on formal elements rather than content, Hardin differentiated herself from Velarde. Although Velarde did certainly explore and experiment with design, layout, and color, she also focused-perhaps more primarily-on subject matter and accurately depicting genre scenes of her

[566] Helen Hardin, as quoted in Briggs, "Tsa-sah-wee-eh Does Her Thing," 7.

Santa Clara culture. This work is also notable in that it is exemplary of Hardin's geometrically precise style that became her hallmark. Hardin noted of her process:

> I use all the plastic drafting tools for my outlines. I color in the sections with acrylics, and I try to give each work a name which hints at the spirit of the work, not always what it seems to show. I am happy with these, the public likes them, and I feel like I am creating something new, based on ancient designs and legends.[567]

The use of drafting tools ensured that she was able to achieve near perfection in her linear style. This process began when she requested that she be in an art class in high school but got placed in a drafting class instead. There she witnessed boys using protractors, compasses, and t-squares. She recalled how the experience inspired her:

> In the class, I was always watching what the boys were doing with their drafting tools. I would see images in the circles and curves. I started experimenting, but I didn't use them for my professional painting until 1968-69.[568]

Vision of a Ghost Dance is notable not only in its geometric style, but also because of its subject matter. The Ghost Dance was a religion and ceremony most notably documented and discussed by anthropologist James Mooney in his 1896 book, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*. Working for the Bureau of American Ethnology, Mooney sought to understand the Ghost Dance movement that arose following the death of Lakota Sioux chief, Sitting Bull, and the subsequent massacre at Wounded Knee in December of 1890. The doctrine of the Ghost Dance religion promised that upon practicing the ghost dance, the invading white man would be gone, the diminished buffalo would return, along with old Indian ways and customs,

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[567] Helen Hardin as quoted in Dick Frontain, "The Last Days of Helen Hardin," *The Indian Trader*, (November 1984): 12.

[568] Helen Hardin as quoted in Betty Childers, "Indian Artist Remains Outsider," *Albuquerque Journal* (Albuquerque, NM), Aug. 29, 1976.

and Indians would be reunited with their deceased relatives.[569] Vision was a key part of the religion, as Alexander Lesser explains in his article, *Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance*: "But the sanction for this hope was native to the Indian mind. It was based on the vision, on the direct supernatural experience. In the vision a message came from the deceased, telling the living what to do, telling the living what would happen."[570] Jack Wilson, a Paiute Indian, also known as Wovoka, was the prophet of the Ghost Dance Movement. An important tenet of this religion was that members should perform the slow, shuffling, Ghost Dance in a circle until they collapsed or "died" and thus received a vision from a nether world.[571] Given that vision was such an important concept of the Ghost Dance, Hardin's title, *Vision of the Ghost Dance,* is therefore entirely appropriate to the subject matter. Here, however, "vision" seems to have a double meaning; it refers not only to the spiritual experience of the Ghost Dance, but also to Hardin's personal 'vision' or interpretation of the Ghost Dance. Indeed, this work is an example of Hardin's tendency to produce work that was "traditional" in that it depicted culturally specific subject matter, but featured her own personal expression of that culture. Hardin painted the figures with "ghosted" shapes behind them, perhaps alluding to the idea that the ceremony was intended to reunite the living with their deceased relations. The shadowed forms effectively give the piece an other-worldly sensibility. In a 1994 article in *Southwest Art*, Gary Hood argued that by layering forms and transposing design elements and motifs from traditional Indian painting, Hardin's

[569] Alexander Lesser, "Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance," *American Anthropologist* 35, no. 1 (1933): 109.

[570] Ibid.

[571] L. G. Moses, "Jack Wilson and the Indian Service: The Response of the BIA to the Ghost Dance Prophet," *American Indian Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1979): 298.

work demonstrated her belief in spiritual unity, or the interconnectedness of all things.[572] He points to her *Prayers of a Blue Corn Mother* (1974) as an example of this, [573] although I would add that it could certainly be applied to *Vision of a Ghost Dance* as well, particularly as its subject matter deals with spiritual unity of the living and the dead. Additionally, the use of "ghosted" shapes and the heavily splattered background point to Herrera's influence. By providing a unique stylistic interpretation of a cultural subject, Hardin set herself apart from Velarde, who was more concerned with accurate portrayals for preservation sake.

Although Hardin was not interested in making the kind of genre paintings her mother commonly made, she was committed to painting works that addressed Native American culture. Interestingly, *Vision of a Ghost Dance* not only depicts an adaptive Native ceremony, but also one that highlighted the importance of the preservation/return of Native culture. Thus, in this work Hardin seems to be making a subtle declaration that cultural preservation was important to her as well. She certainly made a career out of making paintings that depicted traditional aspects of culture (albeit in a non-traditional style), at a time when many other Native artists, such as Fritz Scholder and others schooled at IAIA, departed from representations of traditional culture. Hardin notably disliked Scholder and his style/subject matter, as she explained:

> I believe there is more merit in the conservation of culture. I do not sympathize with the case of Indian painter Fritz Scholder, who after studying art in California becomes an abstract painter, which in my way of seeing is enough away from true Indian art.[574]

[572] Gary Hood, "Helen Hardin: Radiating Spirit," *Southwest Art* 24, no. 1 (1994): 53.
[573] Ibid.
[574] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 107.

Thus, although she was adamant about not continuing in her mother's "traditional" style, she was equally vocal about maintaining some sense of culture in Native American art.

Although *Vision of Ghost Dance* has not been dated by the Philbrook, I believe it was done in the 1970s. Stylistically, it shares similarities with her painting *The Original Robes* (1980) (See Figure 70). The last of a series of robed figures, *The Original Robes* bookmarked this exploration which began in 1968 with her *Chief's Robes*.[575] Both *Vision of Ghost Dance* and *The Original Robes* are similar in the yellowish orange background, the shape of figural forms, and the integration of geometric elements into the robes. Given that Hardin's robed series spanned from 1968-1980, and that *Vision of a Ghost Dance* seems to be part of this series, it seems probable, therefore, that it was painted in the 1970s.

It is also notable that Hardin chose to represent the politicized subject matter of the Ghost Dance in the 1970s, given how the decade was replete with tensions swirling between activist groups such as the American Indian Movement (AIM) and governmental agencies. Certainly, Hardin was aware of the political climate of the time, although she never claimed to be an activist. Indeed, she decidedly did not relate to AIM's philosophy, as she stated instead: "I repel ideas that Indians have been screwed by the white man."[576] Although she did not feel injustice as did members of AIM, she was no doubt aware of AIM leader Russell Means and his group's agenda, as it was often highly publicized. Indeed, beginning in 1972, "The American Indian

[575] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 73.
[576] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin,* 154.

Movement (AIM) engaged in propaganda, agitation and organization reaching virtually everyone old enough to talk."[577] Notably, in February of 1973, members of AIM occupied the Pine Ridge Indian reservation at Wounded Knee in an effort to instigate political change. It was AIM's intention to: remove Lakota tribal chairman Richard Wilson from office, secure the return of treaty lands, resolve treaty violations, and increase gainful employment for the Lakota people.[578] Given that this occupation was at the site of Wounded Knee, where the Ghost Dance movement had held such significance, it seems especially relevant and poignant for Hardin to paint *Vision of a Ghost Dance* during the 1970s.

The linearity, geometric abstraction, and horizontal depiction of figural forms in *Vision of a Ghost Dance* encourage comparison with *Winter Awakening of the O'Khoo'Wah* (1972). (See Figure 71). Both are similar stylistically, and they also both depict a spiritual aspect of Native American culture. *Winter Awakening of the O'Khoo'Wah* is a part of the FJJMA's Bialac collection.[579] Bialac often developed close friendships with the artists whose works he collected.[580] In 1972, *Winter Awakening* was a part of the 11th annual Scottsdale National exhibition. By then, Bialac was already familiar with Hardin's work, having purchased *Medicine Talk* (1964) at the 4th Scottsdale National in 1965. Bialac's personal friendship with Hardin paid

[577] Philip D. Roos, Dowell H. Smith, Stephen Langley and James McDonald, "The Impact of the American Indian Movement on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation," *Phylon* 41, no. 1 (1980): 89.

[578] Ibid., 91-92.

[579] Donated to the University of Oklahoma in 2010, the collection is remarkable in its volume, diversity, and quality. It contains more than 4,000 objects including paintings, sculptures, works on paper, katsina tithu, jewelry, and pottery spanning from 1900 to the present day. For a fuller discussion of Bialac's collection see Christy Vezolles, "James T. Bialac: A Lasting Legacy," in *The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection*, ed. Mark Andrew White (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 7-19.

[580] Ibid., 14, 17.

dividends when she told him that in her estimation, *Winter Awakening* was her best work yet and encouraged him to purchase the piece. He heeded her suggestion and apparently literally ran to sign the sales slip for the piece at the 1972 Scottsdale National. *Winter Awakening* was well received by the art community at large, garnering prizes for best in show, first prize in painting and sculpture, and a juror's award for acrylics at the 1972 Scottsdale National.[581]

Like most of Hardin's paintings, *Winter Awakening* is modernist in style and inspired by Native culture. Hardin viewed her work as contemporary art, which she defined quite eloquently: "Traditional art tells its own story. Contemporary art leaves you with a feeling rather than a story."[582] Perhaps she focused more on the feeling and less on the story because as she put it, "I felt excluded from the traditional Pueblo world that my mother was a part of."[583] As noted earlier, this sense of exclusion led Hardin initially to imitate her mother's traditional compositions and style, but experiment with including geometric elements and Native American designs in her work, as early as age eighteen.[584] She explained how she was able to merge these influences in her work:

> The traditional symbols appear in my work: the mythical beings found in rock art, kachina dancers, the sun, the eagle-guardian of the sky-but I adapt and rearrange the designs, based on my own intuitive sense. I work with silhouettes, stylization of faces and figures, geometric patterns inspired by the designs on the pottery of the ancients, and abstract forms. I experiment with layout, with the application of color, with textures, with variations on a motif.[585]

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[581] Mark Andrew White, "James T. Bialac and the Patronage of American Indian Art," in *The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection*, ed. Mark Andrew White (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 26-29.

[582] Ibid.

[583] Helen Hardin as quoted in "Helen Hardin, Tewa painter," 119.

[584] Ibid.

[585] Helen Hardin as quoted in "Helen Hardin, Tewa painter," 122. In giving herself permission to intuitively rearrange traditional designs, she was following a practice established by Herrera in the early 1950s, which she would have learned firsthand from him in the summer of 1960.

Winter Awakening, with its abstracted representations of katsinam, is a good example of how Hardin was able to create contemporary art that reflected on her culture, even as she felt apart from it.

For the Hopi and many other puebloan cultures, katsinam are spirit beings living in the mountains, who are appealed to for rain and other needs, and are personated by pueblo men in katsina dances.[586] These spirit beings are also represented in carved images given to young girls during ceremonies. Traditionally, these representations of katsina spirits, called *tithu*, were only utilized within the pueblo community.[587] However, following contact with white colonists and the need to participate in a cash economy, many pueblo artists found themselves carving katsina *tithu* exclusively for sale. By 1900, some katsina *tithu* were made for the marketplace and sale to outsiders.[588] This commercialization of culture has not been supported by all, as many view this commodification as a negative aspect which "gives away" something of the essence of sacred cultural traditions**.**

Winter Awakening is the first painting in a series that deals specifically with katsinam.[589] For this image, Hardin's inspiration came from a recording of an Indian chorus about the O-Khoo-Wa, or cloud people, as they approached the Pueblo.[590] In traditional Puebloan belief, the Cloud People are katsina spirits who provide the clouds

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[586] Fred Eggan, "The Hopi Cosmology or World-View," in *Kachinas in the Pueblo World*, ed. Polly Schaafsma (*Albuquerque*: *University* of *New Mexico Press*, 1994), 9.

[587] Zena Pearlstone, "The Contemporary Katchina," in *Katsina: Commodified and Appropriated Images of Hopi Supernaturals*, ed. Zena Pearlstone (Los Angeles: UCLA Flowler Museum of Cultural History, 2001), 43.

[588] J.J. Brody, "Kachina Images in American Art: The Way of the Doll," in *The Way of the Doll*, ed. Polly Schaafsma (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 149.

[589] Culley, "Helen Hardin," 73.

[590] Ibid.

that bring rain to the Pueblo.[591] What Hardin portrays however, is not a literal representation of these spirit beings, but rather her personal interpretation of them.[592] Although the faces on the katsinam are completely invented, the katsina's garments make reference to traditional designs and patterns.[593] Although these distinctions might not be readily apparent to a non-Hopi, those indoctrinated in the Pueblo culture would likely be able to differentiate between real and invented parts of the katsinam. In Hopi culture, when performers personate the katsina spirit, they don a mask that represents the katsina face. It is the mask, according to the Hopi, that literally transforms the man into the katsina. Because they are so significant to ceremony, katsina masks are considered sacred and not appropriate for the art market.[594] It seems likely that Hardin was aware of this prohibition, and thus tailored her work to be more respectful of cultural privacy. By not accurately portraying the katsina faces, Hardin could perhaps feel more comfortable depicting them in a painting. However, even though Hardin's images were not literal representations of spirit beings, she was still criticized for simply portraying them. Some of the harshest criticism came from her own mother, who once said after her daughter's death that Helen might have gotten cancer because she painted the katsinam.[595]

Although many of Hardin's paintings, such as *Winter Awakening*, depicted a subject matter that referred to pueblo belief systems, she didn't view her works as overtly religious**.** "I think I have always been spiritual in my art, not in a structured

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[591] Patricia Janice Broder, *Earth Songs, Moon Dreams: Paintings by American Indian Women* (New York City: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 65.
[592] Culley, "Helen Hardin," 73.
[593] Broder, *Earth Songs, Moon Dreams*, 65.
[594] Pearlstone, "The Contemporary Katchina," 45-46.
[595] Scott, *Changing Woman,* 53.

Pueblo religious sense, but in the sense of being alive and human."[596] Likewise, she explained; "I paint my spiritual response to the Indian experience. I use tradition as a springboard and go diving into my paints."[597] Her husband, Cradoc Bagshaw, recalls that painting was transformative in a sense for Helen: "When she painted, she was gone. She just wasn't there…. She retreated into Indian spirituality when she painted, a spirituality that she had been denied direct access to by her own people."[598] So, for Hardin, it seems that the process of painting itself was spiritual, as was expressing her experience of culture. Although she seemingly felt her works were spiritual, she disdained the idea that artists capitalized on this classification of their work/themselves. She expressed this sentiment thus: "In recent years there's been a lot written about the Indian artist and his or her *spiritual identity* (whatever the devil that is). I think many of the artists who lay claim to this are really mouthing the words to sell their works. It's what the white man wants to hear."[599] Perhaps it was the implicit connection made between Indian culture and spirituality that concerned Hardin, as she disliked labels and being pigeon-holed. I imagine she felt that being Indian and being spiritual were not necessarily correlated.

In addition to being an avenue into discussing the commodification of culture/spirituality/self, *Winter Awakening*, with its unique formal elements, reveals Hardin's engagement with contemporary Native art and her ability to make design choices that were both aesthetically pleasing and appropriate to the subject matter at

[596] Helen Hardin, as quoted in "Helen Hardin, Tewa painter," 122.
[597] Ibid., 123.
[598] Cradoc Bagshaw, as quoted in Scott, *Changing Woman*, 5.
[599] Helen Hardin, as quoted in Hurst, "Crossing Bridges," 85.

hand. Hardin's use of "ghosted" shapes in the background and sprayed on paint again refer to Herrera's influence. Herrera was the first Native artist to utilize the spray application in his work, without a spray gun.[600] Not only did Hardin imitate Herrera's painting technique, she also was inspired throughout her career by his abstractions which referred to the ancient symbolism of Southwest rock art.[601] In this work, she depicted five cloud people in a horizontal line. Two katsinam in the center of the composition hover above the ground line. This arrangement has not only an aesthetic appeal, but also a symbolic significance. When referring to *Return of the Cloud People* (1972), another katsina series painting, Hardin explains that the katsinam "are still coming in on the clouds. They are breaking through a rainbow."[602] This explanation seems to apply to the katsinam in *Winter Awakening* as well; the "floating" katsinam remind the viewer that they travel from the clouds to earth.[603] By combining innovative stylistic elements with the subject matter of the katsinam, Hardin was able to create in *Winter Awakening* a true synthesis of modern and traditional art.

While *Winter Awakening* dates to 1972, Hardin continued her kachina series into the 1980s.[604] She would not be dissuaded from utilizing this sacred subject matter, noting, "I can't imagine not doing kachinas."[605] Perhaps there was a personal reason that Hardin felt drawn to these spirit beings. Katsinam are dualistic in that they traverse the two worlds of the clouds and the earth. Hardin was also often similarly torn; she was a Native woman married to a white man, she was born into Santa Clara Pueblo but

[600] Ibid., 88.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Ibid., 49.
[603] Ibid.
[604] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 51.
[605] Ibid.

excluded from their ceremonial life, and she used traditional cultural imagery in a very modern way. Seemingly cognizant of the many competing forces in her life, she created self-referential pieces with such revealing titles as, *Looking Within Myself I am Many Parts* (1976) (See Figure 72).[606]

This painting, which features an abstracted face set against a geometric background, is comparable to a series of etchings Hardin completed near the end of her life. In what Hardin called the Woman Series, she created individual etchings; *Changing Woman* (1981), *Medicine Woman* (1981), *Listening Woman* (1982), and the unrealized *Creative Woman* (See Figures 73, 74, and 75). Hardin was quite outspoken about the value of women, as well as the degree to which her gender contributed to her artistic identity or her identity in general. As she put it:

> I'm a wife, a mother, and Helen Hardin, but I'm not aware of myself as woman, woman, woman. I don't get up in the morning and think, *Oh God, I'm a woman and I have to prove I'm one, and on top of that I'm an Indian woman.* I don't struggle with that, and I can't imagine any intelligent person wanting to.[607]

Despite the fact that she didn't feel the need to prove her womanhood or ethnicity in her paintings, she did hold both in high regard. She spoke about her decision to do a series focused on celebrating women:

> I was growing annoyed at the way some artists, even some Indian artists, were either ignoring women in their works or reducing them to tits and asses. It was the solid, hardworking Indian women who did most of the work, and managed to keep the families going after the tribes were herded unto reservations. So I felt *this* need, this compulsion, to do a series of my best works to show the noble women for what they were: intelligent, thinking, hard-working and spiritual. This is the goal I hope to reach through my etchings.[608]

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[606] Ibid., 132.
[607] Ibid., 85.
[608] Helen Hardin as quoted in Frontain, "The Last Days of Helen Hardin," 12.

Here, Hardin was referring to R.C. Gorman's focus on women's bodies. She explained that she wanted to depict women in a different manner.

> Gorman has been doing his women series for years and years-the emphasis had always been on the body, on the hands, on the boobs, on the feet, and everything was usually massive and masculine. I felt women are not that way, or at least not only that way. Women are also intellectual and emotional and sensitive, and that's what I wanted my series to be about-an intellectual series.[609]

Hardin, like Velarde, valued women and sought to express their importance through her art. Whereas Velarde's genre scenes of women making and selling pottery demonstrated their roles within Pueblo culture, Hardin's series of women reflected more on women's character traits.

Additionally, Hardin's "Woman Series" took on an auto-biographical tone, as the works spoke to her own life circumstances. Speaking about *Changing Woman*, Hardin noted its personal nature: "My feeling about being Indian, a woman, and me and expressing myself as all three can be found in two examples of my work presently hanging on my walls."[610] Likewise, she explained how the work correlated to her life circumstances:

> The second piece is a copper etching, four plates with four colors. I call it Changing Woman, and the only way I can describe it is that about every six years I become aware of myself as a woman, as a person growing through changes. I shift gears. I go through one stage to another and maybe stay on a slight inclination for awhile-not a plateau, because on a plateau you are level-and then it is necessary to make a jump and go up to a higher plane. In this particular etching you see a full face, and you see a profile of half a person. Streaming from the mouth is the fact that something is going on inside me. I'm trying to say what is happening, but all I can say is that I'm changing.[611]

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[609] Helen Hardin as quoted in Scott, *Changing Woman*, 138.
[610] Helen Hardin as quoted in Hurst, "Crossing Bridges," 86.
[611] Ibid.

Hardin reflected that *Changing Woman* was about life changes, such as moving from Santa Fe back to Albuquerque, and about work changes; as more demands were placed on her, she began to incorporate etching into her repertoire.[612] After finishing the second woman of the series, *Medicine Woman*, Hardin was diagnosed with breast cancer. The timing of the completion of this etching with her illness was fortuitous, as Hardin recognized: "I finished *Medicine Woman* just before he told me. It was almost as if I needed that person, that healing spirit. After I found out I had cancer, and we were doing the print at El Cerro, I felt I had her spirit with me."[613] *Listening Woman*, for Helen, represented, "the woman I am only becoming now."[614] She noted to friend Carole Katz that the etching exemplified how she was finally listening to her body.[615] Interestingly, Hardin explained that certain types of women were drawn to certain etchings in her series. For example, she noted that psychiatrists and lawyers often bought *Listening Woman*. However, she clarified that she didn't cater to any particular audience: "I don't make these things for sale for a group of people, it's just that certain groups of women are drawn to them. And my audience for this series particularly has women."[616] This statement reveals that while Hardin did not cater to a specific market, she was certainly aware of the market for her work.

While her subject matter of the women series was perhaps not market driven, her use of the media of etching was a direct response to market demand. While she would often spend hours upon hours executing her incredibly precise paintings, she

[612] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 259.
[613] Scott, *Changing Woman*, 143.
[614] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 249.
[615] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 251.
[616] Helen Hardin as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 259.

simply could not sustain that pace. The market demanded more than she could supply and still maintain the immaculate quality she insisted upon. Sue Di Maio, owner of Galeria Capistrano, suggested that Hardin try etching as a possible solution. With this medium, she could produce many images of high quality in a mere fraction of the time, as it required just one perfected original. At first doubtful of the idea, once Hardin learned etching, she was hooked.[617] She produced twenty-three copper plate etchings between 1980 and 1984. The first editions of all these etchings have recently been exhibited in *Spirit Lines*, a show which toured museums around the country from June 9th-October 8, 2017.

Working in a printed media also provided an opportunity for Hardin to disseminate her work to a wider audience, at a more affordable price point. Certainly, this was something that appealed to Hardin, as she once vehemently argued for her work to be reproduced on posters and greeting cards at Indian Market, a suggestion which put her into hot water with the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAIA) board. While Hardin felt this made her work more accessible to a wider audience, and therefore allowed her to sell more images, SWAIA worried that this commercialization would take away from the high pedigree placed on fine art.[618] However, despite their disapproval, Hardin forged ahead anyway. In 1982, she exhibited her posters in her booth at Indian Market. She was not intimidated by SWAIA's president, who personally visited her and warned her that keeping the posters up would lead to trouble for her the following year.[619]

[617] Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 210-212.
[618] Ibid., 200.
[619] Ibid., 247.

As Hardin's encounter with Indian Market organizers demonstrated, she was not easily dissuaded and never accepted being told what she could or could not do. In that sense, she was quite similar to her mother, Velarde. In addition to learning tenacity, determination, and assertiveness from her mother, Hardin also acknowledged that Velarde taught her one thing about art. "I did learn one fine lesson from Pablita, give attention to the smallest details. Do that and the entire work will then hang together as one creation. That she told me and told me, and I give my greatest attention to every little detail."[620] Indeed, Hardin gave incredible attention to detail, as she noted in a 1975 PBS documentary, "Nobody, I don't think any other artist around for miles, would put the energy into four square inches of space as I do in a day."[621] This level of commitment to her work resulted in visually stunning paintings that were unbelievably intricate in patterning. Although she might not have as readily acknowledged other ways Velarde influenced her, Hardin certainly was inspired by Velarde's dedication to depicting Pueblo cultural subject matter. Hardin's daughter, Margaret Bagshaw, carried forward into the next generation Hardin's inventive interpretation of culture. Although she passed away in 1984, before Bagshaw's painting career took off, Hardin certainly would have been proud of her daughter's innovative compositions that often merged cultural subject matter, abstraction, and vibrant color into stunningly unique paintings.

[620] Helen Hardin as quoted in Frontain, "The Last Days of Helen Hardin," 10-11.

[621] Helen Hardin as quoted in *American Indian Artists*, KAET, Arizona State University, Corporation for Public Broadcasting, produced in 1975.

Chapter 4: Margarete Bagshaw

Unlike Hardin, Margarete Bagshaw did not particularly dislike having her work compared to her mother's or grandmother's. Although she asserted that she had her own personal style inspired by the modernists, her work often acknowledged the influence of both Hardin and Velarde. In particular, Bagshaw created a series of paintings titled "The Mother Line" that self-consciously reflected upon the artistic legacy her mother and grandmother left her. As I discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 how Velarde and Hardin's work celebrated both women and Pueblo culture, here I will investigate how Bagshaw addressed these same components in her work. I will explore how the creation of the Golden Dawn Gallery (2009) marketed her work and how the establishment of the Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts (2011) spoke to her interest in creating a space for Native women artists. I will address how her art fits into an on-going narrative that asks questions about Native art: What are its parameters? What is the role of cultural identity? Why is it under-represented in museums? Just as I provided a nuanced analysis of Velarde's work as modernist at times, and of Hardin's work as an expression of her views on cultural identity, I provide a similarly complex understanding of Bagshaw's work. In this vein, I explore stylistic similarities between her work and the work of some modernists she was inspired by, including Wassily Kandinsky (1866-1944) and Piet Mondrian (1872-1944). I note how her gestural style of painting allows her work to be compared to the abstract expressionists, including Jackson Pollock (1912-1956). I also postulate that her large-scale paintings with big blocks of color can be compared to the work of the color field painter Mark Rothko (1903-1970). I will explore how her work conceptualized her

ideas about the influences of her mother and grandmother and communicated her own unique vision. I will note how Bagshaw's work was distinctive in its color, scale, subject, and style. I will investigate how her work explored her multicultural heritage. Finally, I will explain how her widower, McGuinness, continues to translate her work into new artistic expressions.[622]

Prior to delving into an analysis of Bagshaw's individual paintings, I feel it necessary to discuss some questions and issues still affecting the field of Native American art history. My analysis will utilize these issues as a framework for discussing Bagshaw's art. By placing her work in the context of the contemporary dialogue about Native American art, I give it relevancy and presence in the discourse on Native art. I allow it to speak not only to her intentions, her influences, and her circumstances at the time of creation, but also to continue to speak to an on-going discussion about Native art.

As I noted in Chapter 3, the question of what factors make Native American art *Native American* is long-standing and perhaps still unresolved. In 1958, Oscar Howe brought up this issue when he questioned why the Philbrook rejected his work. He decried the notion that Native art should have a certain subject or aesthetic. Contemporary artists, critics, scholars, writers, and curators continue to wrestle with re-examining the factors, if any, that distinguish contemporary Native American art from contemporary American art, or contemporary art in general. Another related question seems to be: If there is a difference, how or even should it be acknowledged? What are

[622] McGuinness has both a personal and commercial interest in Velarde's, Hardin's, and Bagshaw's work, as he operates the Golden Dawn Gallery, which sells their work.

the advantages and conversely, the repercussions of separating Native American art from the mainstream in exhibitions or institutions?

Some of these topics are explored in the 2008 book *[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art*, a collection of essays based on a symposium at the Denver Art Museum where scholars discussed critical issues in the field of Native American art. In an essay from this volume titled "Segregation of Native Art by Ethnicity: Is It Self-Imposed or Superimposed?" Alfred Young Man, Cree artist and writer, explores the significance of not having Native art "writ large" or represented alongside other great modernists in large museums. He argues that while it may initially seem that the segregation of Native Art by ethnicity is super-imposed, it is not that simple. As he notes,

> However, if you ask whether segregation is a positive or negative experience for the Native artist, I would say segregation alone does not necessarily guarantee a negative or positive response since, as you can see, the answer must always be provisional-it depends on who is doing the asking, the looking, and the critical analysis, and who is feeling accepted or isolated.[623]

Indeed, there is no single answer to this question about the effects of segregation of Native art, nor are responses likely to be either entirely positive or negative. Bagshaw seemed to argue that her work should be understood in a wider context, as she noted: "While I am of Native heritage, that fact alone in no way defines my art. I am a modernist painter."[624] The concept of self-representation for Native artists is complicated, as Lucy Lippard notes: "Among the challenges facing Native artists today

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[623]Alfred Young Man, "Segregation of Native Art by Ethnicity: Is It Self-imposed or Superimposed?," in *[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art*, ed. Nancy J. Blomberg (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2008), 79.

[624] Margarete Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show," YouTube video, 32:16, made to accompany "The Color of Oil" exhibition, November 22, 2013-March 2, 2014, posted by GoldenDawnGallery, May 15th, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6P2vZtl7wzo.

is figuring out where the line should be drawn between an indigenous artist making modernist or postmodern art and modernist/postmodernist who "happens to be indigenous."[625] This is a subtle, but I think important distinction, as it speaks to the question of the degree to which indigeneity is emphasized. Although Bagshaw wanted her art to be seen in the broader context of modernism, she did not ignore her Native heritage either. While some might argue perhaps that she created a self-imposed segregation of Native American art by establishing the Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts, her intent was to ensure that the work received the exposure it deserved. Following a visit to NMAI where she presented a lecture on her family's work, she realized the importance of establishing a museum specifically for the representation of Native women artists.[626] It's difficult to fault Bagshaw for taking initiative and creating an exhibition space for what she saw as under-represented artists. Even Young Man would seem to agree, as he noted: "How can Native artists be accused of self-imposing ethnic segregation on themselves when we have no way of reaching the pinnacle yet?"[627] I would argue that the Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts gave the work exposure, which in turn, could advance the art more towards the "pinnacle" of the mainstream art world of which Young Man spoke. Lippard addresses marginalization as well, noting: "Ghettoization preoccupies every identity-based or marginalized group. But it too is double-sided. While most Indian artists would like to be shown in broader contexts, I doubt if many want to see the end of

[625] Lucy R. Lippard, "All Six Legs," in *[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art,* ed. Nancy J. Blomberg (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2008), 131.

[626] Margarete Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly* (Santa Fe: Little Standing Spruce Publishing, 2012), 204.

[627] Young Man, "Segregation of Native Art by Ethnicity," 102.

Native art exhibitions."[628] Indeed, when five artists who were a part of a 2007 exhibition at NMAI were asked if they found the term "Native art" reductive, they all responded by saying that while they didn't identify as "Native artist" they didn't find the designation limiting.[629] It seems that Bagshaw felt the same way; her Native culture was not the only defining aspect of her work, but I have no doubt that she was interested in celebrating it at times.

Perhaps in response to the history of having Native objects exhibited solely as markers/representations of a specific tribal identity, one trend in post-modernism has been to go the exact opposite way and take concepts of identity and culture out of the equation all together. Young Man explains this tendency:

> The current popular trend is to simply appropriate Native artists into the postmodern mainstream, shorn of any association with First Nations or Native American history, cultural roots, personal integrity, and intellectual content-assimilated into some great mysterious melting pot of Canadian identity, irrespective of how multicultural or pluralistic Canada claims to be.[630]

This also seems unfair, as it doesn't approach Native arts holistically, instead skipping entirely over the messy and complicated *Native* part. Stripping Native art of the idea of "Native-ness" is a double-edged sword, as Nancy Marie Mithlo explains: "While offering apparent freedom from constrictive categories imposed from the outside, a negation of ethnicity also implies a negation of history."[631] Lippard touches on the subject of 'identity politics' as well, noting: "It gets a bad rap because the idea is often

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[628] Lippard, "All Six Legs," 131.

[629] W. Richard West Jr., "On the Edge," in *Remix: New Modernities in a Post-Indian World*, ed. Joe Baker and Gerald McMaster (Washington D.C.: National Museum of the American Indian, 2007), 12.

[630] Young Man, "Segregation of Native Art by Ethnicity," 97.

[631] Nancy Marie Miltho, "A Realist View of Image Politics: Reclamation of the "Every Indian," in *[Re]inventing the Wheel: Advancing the Dialogue on Contemporary American Indian Art,* ed. Nancy J. Blomberg (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2008), 107.

used reductively, from the outside, as the only factor that makes Native art worth looking at. Yet the issue of identity is raised so consistently by Native artists that it's downright rude to ignore it."[632] Indeed, many artists of Native ethnicity, including Bagshaw, state that they want neither to be constricted by ethnicity as the sole marker of their work, nor do they advocate for a dismissal of it as a part of their work. Lippard advocates for an analysis of identity as it relates to the work itself. "When identity is a major part of an artist's work, it should be treated as directly as it was intended before it's plunged into the theoretical melting pot. Analysis is productive if it doesn't depart from the artmakers and from the art itself."[633] I hope to provide this type of productive analysis, by always considering the artmakers and the art itself. It seems that the theoretical pendulum has swung back and forth, from exhibiting Native art solely based on cultural/tribal distinction (as was the anthropological approach of the early 20th century) to the postmodern trend of exhibiting contemporary Native art into the mainstream, without addressing Native history. Perhaps in time the pendulum will settle somewhere in the middle, in a place where Native art is celebrated for its aesthetics and modernity and also analyzed in terms of how/if the artist chose to reference their native culture/history/identity in their work. It is this sort of middle ground, a nuanced and complete analysis of Native American art as neither defined, constrained, or proscribed by "Native-ness" that I hope I bring to Bagshaw's work.

While there are on-going concerns about the best way to address identity in Native art and the optimal way of integrating contemporary Native art into the mainstream, progress is being made, perhaps. On September 15, 2017, the Walker Art

[632] Lippard, "All Six Legs," 142.
[633] Ibid.

Center hosted a roundtable discussion titled *How Can Contemporary Art Be More Inclusive of Native Voices?* This discussion emerged in response to the Walker's exhibition of a retrospective of Jimmie Durham's work, titled *Jimmie Durham: At the Center of the World*. The exhibition prompted a backlash against Durham and his claims to Cherokee ancestry. Numerous members of the Cherokee Nation, including America Meredith (artist) and Ashley Holland (doctoral candidate at the University of Oklahoma) spoke out, claiming Durham was not of Cherokee heritage.[634] The controversy brought the issues of cultural identity, sovereignty, and politics again to the forefront in Native American art. In speaking about how art institutions can address work by Native artists as an integrated part of American art, Kathleen Ash-Milby (Navajo Nation, Associate Curator at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) New York) noted:

> I've been becoming aware in the last couple years that many American art museums seem to be reexamining their definition of American art, and thinking about the exclusion of Native art from the American art canon. One of my recent exhibitions was *Kay WalkingStick: An American Artist*, which was trying to bring up that question and really frame her as an American artist, thinking about her as an American artist, not just as a Native American artist. And I'm really feeling a little bit optimistic because there are changes taking place in some institutions, in terms of how they're exhibiting the material and integrating Native art into their more mainstream American art collections, or at least starting to think about it.[635]

In an effort to emulate this kind of inclusivity, I will investigate how Bagshaw's work was inspired by the modernists, both American and European. Artist Jeffery Gibson

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[634] *Cara Cowan Watts, Luzene Hill, America Meredith, Kade Twist, Lynne Harlan, Pauline Prater, Brian K. Hudson, Candice Byrd, Yvonne N. Tiger, Ashley Holland*, "Dear Unsuspecting Public, Jimmie Durham Is a Trickster," *Indian Country Today*, June 26, 2017, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/dear-unsuspecting-public-jimmie-durham-trickster/.

[635] Kathleen Ash-Milby as quoted in "How Can Contemporary Art Be More Inclusive of Native Voices?," *Walker Art Center*, October 12, 2017, https://walkerart.org/magazine/inclusion-native-american-art-panel-discussion.

(Mississippi Band of Choctaw) expanded on the potential value in comparing Native and non-Native work:

> I think that that's a shift that would benefit everybody—for Native arts curators and writers to also speak about artists who are not Native, speak about them in tandem, compare them. My work probably has more in common, let's say, with a non-Native painter or sculptor than it does with a basket or an appliqué skirt. But, so many times, that's been what's been presented to me. And I understand it. I don't want to negate that in any way, that is for something else. Those are my inspirations, that's what I've looked at, that's what I'm referring to, many times. But I think to talk about patterns, to talk about color, to talk about formalism, to talk about economies, communities, spirituality in a broader way would make a much more compelling exhibition for a broader audience.[636]

In the spirit of this ideal, I investigate how patterns, color, and formal elements speak to a syncretism between Bagshaw's work and the work of the modernists. I also explore how she was inspired by the transcendentalists and their views on spirituality. In taking this approach, I will build on the scholarship of W. Jackson Rushing. In *Modern by Tradition* (1995) (a book he co-authored with Bruce Bernstein) and *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (1995), he took seriously the inter-relationship between Native American art and the work of prominent modernist artists. Bagshaw explained that she was influenced by various modernists, including the transcendental artists Raymond Jonson (1891-1982), Emil Bisttram (1895-1976), Agnes Pelton (1881-1961), and Florence Miller Pierce (1918-2007).[637] She explained how their philosophy of art and spirituality influenced her work: "As my art became more fine-tuned and compositionally mature, I started understanding the spiritual relationship between space, light, and design. Symmetry and asymmetry, surface and depth, translucence

[636] Jeffery Gibson as quoted in "How Can Contemporary Art Be More Inclusive of Native Voices?"

[637] Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 208.

and opacity, became the laws of my artwork, not just on a visual level but in my spiritual world as well."[638] The correlation that modernists saw between form and spirituality was informed in part by an appreciation/appropriation of Native American art. Rushing has effectively demonstrated the link between the two groups, as he eloquently explained: "Native American art, and its attendant notions about landscape, self, and consciousness, as perceived by the modernists, provided a powerful justification for finding spiritual value in abstraction."[639] As Bagshaw admired the modernists, I will investigate how she emulated their aesthetic, using specific examples to illustrate formal similarities.

Two of Bagshaw's inspirations, Jonson and Bisttram, at times were inspired by Native American design elements, which they integrated into their geometric abstractions.[640] While this correlation certainly could have led Bagshaw to investigate the work of these artists, it appears that she was less interested in their compositions that reference indigenous abstractions, and more inspired by their less culturally specific compositions. For example, Bisttram's *Tensions* (1939) and his *Celestial Alignment* (c. 1938) share formal similarities with several of Bagshaw's paintings. *Tensions,* with its focus on geometry, line, and the inter-relationship of the two, resembles one of Bagshaw's untitled works (See Figure 76). This painting was done for a cover of the set of biographies on Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw. Both *Tensions* and Bagshaw's untitled work contain concentric circles that are joined to other circles in the

[638] Ibid.

[639] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 96.

[640] For a complete discussion of Raymond Jonson and Emil Bisttram and their appropriation of Native American design imagery see Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 79-90.

composition by patterns of diagonal lines. Each work carefully balances the curvilinear with the angular, effectively mixing diagonals, rectangles, and circles. In *Tensions*, diagonals create a visual tension, thus the title is certainly apt. Bisttram's *Celestial Arrangement* (c.1938) could have also inspired Bagshaw, as her *Cosmic Contemplation* (2011) shares a sensibility with it (See Figure 77). Each of these works include various sized circles arranged in a linear pattern, a strip of seven parallel lines that intersects circular forms, and similar colors. While Bisttram used peach, cream, aqua, red, and yellow orange, Bagshaw used a similar palette, although her hues are more intense and her use of color more expressive. Her *Intergalactic Postcard* (2013) and *Night Time Diagram* (2012) reveal that she continued to be inspired by the subject matter of space (See Figure 78). Here, I think, space is conceptualized in two ways; both in reference to astronomy, and in terms of space on the canvas. While these two paintings may reference Bisttram's work less overtly, we can still see suggestions of his influence. In *Intergalactic Postcard,* Bagshaw again uses seven parallel lines grouped together and includes various sizes of circles. In each of these paintings, Bagshaw explores geometry, form, line, color, and how they all intersect. Bisttram's *Mother Earth* (1940) also has several similarities to Bagshaw's *Clans of the Old World* (2013) (See Figure 79). Both feature concentric circles and a cruciform in the inner-most circle. In each work the circle is divided into eight pieces; Bisttram used swaths of yellow and blue to accomplish this aim, Bagshaw used masks.

Bagshaw also was inspired by Mondrian, whose gridded compositions often included blue, yellow, and red.[641] While in St. Thomas from 2006-2009, Bagshaw

[641] Dan McGuinness, interview by Emily Payne, June 6, 2017, Golden Dawn Gallery, Santa Fe, NM.

created a pottery piece titled *Homage to Mondrian*. Her painting, *Primary Pleasure* (2010), plays with the primary colors and includes gridded checkerboarded patterns, reminiscent of those in Mondrian's *Composition with Grids: Checkerboard Composition with Light Colors* (1919) (See Figure 80). Bagshaw's *Of the Grid* (2011) also seems to allude to Mondrian's interest in exploring the formal properties of the grid. Bagshaw's use of ochre rectangles and a gridded format correlate to the formal elements of Mondrian's *Composition with Grid #1* (1918) (See Figure 81).

Bagshaw's underpainting for *Ancestral Procession* was composed of three loosely painted sections of blue, red, and yellow (See Figure 82). While the use of primary colors is suggestive of Mondrian's influence, the application of large blocks of color in a thin wash and the use of a large canvas are both evocative of Rothko's work. Rothko's *Orange and Yellow* (1956) exemplifies how he created blocks of color without definitive edges (See Figure 83). Bagshaw's underpainting has a similar sense of softness. Both *Orange and Yellow* (93 ½" x 73 1/2") and *Ancestral Procession* (80"x110") are large in scale. Rothko intended for his large canvases to be immersive for viewers.[642] Bagshaw explained how she became absorbed in her paintings: "I'm not outside of my painting, I'm in it. It sounds esoteric and I realize that. I see the hidden corners."[643] For her, the process of painting was transcendental, and she also hoped that viewers could lose themselves in her work. She expressed her vision: "I always like to think of my painting hanging in someone's personal space, and they're standing in front

[642] "Orange and Yellow, 1956 by Mark Rothko," accessed April 18, 2018, http://www.markrothko.org/orange-and-yellow/

[643] Margarete Bagshaw as quoted in Kate Nelson, "The Rule of Three: Margarete Bagshaw," *El Palacio*, Winter 2011, 56.

of it at the end of the day with a glass of wine and getting lost, pouring out their day to the painting."[644] Bagshaw was both challenged and fulfilled by the process of painting large scale works.[645] Although she preferred to paint large canvases, she produced over one hundred 8"x10" paintings for the covers of the premiere editions of the set of biographies on her family. Humorously, she titled only one, *No More Little Paintings.*[646] Both Bagshaw and Rothko saw the value in working on a large scale and they also both shared an interest in removing evidence of the artist's hand. Rothko achieved this aim by applying layers of thin paint onto unprepared canvas.[647] Bagshaw used her hands to spread paint on the canvas and took great pride in the fact that viewers couldn't see brushstrokes in her paintings[648] (See Figure 84). The use of her hands to paint puts her in the company of the gestural, or action painters, including Pollock. Bagshaw also created several paintings that featured a splattering technique, such as *Rain Council* (2012) (See Figure 85). While Hardin's use of spattering seems to reference more closely Herrera's technique, Bagshaw's is more reminiscent of Pollock's, with its freely applied, gestural style. In *Rain Council*, Bagshaw also utilizes the splatters to allude to the idea of rain, which is entirely appropriate to the subject matter at hand.[649]

A comparison between Bagshaw's *Woman Made of Fire* (2010) and Kandinsky's *Circles in a Circle* (1923) again reveals similarities between Bagshaw and the work of the modernists (See Figure 86). Each of these compositions features two

[644] Ibid.
[645] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."
[646] Dan McGuinness, email to author, April 18, 2018.
[647] "Orange and Yellow, 1956 by Mark Rothko."
[648] McGuinness, interview.
[649] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."

intersecting bands or swaths of pigment that expand across the canvas. The sweeping diagonals add an enormous sense of dynamism to the works. Each of these images also features a heavily outlined circle as a central part of the composition. Both Bagshaw and Kandinsky play with diagonals, circles, translucence, tonality, layering of geometric forms, and intersection of line. Kandinsky felt that "certain colors and shapes signify emotions that can be codified and combined into a whole, reflecting the harmony of the cosmos."[650] Bagshaw held a similar view on the correlation of art, emotion, and spirituality, as she explained: "My paintings are a dialogue in the spirit world. My mind is so far out there, and my soul is feeling every movement I make with color. Every part of the painting process triggers a new feeling or emotion."[651] *Woman Made of Fire* emerged when a client in the Golden Dawn Gallery asked Bagshaw if she had heard of the Fibonacci sequence, a numerical succession in which the first two digits are zero and one, and each subsequent number is the sum of the previous two. Inspired, she drew squares that followed this proportional pattern, and made arcs connecting these squares, thus creating the "golden spiral," a calculated geometry that also curiously occurs with great frequency in nature. She applied increasing color value in accordance with the mathematical pattern. Although *Woman Made of Fire* began in a measured way, its' completion was more spontaneous. Bagshaw explained how the work evolved:

> That was the hardest painting I had done, using the counting and computing side of the brain. Halfway through the painting, the creative side of my brain took over and painting became part of the subject of a book that I had recently read, Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb's *She Who Dwells Within: Feminist Vision of a Renewed*

[650] Emily Hage, "Circles in a Circle," in *Masterpieces from the Philadelphia Museum of Art: Impressionism and Modern Art*, (Tokyo: The Yomiuri Shimbun, 2007), 136.

[651] Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 209.

> *Judaism*. Gottlieb discussed "Shekinah," the feminine side of God. My painting *Woman Made of Fire* was the result.[652]

The fact that this painting was half about geometry, careful patterning, and measuring, and half about spontaneous creation of form speaks to the duality of Kandinsky's stylistic expression as well. *Circles in a Circle* (1923) is notable in that it was exemplary of his shift in the early 1920s from a spontaneous painting style to a more carefully articulated style of geometric abstraction, which was precipitated by his involvement with the Bauhaus.[653] Interestingly, Bagshaw chose to use the feminine aspect of God as a subject matter for a painting where the formal elements are about spirituality as well. In referencing aspects of a deity or almighty power, Bagshaw alludes to ideals of perfection, eternity, and complete balance, all of which can be seen as defining elements of the circle. Indeed, Kandinsky held the circle in high esteem, viewing it thus: "the circle is the synthesis of the greatest oppositions. It combines the concentric and the excentric in a single form, and in balance."[654] Thinking about the idea of the concentric (which correlates to interiority) and excentric (which correlates to exteriority), it is certainly apt that Bagshaw's *Woman Made of Fire* was symbolic of the thing most outside of self (God) and of the most interior (self). While it symbolized aspects of God in subject matter, it also stood as a representation of Bagshaw herself. Following her untimely death from a brain tumor in 2015, McGuinness published a book of Bagshaw's paintings she produced in her last five years, titled *Woman Made of Fire: Margarete Bagshaw The last 5 years 2009-2014*. The cover of the book features

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[652] Ibid., 224.

[653] Hage, "Circles in a Circle," 136.

[654] Wassily Kandinsky as quoted in Will Grohmann, *Wassily Kandinsky: Life and Work*, trans. Norbert Guterman (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1958), 188.

the title "Woman Made of Fire" in a bold font situated atop a portrait of Bagshaw staring intently out toward the viewer (See Figure 87). The juxtaposition of text and image effectively suggests that Bagshaw herself was a "Woman Made of Fire." This choice of title was certainly apt, as McGuiness noted that the painting was Bagshaw's "all-time favorite."[655]

In comparing Bagshaw's work to specific works by modern artists I am not trying to suggest that she necessarily referenced those exact paintings, as that would be nearly impossible to prove. Rather, my intent is to demonstrate that the works of Bisttram, Mondrian, Kandinsky, and Rothko were sources of inspiration for her modernist abstractions. Whether or not she consciously utilized specific elements of their paintings is not really the point, it is more important to recognize that their imagery was a part of her design vocabulary. In situating her work in the context of the modernists, I take seriously her wishes to be seen as a Modernist, not just a *Native* Modernist. In demonstrating the influence of the modernist's work on her paintings, I advance the dialogue surrounding her work and present a fuller understanding about its significance.

While modern stylistic referents were certainly a large part of Bagshaw's paintings, they were not the only thing that informed her work. She explained how her culture was also an influence:

> I am a Modernist. However, my tribal culture, at times, makes itself very apparent in my work. Being Native American is not the most important thing in my art. It certainly plays a part in some of my images, because it is a world in which I grew up-one foot in and one foot out. My European ancestry, and Mexican ancestry through my father Pat also play a part in my art.[656]

[655] Dan McGuinness, email to author, April 14, 2018.
[656] Bashaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 209.

This statement about the multi-valence of her work speaks to what Native artists have perhaps always known, and what the Native Art community as a whole has been coming to understand: that Native art is complex in its syncretism. Lippard clarifies how this tension has played out:

> For years now, those of us concerned with contemporary Native art have gone around and around on the relationships between identity and culture, traditional and modernist, mainstream and marginalization. These are choices-but not the *only* choices-facing contemporary Native artists, and they are not incompatible; there is no either/or. Pretty much across the board, the best contemporary Native artists play in that liminal zone in between dodging the obvious contradictions and conflations.[657]

Indeed, Bagshaw's work is never either/or; it is about identity and about culture, it incorporates the traditional and the modern, is a both a part of the mainstream contemporary and also stands confidently as a part of the Native American art scene. The theological move towards more inclusivity and less divisiveness in the art world is well understood by Lippard, who eloquently explains:

> In the late 1980s and 1990s, postmodernism's iconoclastic spirit coincided with a global wave of postcolonial theory that carried a number of artists from hitherto unconsidered cultures onto the shores (margins) of the art worlds. The concepts of hybridity, cross-culturalism, strategic essentialism, and other new ways of getting around the classic Eurocentricity of the modernist art world opened up new common grounds. Such cross-cultural negotiations, with parallel models in African, Asian, and Latino countries, have become the standard for younger artists acknowledging that indigeneity is an ideological space that can be worked in and on.[658]

In this vein, exhibits of contemporary Native art have certainly addressed indigeneity as it relates to identity and to artistic expression. For example, in 2007 the Heard Museum organized an exhibition titled *Remix: New Modernities in a Post-Indian World*.

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[657] Lippard, "All Six Legs," 136, 139.

[658] Lucy Lippard, "Moving Days," in *Migrations: New Directions in Native American Art*, ed. Marjorie Devon (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 11.

Speaking about the artists featured in the exhibition, W. Richard West said: "For the community of artists in our time, identity is both a more idiosyncratic and a more fluid concept, a river in which currents of gender and personal experience, along with race, nationality, and cultural heritage, mix and remix, in continual re-creation."[659] This idea of identity certainly correlates to how I perceive Bagshaw viewed herself; a woman with her own unique life experiences and a mix of cultural backgrounds, whose conception of self was not static, but rather dynamic.

Bagshaw integrated personal circumstances into her conception of her identity, as exemplified in *Subconscious* (2012) (See Figure 88). This brightly colored, expressionistic canvas reflects her experiences scuba diving while living in the Virgin Islands, from 2006-2009. In this work, a swirling figural form merges with the aqua water, which is filled with coral, sea anemones, and brightly colored fish. Bagshaw explained that this painting was a self-portrait: "I found someone I could identify with as me and someone I could have fun with. And that was the archetype mermaid. She was a playful spirit and a part of me that I had not encountered or spent time with in a very long while."[660] McGuinness recalled that this painting began when she made a big swipe of paint on the canvas without even looking at it. When he asked what she was doing, she explained that she had just started a painting.[661] Thus, it began in a very unconscious, spontaneous way. This approach to process contrasted greatly with Hardin's. Bagshaw explained that when painting she was "not worried about filling in the perfect line, or creating balance, or creating anything that was finite or polished, or

[659] West, "On the Edge," 11-12.
[660] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."
[661] McGuinness, interview.

perfect."[662] However, although Bagshaw didn't strive for technical perfection as Hardin had done, she nevertheless mixed using tools such as t-squares and curves with a more spontaneous expression, often creating beautifully balanced paintings as a result.

Bagshaw's choice of the title *Subconscious* is certainly multi-valent. As an admirer of the modernists, she would have been aware of the importance of the unconscious in their work, so it is possible her title refers to this linkage. As Rushing has demonstrated, the modernists looked to Native American art for a universal ideal. He explained that the modernists held "the perception that Indian art sprang from deeply rooted ancient traditions that made manifest a universal collective unconscious."[663] Thus, Bagshaw's use of modernist sensibilities, referred to here in her use of title, but elsewhere in her oeuvre in her use of formal elements, represented *an appropriation of an appropriation*. While the modernists initially looked to Native art as inspiration for their ideals of spirituality and universality as articulated in art, Bagshaw looked reflexively back on the modernists and employed their techniques and philosophies in her works. Here, the title *Subconscious* also correlates nicely to the subject matter; a figure under water or "sub"merged. This playful humor, which explores the many possible meanings of language, is also a marker of postmodernity.

Another way Bagshaw inserted herself into the dialogue of postmodernism was to create works that spoke to the confluence of her Native, European, and Mexican heritage. Lippard explains how multi-culturalism has become a part of the critical conversation:

> One of the strategies that has become globally popular is to emphasize syncretism, the bringing together of different influences from different cultures

[662] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."
[663] Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde*, 121.

> within one's own. This has the effect not of watering down specific cultures, but of demonstrating their complexity, serving to befuddle those who had memorized the 'fictions of authenticity.'[664]

However, work still must be done to get the public to understand the syncretic nature of Native art, as most individuals have been so trained to immediately look for cultural (read: Native) symbolism in Native American art. This conundrum is humorously illustrated by an anecdote of Bagshaw's: "Someone came into the gallery and looked at one of my paintings asking "what the mouths in all of the artwork in this area symbolized." I graciously replied, "The figure is probably singing or praying." The smart ass in me wanted to ask him what the mouth means in his culture."[665] Hardin felt a similar frustration with the constant questioning about meaning in her works. Near the end of her life and feeling free to explore more "taboo" subjects from traditional Native art, Hardin created *Mimbres Kokopelli* (c.1984), which highlights Kokopelli's association with fertility through its erect phallus (See Figure 89). Bagshaw recalled Hardin telling her about the work: "She told me, 'This is for all those people all my life asking me what does it mean? What does it mean?' And she gave me the finger. She was telling everybody to fuck off, leave me alone."[666] Thus, although the 'fictions of authenticity' are slow to go away, artists such as Bagshaw, whose work expresses a more fluid conception of identity and culture, are getting the message out there that neither Native art nor Native people are easily definable.

One image that speaks to Bagshaw's expression of multi-culturalism is her *Clans of the New World* (2013) (See Figure 90). In this painting, she mixes Celtic and

[664] Lippard, "Moving Days," 11-12.
[665] Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 209.
[666] Margarete Bagshaw as quoted in Nelson, *Helen Hardin*, 263.

Native American imagery. She explained how it was conceived as a cross-cultural work:

> Clans of the Old World is a complicated painting. It is not necessarily something that you would instantly recognize as a Margarete Bagshaw abstract or Cubist painting. This is a Celtic calendar with masks as moon faces. This is more of a cross-cultural reference that I intentionally did based on the parallel vision that I saw from my grandmother's lineage and my Anglo ancestors, as well as my husband's Celtic ancestors. It is a reference to the similarity between those two cultures with regard to rituals, myths, and legends, including seasons, harvests, pagan rituals, and everyday life. Both of the cultures from opposite ends of the world went through at about the same time in their migration and life after the Ice Age.[667]

Thus, this painting not only recalls the geometry of a drawing by Bisttram, as I demonstrated earlier, but it also alludes to the many cultures that inform Bagshaw's identity. As the child of Hardin, (who had a Native American mother and an Anglo father) and Pat Terrazas (who was Mexican), Bagshaw acknowledged the mix of cultures that made her who she was. This type of multi-culturalism was not a part of either Velarde's or Hardin's repertoire. Instead, they both represented mainly Santa Clara culture, and occasionally depicted other Pueblo ceremonies. Although Hardin was half Native American and half Anglo, she never explored her dad's Anglo culture or ancestry as an inspiration for her work. Thus, in addressing her culture in a more nuanced way, Bagshaw differentiated her work from Hardin's and Velarde's and placed herself into the stream of postmodernism.

Water Signs (2012) also refers to multi-culturalism, albeit in a subtler way. In this image, Bagshaw depicts the *avanyu*, or water serpent, twisted along a piece of pottery (See Figure 91). In this boldly colored, high contrast image, the pottery form is fragmented, which speaks to the stylistic influence of Cubism, as well as recalls the

[667] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."

shapes of pottery sherds. While both Velarde and Hardin explored the use of abstracted pottery motifs in their compositions, Bagshaw's experimentation was unique. A comparison between Velarde's *Mimbres Quails* (1987), Hardin's *Flute Players in the Moonlight* (1977), and Bagshaw's *Water Signs* (2012) reveals the artist's different approaches (See Figure 92). Velarde attempted to create a representational space, and though she included abstracted motifs, they are not the focus of the composition. Hardin depicted space abstractly by including a geometric and decorative ground line. Bagshaw omitted a background and ground line and made abstracted pottery motifs the central component of the work. In *Water Signs*, Bagshaw intended for the *avanyu* to be a "universal representation" of the many cultures (Asian, Mexican, Celtic, Native American, and African) that use serpent images as a part of their mythology. [668] The *avanyu* is also commonly used on Santa Clara pottery. Bagshaw also painted *Water Signs* in response to current events; she created it when New Mexico was in the middle of a drought and hoping for water. The title *Water Signs* plays with double meanings, as did *Subconscious*. *Water Signs* is both suggestive of the subject matter (*avanyu* as a sign related to water) and personally significant (Bagshaw was born under an astrological water sign, Scorpio).[669]

Bagshaw's *Time Line* (2013) also refers to multi-culturalism (See Figure 93). This work emerged after she sent in a DNA sample kit and got her results back. She explained how it came to be:

> When I got my results back, and saw the path that my ancestors had taken, this painting came about very naturally. Almost on its own. Obviously originating in Africa, through the Middle East, up into Europe, into China, and across the

[668] Ibid.
[669] Ibid.

> Bering Strait land mass. This is another of my multi-cultural paintings covering a number of cultures and origins. The figures on each end look somewhat African, representing all of our beginning.[670]

Indeed, one can see how the squared forms bisecting the heads of the outside figures could allude to turbans, and the beaded choker style necklace on the outside left figure is reminiscent of those worn by the Masai tribe of Africa. In speaking to the origins of all of humanity and the universality implied in that concept, Bagshaw's painting takes on a modernist sensibility. In this work, she effectively correlates the many cultures represented with her conception of herself. Bagshaw often painted feathers atop the heads of figures she intended to represent herself.[671] Thus, in this composition, by utilizing feathered plumes atop *each* figure, she communicates her identification with all of them. Here, the linear composition of figures with circular heads and rectangular bodies is inspired by Hardin's robed figures (See Figure 94). Thus, *Time Line* represents a confluence of influences, from the tenets of modernism to Hardin's personal stylings.

While many of Bagshaw's paintings are about the diversity of culture and identity, they are also at times about very specific aspects of these concepts, as they referenced her relationship with Velarde and Hardin. This is perhaps most apparent in her "Mother Line" series, in which the works, she explained, "All include elements that showcase the importance of the legacy these amazing women have left the art world."[672] The impetus for this series came about in correlation with Bagshaw's renewed interest in painting professionally following a hiatus, of sorts, in St. Thomas from 2006-2009.

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[670] Ibid.
[671] McGuinness, interview.
[672] Bagshaw, *Teaching my Spirit to Fly*, 211

After Velarde died in 2006, Bagshaw, emotionally exhausted and in need of a change, moved from Santa Fe to St. Thomas to live with McGuinness, who was there running a charter yacht company.[673] While there, she explored many different interests and projects: building and running a music recording studio, scuba diving, and creating pottery. However, it was when she was photographing the rising sun on the beach, as a freelance photo gig, that she had an epiphany about her future.

> The sun was halfway out from behind the clouds, the water was glistening, and I heard her voice gently say, 'Margarete. You're finished here. It's time for you to go back home. You have a purpose waiting for you. I heard Tse Tsan, Golden Dawn, my grandmother, as loud as the waves and as clear as the gold lining on the clouds. It was my grandmother's voice but had she been alive, it would have sound more like, 'You need to quit messing around down there and get your ass home, right now!'[674]

Bagshaw heeded that voice, and headed back to Santa Fe, where she and McGuinness opened the Golden Dawn Gallery (named after Velarde). They conceived of the gallery as a space where they could exhibit Hardin's, Velarde's, and Bagshaw's work, all under one roof.

Messages and Miracles (2010) is the first painting in Bagshaw's "Mother Line" series (See Figure 95). She intended for the three figures in this painting to speak conceptually of the three generations. However, Bagshaw was careful to clarify that "Contrary to what most people suspect, none of the three images is necessarily a depiction of any single member of the trio of Grandma, Mom, and me, but rather, each image is a part of all of us."[675] This statement emphasizes the unity that Bagshaw saw amongst the generations. By including figures with outlined forms that mimic Hardin's

[673] Ibid., 172.
[674] Ibid., 191.
[675] Ibid., 211.

robed figures, she spoke to her mother's influence.[676] Atop each figure rests a section from a painting that she had started in the past.[677] By layering these with the figures representing the three generations, she effectively communicates the merging of her own artistic output with the influences of her mother and grandmother. Interspersed throughout the composition are representations of spirit figures that deliver the messages, or paintings.[678] For example, she noted: "In the background you will see two worlds colliding, the old and the new. This is representative of the creative journey from my grandmother, to my mother, to me."[679] Bagshaw spoke of this work in a very transcendental way, as she mused: "When I started painting this very large work, I found that I could truly become a part of my painting and experience another world where I could talk to myself or my mother or my grandmother."[680] In *Messages and Miracles*, if the paintings are the messages, then the miracle seems to be that Bagshaw is able to both enter into a dialogue with her mother and grandmother through the process of painting, and in turn create a painting that is about that dialogue. With its bright aqua palette, mix of geometric abstraction and figural form, and subject matter of the three generations, *Messages and Miracles* exemplifies how Bagshaw was at the same time both indebted to, and divergent from Velarde and Hardin.

Women's World (2011), another "Mother Line" painting, also features three figures that are intended to represent Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw (See Figure 96).

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[676] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."

[677] Margarete Bagshaw, "Artist Margarete Bagshaw at the National Museum of the American Indian," YouTube video, 1:07:08, posted by Smithsonian, March 15, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=3&v=yvIqxSwWi9A.

[678] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."

[679] Ibid.

[680] Ibid.

However, in this composition, Bagshaw clarifies that the figure on the left alludes to Hardin, the central figure to herself, and the one on the right to Velarde.[681] She explained the stylistic references that allude to each of them:

> The facial images are direct references to three of us. My mother's image is represented by something very similar to her *Medicine* or *Changing Woman* image. My grandmother's image is represented by the aged, ancient horn design. The most abstract, non-representational design depicts me.[682]

Although this painting highlights the stylistic differences between the three of them, it also speaks to their unity, as the circular form at the center of the composition visually ties them together. Here, the abstracted, fragmented imagery refers to pottery, weaving, and basketry, three types of media produced by Native American women. The work also implicitly celebrates painting, the media in which they made their careers.[683] The comparatively subdued palette was intended to correlate with the subject matter of traditional Native arts.[684] Designs flow from each woman's open mouth, implying that they literally breathe life into the art form. With its focus on creativity and women in the arts, this painting was used to help raise money for the Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts, as limited-edition prints went towards that effort.[685]

Ancestral Procession (2010), a massive 80" x 110" painting which features a five-figure composition, vividly bright colors, and a visual feast of geometric abstraction, is truly the masterpiece of Bagshaw's "Mother Line" series (See Figure 97). The vibrant colors of this work, including aquas, tangerines, corals, chartreuse, and sunset pinks,

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[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.
[684] Ibid.
[685] Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 212.

might have been inspired by artist Peter Max (1937-), one of Bagshaw's childhood heroes, whose psychedelic art was emblematic of the free spirit of the 1960s.[686] His images, filled with vivid hues, highlighted the inherent beauty in abstract patterns. In 2012, Bagshaw created a work that was a tribute to his influence, titled *Maxxed Out* (See Figure 98). Here, the checkerboard patterning and the concentric circles are reminiscent of elements from Max's graphic posters, *1,2,3, Infinity*, and *The Visionaries at East Hampton Gallery*, respectively (See Figure 99). In addition to being inspired by Max's formal sensibilities, I expect Bagshaw also appreciated his explorations of such concepts as infinity and vision; the title *1,2,3, Infinity* would have been especially appropriate for some of her images concerning the three generations. As *Ancestral Procession* was done in the same palette as *Maxxed Out*, it's possible that Bagshaw's use of color in that work was also inspired by Max. However, *Ancestral Procession* is primarily about, as the title suggests, a procession of ancestors. More specifically, it is about Bagshaw's ancestors. Like *Messages and Miracles* and *Women's World*, *Ancestral Procession* includes figures that refer specifically to Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw. Bagshaw explained the attributes that define each figure:

> These figures hold the presence of past, and the presence of the future. Within each of them are repeated symbols and patterns that are specifically from my mother's style or my grandmother's style. Two of the figures represent my grandmother's personality and two of them are my mother's personality. I am in the middle. For instance, the tablitas on the head come from my grandmother. And the abstract contemporary headdresses are from my mother. The wild child in the middle, the warrior goddess, with the turquoise breastplate, it's all me. The earrings shown are all earrings that my mother left me and that I regularly wear. This is an extremely personal painting.[687]

[686] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."
[687] Ibid.

She also noted that the figure on the far right, which is meant to allude to Hardin, was inspired by her *Medicine Woman*.[688] With its five-figure composition, geometric patterns, and layering of shapes, *Ancestral Procession* is somewhat reminiscent of Hardin's *Winter Awakening*. However, Bagshaw's use of vivid colors departs greatly from Hardin's more muted earth tone palette. Bagshaw also works on a decidedly larger scale than Hardin; her *Ancestral Procession*, a massive 80" x 110", would dwarf Hardin's 15" x 30" *Winter Awakening*. Also, while Hardin focuses on stylistic innovation of a spiritual subject matter, Bagshaw utilizes her figures to conceptualize intergenerational artistic continuity and change. Her work was both inspired by and divergent from Velarde and Hardin. She clarified this concept: "When I paint my own compositions, I can connect with their independence, strength and creativity. If I choose to reference something from their paintings in something of mine, as in my 'Mother Line' series, it is like hearing their message, but interpreting it my own way."[689] *Ancestral Procession* is clearly an example of Bagshaw's unique style.

Another work that expresses Bagshaw's ideas about her identity and her family is *Sum of the Parts* (2013) (See Figure 100). Evocative of earlier works representing Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw, the painting features three figures with robed outlines that recall Hardin's robes. As in many of her other three figure compositions, Bagshaw depicts herself in the center of the three, as identified by the feathers atop her head. Here, the cool colors of aqua, cobalt and lavender are balanced out by warm reds and yellows. Geometric abstractions abound; circles, a checkerboard pattern, rows of triangles, and

[688] Bagshaw, "Artist Margarete Bagshaw at the National Museum of the American Indian."

[689] "Margarete Bagshaw: Breaking the Rules," *Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology*, December 30, 2012, *http://www.indianartsandculture.org/whatsnew&releaseID=197*.

nested rectangles are integrated into the figural forms. By depicting the central image with two large eyes and a sun-like symbol on the chest, Bagshaw makes it the focus of the composition. She employed a similar technique in *Ancestral Procession*; the central figure, intended to be a self-representation, distinguished itself from the other figures with its wide-open eyes. In representing herself in this manner, Bagshaw imbues herself with dynamism and life, and seems to imply that she always has her eyes wide open to the world around her. The title *Sum of the Parts* may refer in part to her earlier explorations of the Fibonacci sequence, in which the number sequence builds sequentially on the sum of the numbers before it. However, I think that this is another instance in which Bagshaw is playing with double meaning in the title and using "sum" to mean both sum and some. She seems to be explaining once again that she is both simultaneously a product (or sum) of the influences from her mother and grandmother, and that their inspirations are only a part (or some) of her artistic identity.

Bagshaw also expressed this concept in *Alchemy of Destiny* (2010) (See Figure 101). In this work, she merged her own personal aesthetic sensibility with cultural influences. She clarified her conception of this painting, as she noted:

> The title pretty much says it all. It references the alchemy that is the magic of my destiny. Since I am a part of this legacy and lineage, the images reflect the strength and wonder of my family legacy. The bold strong colors and abstract designs are very much my style. They are layered down over top of ancient looking designs that represent my ancestors.[690]

Again, in *Alchemy of Destiny*, Bagshaw employs the title as a signifier of the work's meaning. Interestingly, alchemy historically involved both transformation of material

[690] Bagshaw, "The Color of Oil-Museum Show."

and introspection.[691] Bagshaw's works often seem to be the expression of her introspective thoughts about her ability to transform her family legacy. While she integrated the influences of Velarde and Hardin into her work, she also transformed them, and in doing so created innovative imagery and compositions. She explained how the enterprising spirit of her work tied it to Hardin's: "I take a great deal of pride in being different from my family. Yet I know my mother would absolutely love my work. As a woman, I think she'd be very proud that I've chosen to do things in my own style."[692] Bagshaw was confident in her unique contributions, as she noted of her work: "It's really something that I wish they could have been around to see. As much as my mother and grandmother learned from each other, I think if they had been around, they could learn from me."[693]

Bagshaw was self-assured in her convictions, both about her work and herself. At a lecture she gave at NMAI, titled "3 Generations of Pushing Boundaries," she was asked by an audience member what her advice would be to young Native artists just starting out. In response she said: "I would say: 'Don't let anybody stop you. Don't let anybody tell you how to paint. Don't let anybody tell you that you have to go to some fancy school to paint and to be creative. Just paint. Follow your spirit and just keep going and don't let anybody make you feel ashamed of yourself.' That's it."[694] Bagshaw learned this lesson first-hand, from both Velarde and Hardin. Both her mother and grandmother were unstoppable, confident in their artistic style, and persistent in

[691] Urszula Szulakowska, *Alchemy in Contemporary Art* (London: Routledge, 2011), 1.

[692] Dottie Indyke, "A Contemporary Painter Carries On Her Family's New Mexico Art Legacy," *Southwest Art* 25, no. 2 (July 2005): 56-58.

[693] Margarete Bagshaw as quoted in Kate Nelson, *The Color of Oil* (Odessa, TX: Ellen Noël Art Museum, 2013), Exhibition catalog.

[694] Bagshaw, "Artist Margarete Bagshaw at the National Museum of the American Indian."

establishing their careers as professional painters. Bagshaw articulated their influence: "I guess one of the greatest things my mother and grandmother gave me was the courage to swim upstream, to go against the grain, and say what needs to be said. They each had their own style. Often their outlook was different, often it was similar."[695] The last painting she made was an abstract geometric work titled *Swimming Upstream* (2014) which was inspired by this conviction (See Figure 102).

Bagshaw passed away on March 19th, 2015, leaving those who loved her grieving, and those that loved her work mourning the loss of potential from a career cut short. However, as McGuinness told me, Bagshaw's mantra throughout life was always, "Move Forward."[696] And so he does, as he continues to operate the Golden Dawn Gallery and explore ways to carry Bagshaw's work forward into new expressions. A collaboration with jewelry artist Jennifer Laing has resulted in many unique pieces inspired by Bagshaw's imagery. For example, Laing created large cuff bracelets topped with either Candelaria or Grasshopper turquoise, the colors of which speak to Bagshaw's intensely hued compositions. A figure from Bagshaw's *Ancestral Procession* adorns the sides of these bracelets (See Figure 103).

McGuinness is also using imagery from *Ancestral Procession* to produce a monumental sized bronze. Based on the central figure, this piece will be the same size as the painted depiction in *Ancestral Procession*, a staggering 80" tall. McGuinness has already had a maquette (30" tall) of the same form produced (See Figure 104). He used 3D printing to assist in creating the work; he printed a silicone mold, created a wax

[695] Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 49.
[696] McGuinness, interview.

mold from that, and then the foundry poured the bronze.[697] The creativity in both the conceptualization of this work and the process of creation would certainly have appealed to Bagshaw. Inset with a variety of precious gem stones, the work subtly hints at her love of color. Most of all though, it showcases her use of line and geometry, and gives dimensional form to her abstracted figure. It will be interesting to see how McGuinness will continue to carry Bagshaw's imagery forward.

Throughout the writing process of this chapter, a quote by Bagshaw has stuck in my head. Speaking about using clay as an agent for unblocking creativity and bringing about change, Bagshaw explained that she valued the media because "it becomes itself, you know, if you let it."[698] I think this idea is certainly true of Bagshaw's work as a whole; it became what it was because she let it. I hope that by providing a thoughtful analysis of Bagshaw's paintings as influenced by the modernists in general and the transcendentalists in particular, the postmodern concept of the multi-cultural, and the legacy of Velarde and Hardin, I have done *my* part to "move forward" the dialogue about her life's work.

[697] Ibid.
[698] Bagshaw, "Artist Margarete Bagshaw at the National Museum of the American Indian."

Conclusion

In this dissertation which focused on Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw, I argued that each generation expressed cultural knowledge and identity to different degrees. Going forward, it would be interesting to explore what effects each artist's connection to Santa Clara Pueblo had upon the way they expressed culture. Each woman experienced disconnect from their culture at various times, as they all lived outside the Pueblo, and each married a non-Pueblo man. In marrying outside Santa Clara, each woman further alienated their children from Pueblo life, as the patrilineal society dictated that they would not be allowed to be involved in ceremonial life. Perhaps it was precisely because of this separation from culture that each artist felt compelled to reflect culture in their work. Certainly, it seems that their varying artistic expressions of culture were due, in part, to their personal knowledge or lack thereof. While Velarde's genre paintings of Santa Clara women were based on personal experience, Hardin's and Bagshaw's representations of culture are reflective of their personal interpretations. Interestingly, Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw each also created works that focused on the importance and value of women. Again, perhaps this was partially in response to their experiences with the patrilineal society of Santa Clara. In creating works that asserted the importance of Pueblo women, they were in turn validating themselves. While I argued that Velarde, Hardin, and Bagshaw each used their work to express their cultural identity, I also explored how their work dovetailed with modernism. In presenting a serious formal analysis of individual works and comparing their works to specific modernist paintings, I have advanced the dialogue surrounding these three artists and effectively contextualized them within their historical circumstances.

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Appendix: Figures

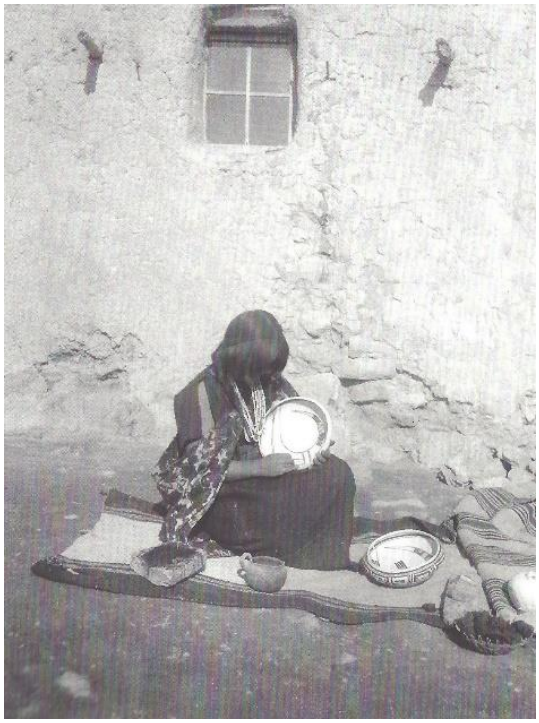

Figure 1. Photo of Nampeyo holding a Sikyatki polychrome style pot. Possibly an image by James Mooney, 1891. From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay,* 33**.**

Figure 2. Nampeyo, *A Unique Appliquéd Storage Jar*, ca. 1905. From Wade and Cook, *Canvas of Clay,* 165.

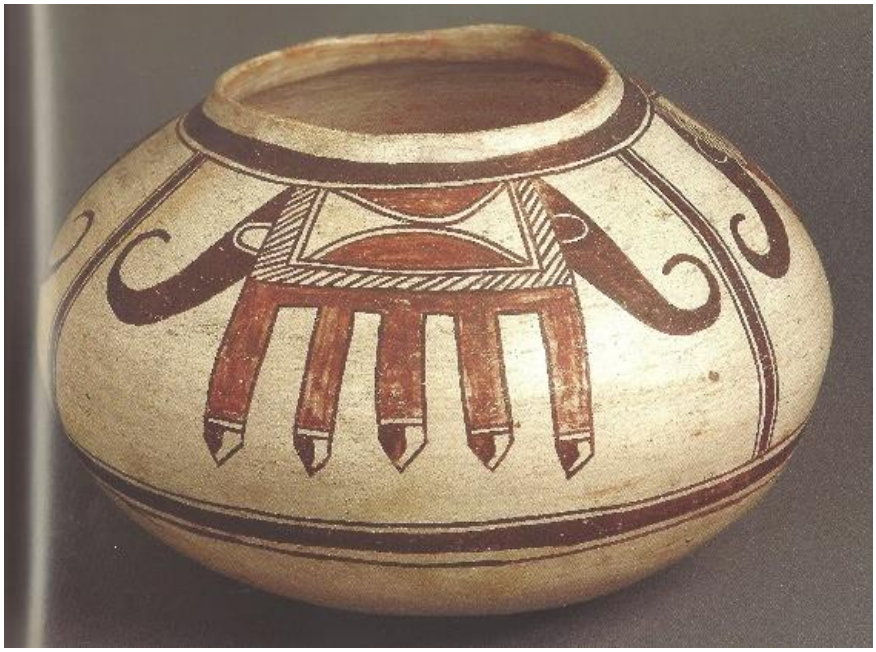

Figure 3. Nampeyo (attributed), *A Polacca Polychrome Seed Jar,* ca. 1885-1890. From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay,* 101.

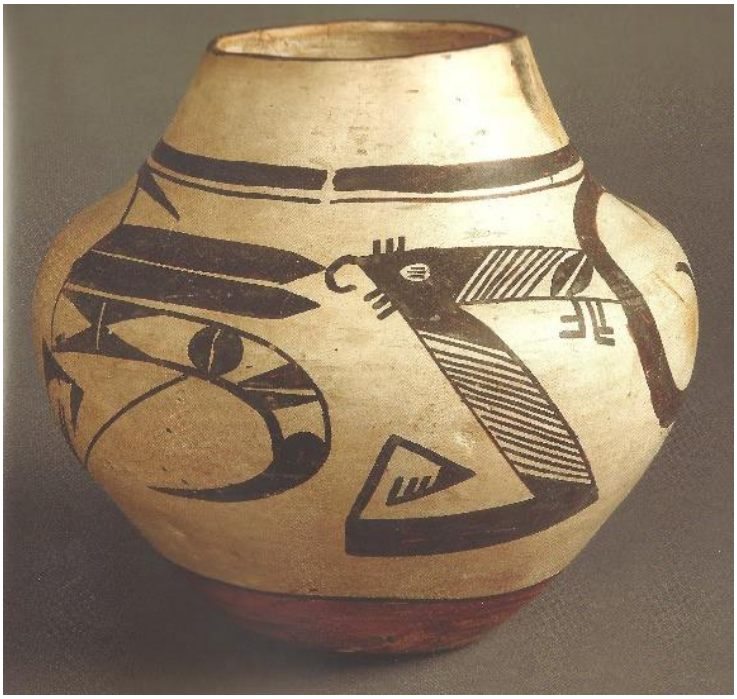

Figure 4. Nampeyo (attributed), *A Surreal Polacca Polychrome*, ca. 1890-1895. From Wade and Cook, *Canvas of Clay*, 105.

Figure 5. Nampeyo (attributed), *Polychrome Jar*, 1898-1900, ceramic, 11.5 x 13.14 in. 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.

Figure 6. Acoma style bird. From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 235.

Figure 7. Nampeyo, *A Superlative Late Figurative Jar*, ca. 1918-1920.
From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 181.

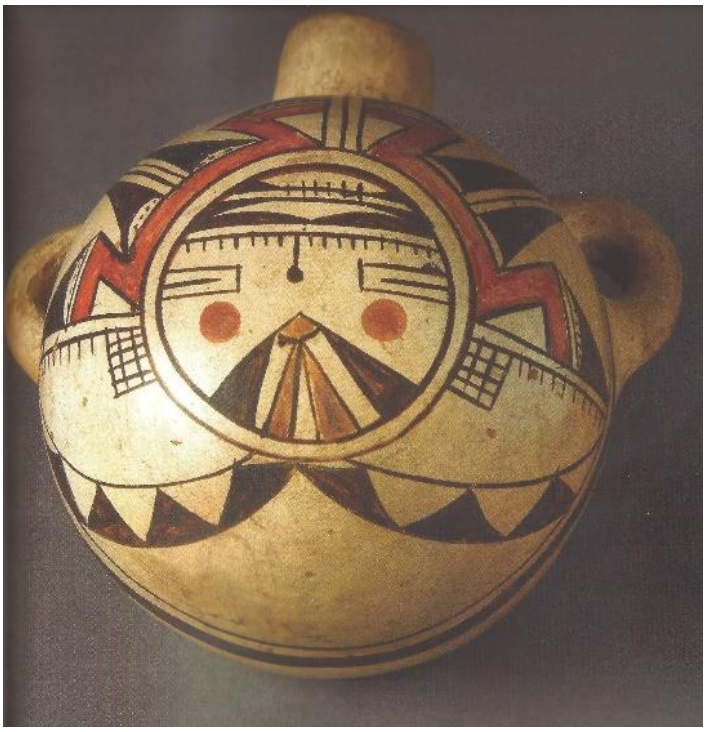

Figure 8. Nampeyo, *A Decorative Canteen*, ca. 1905.
From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 1.

Figure 9. Fannie Nampeyo, *Polychrome Jar*, *Migration Design*, 1972, ceramic, 6.375 x 12.19 in. 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.

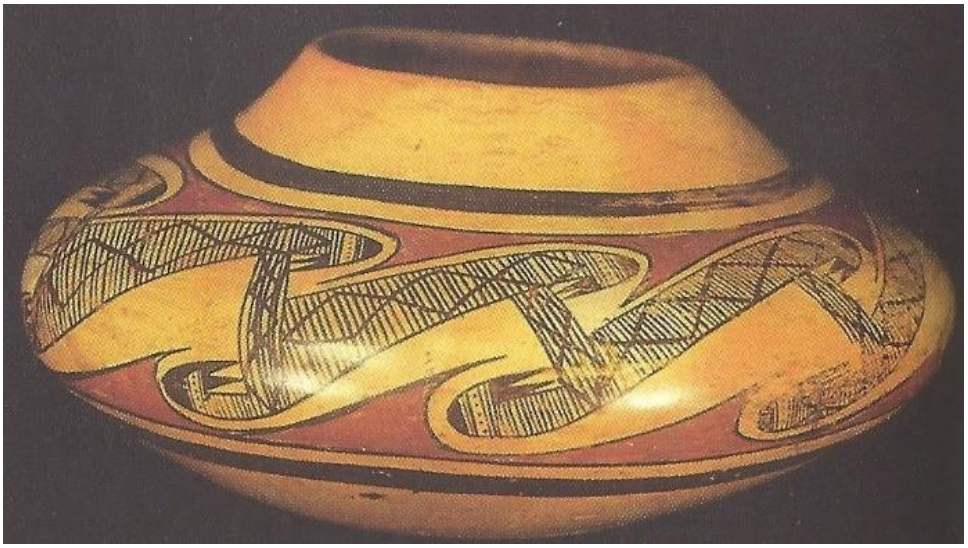

Figure 10. Nampeyo, *Jar*, 1912.
From Blair, *The Legacy of a Master Potter*, xiv.

Figure 11. Dextra Quotskskuyva Nampeyo, *Untitled*, 1980s, ceramic, 2.875 x 8.875 in. 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.

Figure 12. Maria and Julian Martinez, *Polychrome Plate*, c. 1930, ceramic, 2 5/8 x 12 ¾ x 12 ¾ in. 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.

Figure 13. Maria and Popovi Martinez and Tony Da, *Black on Black Plate with Avanyu*, 1963, ceramic, 1 ¾ x 10 ¾ x 10 ¾ in. 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.

Figure 14. Tony Da, *Lidded Turtle Vessel*, c. 1970, ceramic, 8 ¼ x 8 in. 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.

Figure 15. Tonita Peña, *Comanche Dance*, 1920-21, pencil and watercolor, 21 ½ x 18 ½ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 16. Tonita Peña, *Cochiti Lady Baking Bread in the Oven*, n.d., watercolor on paper, 22 x 26 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 17. Tonita Peña, *Basket Dance*, c.1919, watercolor on paper, 19 x 23 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 18. Tonita Peña, *Gourd Dance*. From Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña (Quah Ah), Pueblo Painter: Asserting Identity Through Continuity and Change," 379.

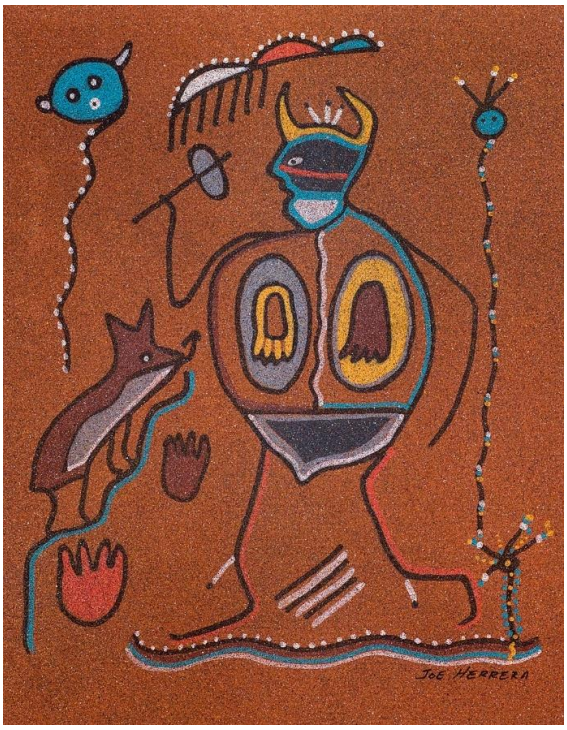

Figure 19. Joe Herrera, *Fox Hunter (Petroglyph)*, c. 1954, watercolor on paper, 16 x 13 ½ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 20. Tonita Peña (Quah Ah) painting a mural for a Public Works Art Project at the Santa Fe Indian School, 1934. Photographer T. Harmon Parkhurst, Palace of the Governors Photo Archives Cat. #073945, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe. From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 57.

Figure 21. Pablita Velarde painting a mural for a Public Works Art Project at the Santa Fe Indian School, 1934, Photographer T. Harmon Parkhurst, Palace of the Governors Photo Archive, Cat. #073942, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe.
From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 54.

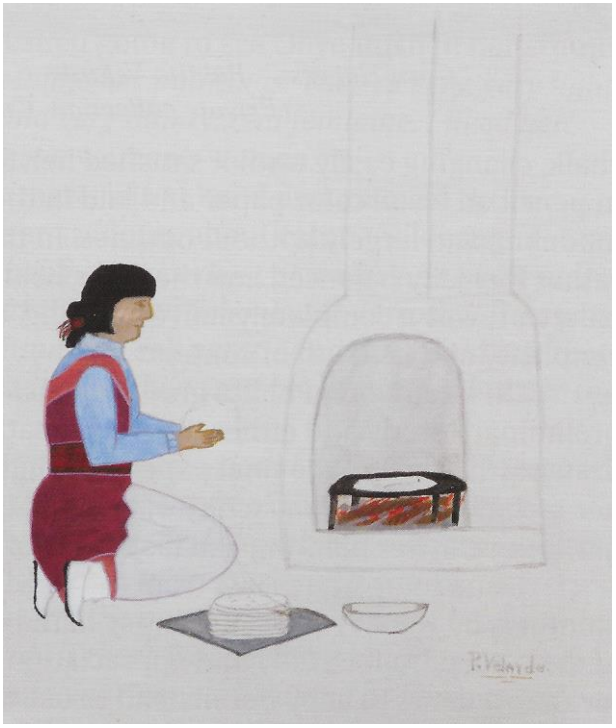

Figure 22. Pablita Velarde, *Woman Making Tortillas*, c. 1932, casein on board, Cat. #54927/13, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, NM.
From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 45.

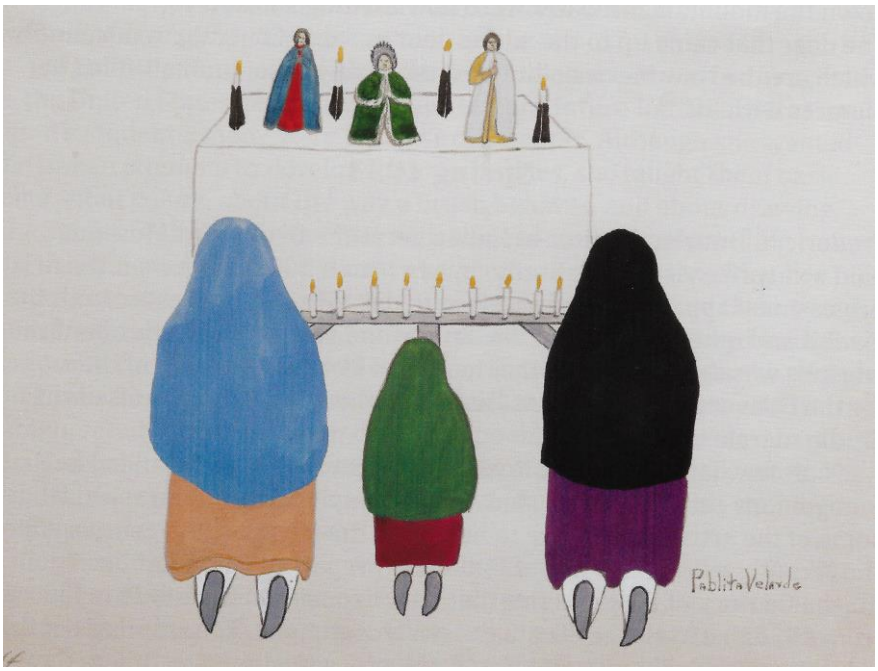

Figure 23. Pablita Velarde, *Santa Clara Women Before the Altar*, c. 1933, casein on board, Cat. #51455/12, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Santa Fe, NM. From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 50.

Figure 24. Pablita Velarde, *Buffalo Dance*, c. 1931, casein on board, Private collection, Santa Fe. From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 37.

Figure 25. Tonita Peña (Quah Ah), *Buffalo Dancers with Drummer*, ca. 1926, watercolor on paper, 15 ¼ x 19 ¼ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 26. Pablita Velarde, Maisel's Trading Post mural, Albuquerque, 1939. From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 83.

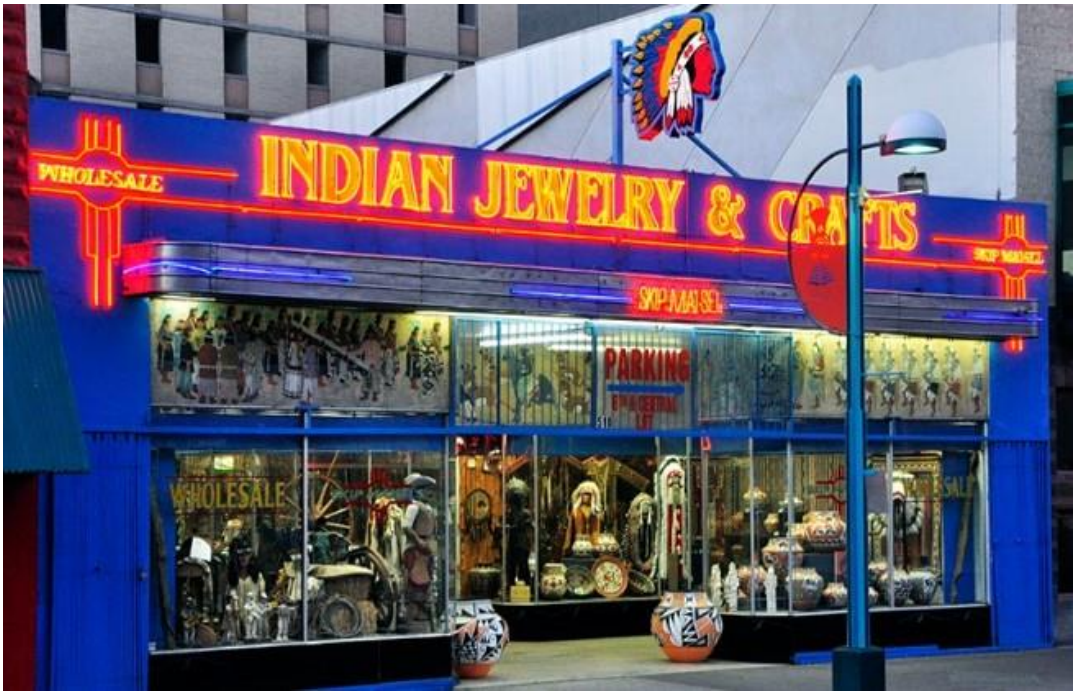

Figure 27. Maisel's Trading Post, exterior and interior.
From Skip Maisel's, http://skipmaisels.com/.

Figure 28. Left: Dorothy Dunn, *Study of flowers from Santo Domingo pot*, c. 1932. From Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, 57.
Right: Detail of Velarde's mural at Maisel's Trading Post, 1939.

Figure 29. Left: Caroline Coriz, *Textile Pattern from an Acoma Motif*, 1934. From Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, 122.
Right: Detail of Pablita Velarde's mural at Maisel's Trading Post, 1939.

Figure 30. Gustav Klimt, *The Kiss*, c. 1907-1908, oil on canvas, 180 x 180 cm. Vienna, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere. http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/#/asset/LESSING_ART_1039490498.

Figure 31. Left and Center: Sections of Velarde's mural at Maisel's Trading Post. Right: Josef Hoffmann, design for fabric, ca. 1920. From Skrypzak, "Design: Vienna 1890s to 1930s," 73.

Figure 32. Left: Detail from Velarde's mural at Maisel's Trading Post. Right: Josef Hoffman, fabric pattern. From Pattern Observer, "The Other Life of Josef Hoffmann."

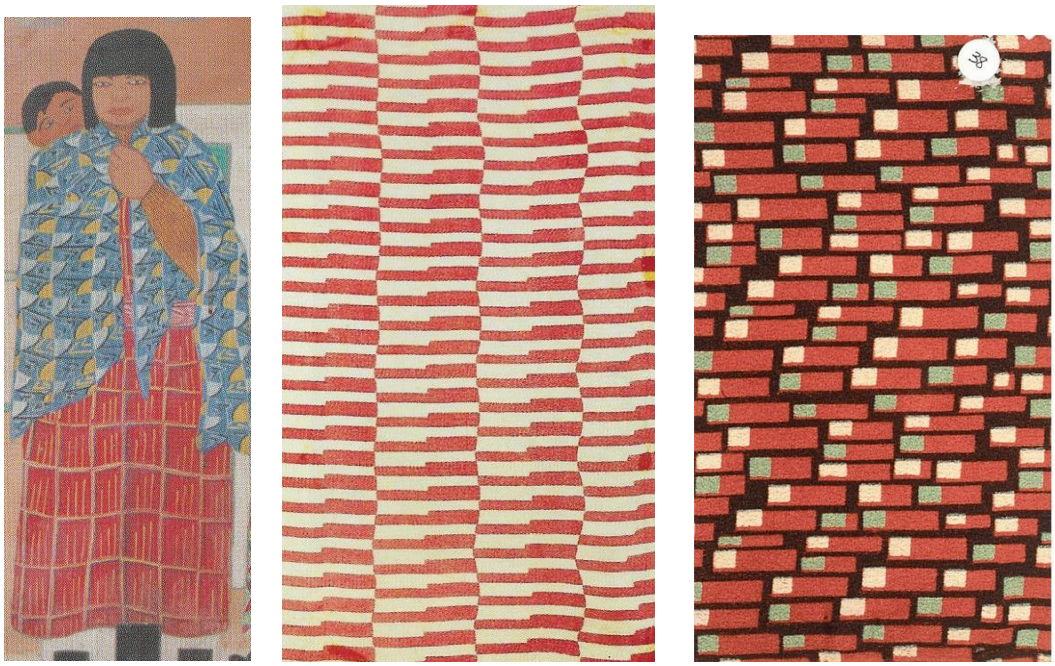

Figure 33. Left: Detail from Velarde's mural at Maisel's Trading Post. Center: Mathilde Flögl, *Clan*, 1928. Right: Josef Hoffman, fabric pattern. From Pattern Observer, "The Other Life of Josef Hoffmann."

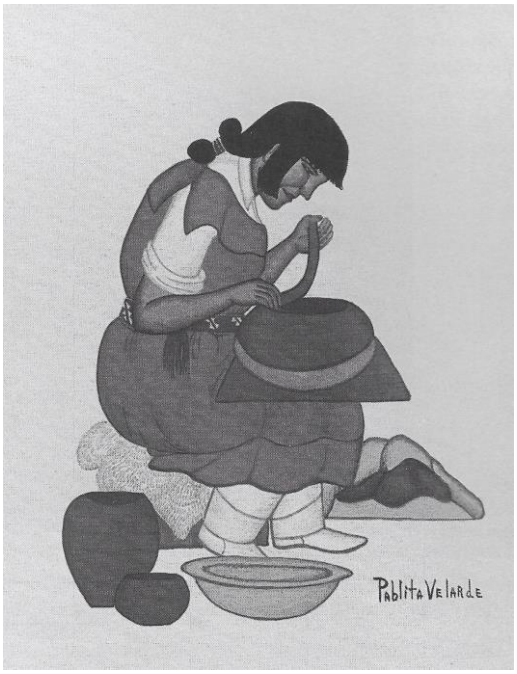

Figure 34. Pablita Velarde, *Woman Making Pottery*, ca. 1950, casein. From Hyer, "Woman's Work: The Art of Pablita Velarde,"12.

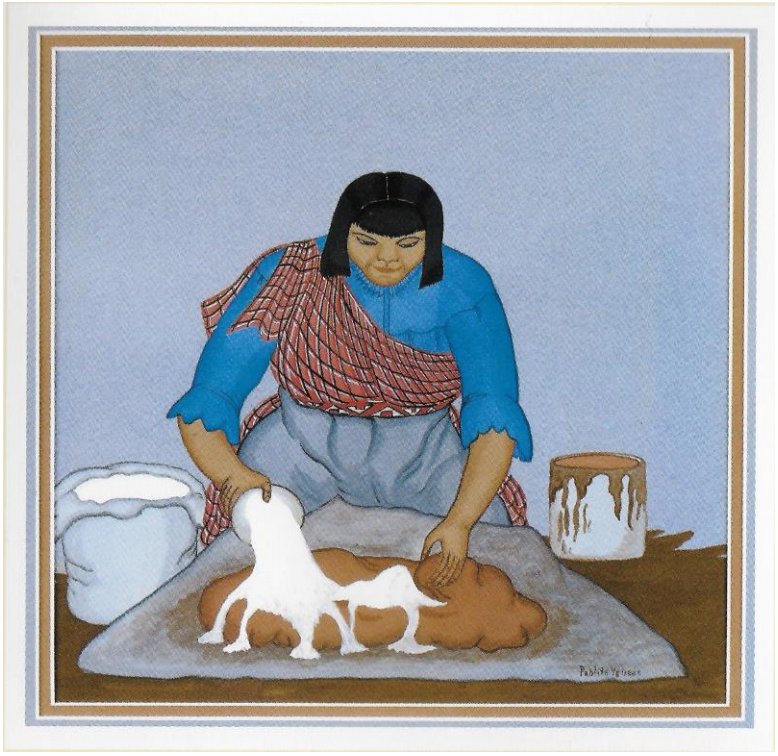

Figure 35. Pablita Velarde, *Making Pottery at Santa Clara*, 1952, casein. From Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*, 25.

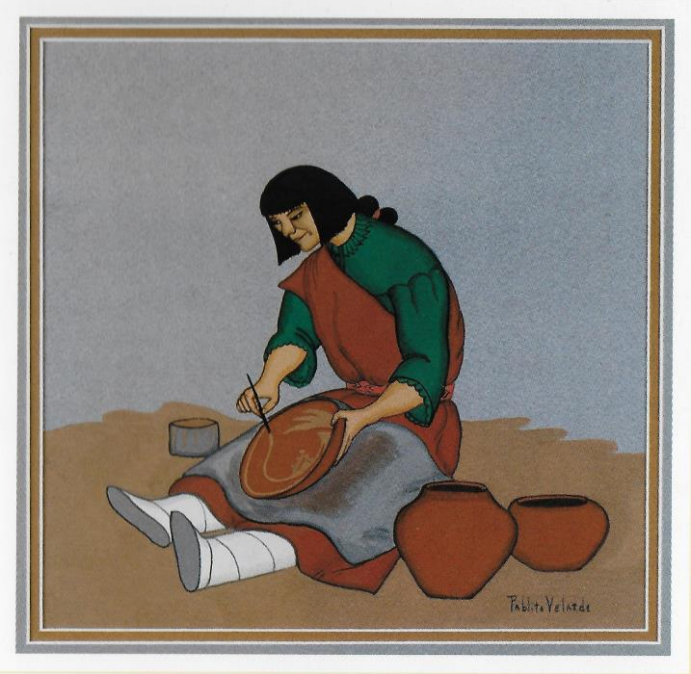

Figure 36. Pablita Velarde, *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara*, 1953, earth pigment. From Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*, 25.

Figure 37. Pablita Velarde, *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird*, c. 1955, watercolor on paper, 12 x 16 in. Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Museum purchase, 1955.4.

Figure 38. Top: Joe H. Herrera, *Untitled*, 1951, watercolor, Collection of Jonson Gallery, University of New Mexico Art Museum, Albuquerque. From Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, 68. Bottom: Pablita Velarde, *Dance of the Avanyu and the Thunderbird*, c. 1955, watercolor on paper, 12 x 16 in. Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma, Museum purchase, 1955.4.

Figure 39. Left: *A Decorative Canteen*, by Nampeyo, ca. 1905. From Wade and Cooke, *Canvas of Clay*, 173. Right: Maria and Popovi Martinez and Tony Da, *Black on Black Plate with Avanyu*, 1963.

Figure 40. Pablita Velarde, *Thunderknives*, 1957, dry earth pigments on Masonite. From Bernstein and Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*, 70.

Figure 41. Pablita Velarde, *Pottery Maker*, n.d., tempera on paper, 11 3/8 x 7 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; Gift of La Rita Pack Pace, 1992.

Figure 42. Left: Pablita Velarde, *Pottery Maker*, n.d. Right: Pablita Velarde, *Woman Making Pottery*, ca. 1950.

Figure 43. Left: Pablita Velarde, *Decorating Pottery at Santa Clara*, 1953. Right: Pablita Velarde, *Pottery Maker*, n.d.

Figure 44. Pablita Velarde, *The Battle*, 1958, watercolor on paper, 24 ½ x 29 ½ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 45. Pablita Velarde, *Inside Santa Clara Pueblo*, 1978, watercolor on paper, 30 ¾ x 25 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 46. Pablita Velarde, *Cloud Dance*, 1977, watercolor on board, 25 x 31 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 47. Pablita Velarde, *Santa Clara Pueblo (Pottery Sellers)*, c. 1946, watercolor, 10 x 20 in. Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Gift of Clark Field, 1946.45.7.

Figure 48. Pablita Velarde, *Pottery Sellers (Selling Pottery)*, c. 1947, watercolor, 12 x 18 ¼ in. Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Roberta Campbell Lawson Collection, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Lawson, 1947.19.598.

Figure 49. Pablita Velarde, *Pueblo Craftsmen, Palace of the Governor Santa Fe*, 1941, tempera, 14 1/2 x 25 3/4 in. GM 0237.565, Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Figure 50**.** Pablita Velarde, *Governor Greeting the Tourists*, or *Guard Turning Tourists Away*, c.1940, casein on Masonite, Bandelier National Monument, BAND 653. From: https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/band/exb_art/BAND653_painting_exb.html.

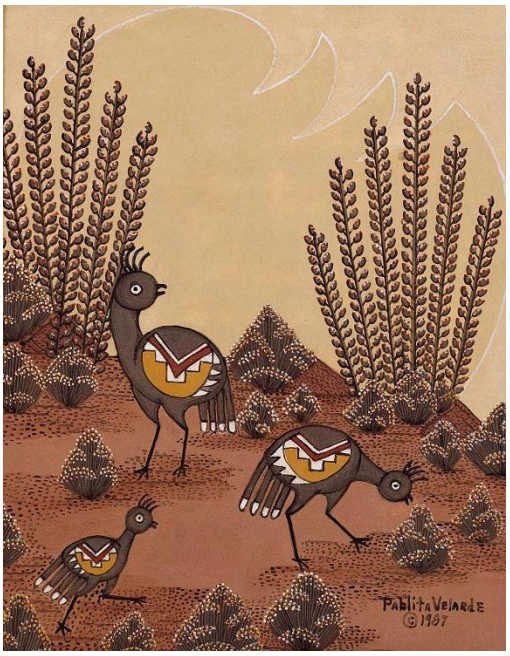

Figure 51. Pablita Velarde, *Mimbres Quails*, 1987, natural pigments on board, 15 3/8 x 13 3/8 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 52. Pablita Velarde, *Koshares of Taos*, c. 1947, watercolor on paper, 14 1/8 x 22 ½ in. Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Museum purchase, 1947.37.

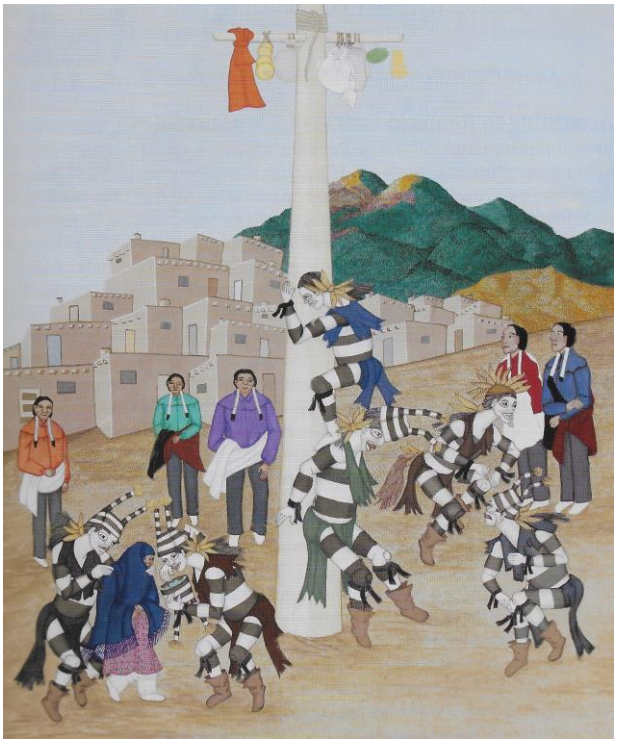

Figure 53. Pablita Velarde, *Taos Pole Climb*, 2006, Private collection, Santa Fe. From Tisdale, *Pablita Velarde: In Her Own Words*, 257.

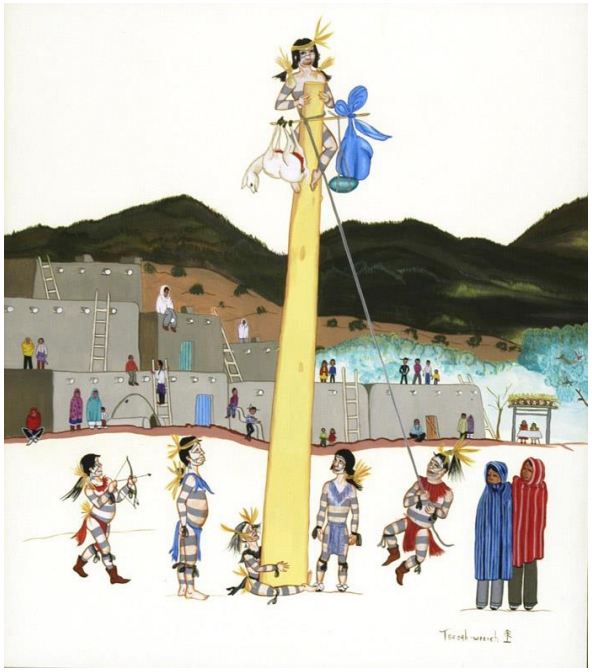

Figure 54. Helen Hardin, *San Geronimo Day at Taos*, 1967, watercolor on paper, 22 ½ x 20 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 55. Helen Hardin, *Going Home*, c. 1960, casein on board, Private Collection, California. From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 42.

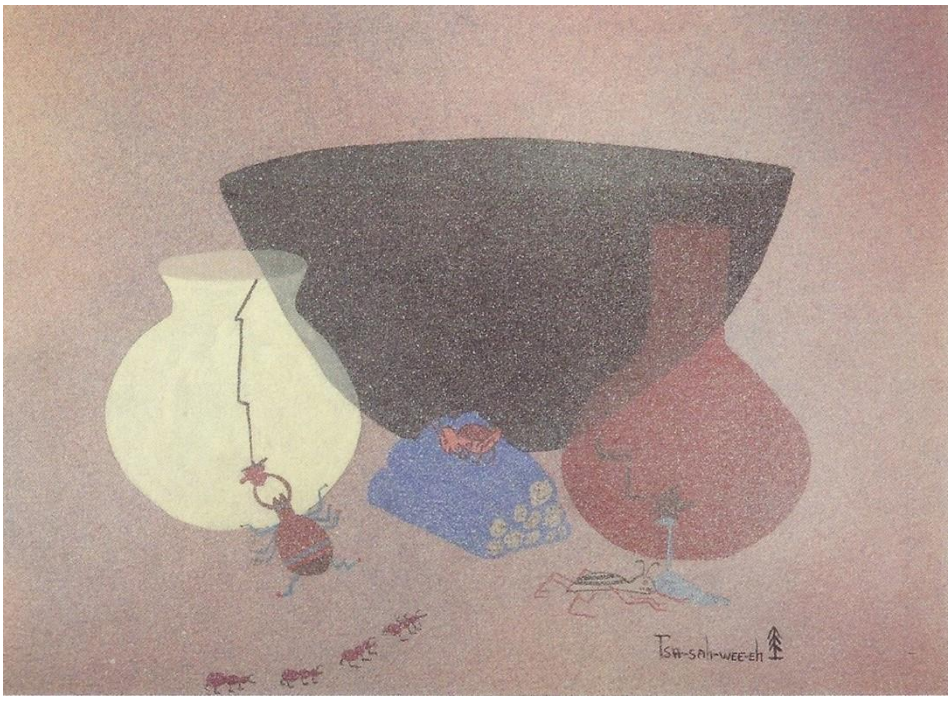

Figure 56. Helen Hardin, *Hungry Bugs*, c. 1960, casein on board, Santa Fe, New Mexico, Pablita Velarde Museum of Indian Women in the Arts Collection. From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 54.

Figure 57. Helen Hardin, *Underwater Life Cycle of the Mimbres*, c. 1962, casein on board, Helen's gift to Pablita, Private Collection, California.
From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 75.

Figure 58. Helen Hardin, *Mimbres Deer in the Desert*, 1978, acrylic, 22 ¼ x 24 ¼ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

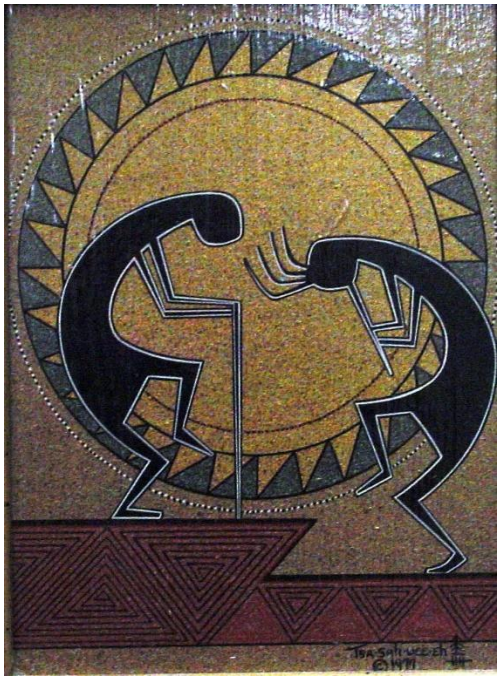

Figure 59. Helen Hardin, *Flute Players in the Moonlight*, 1977, acrylic, 8 x 5 ½ in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; Gift of Dr. and Mrs. R.E. Mansfield, 2003.

Figure 60. Helen Hardin, *Untitled (Blue Bird with Red Flower)*, n.d., acrylic, 7 x 5 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; Gift of Dr. and Mrs. R.E. Mansfield, 2003.

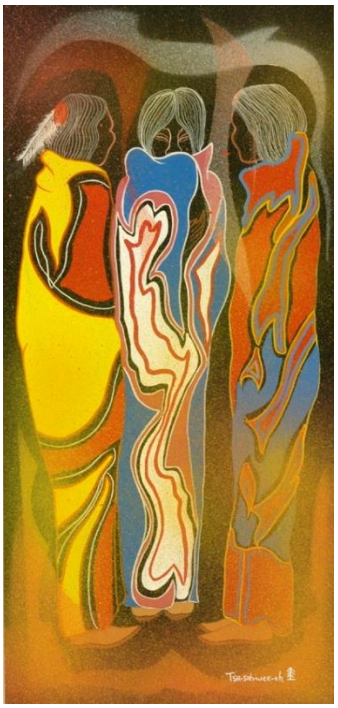

Figure 61. Helen Hardin, *Medicine Talk*, 1964, watercolor on paper, 23 ½ x 13 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

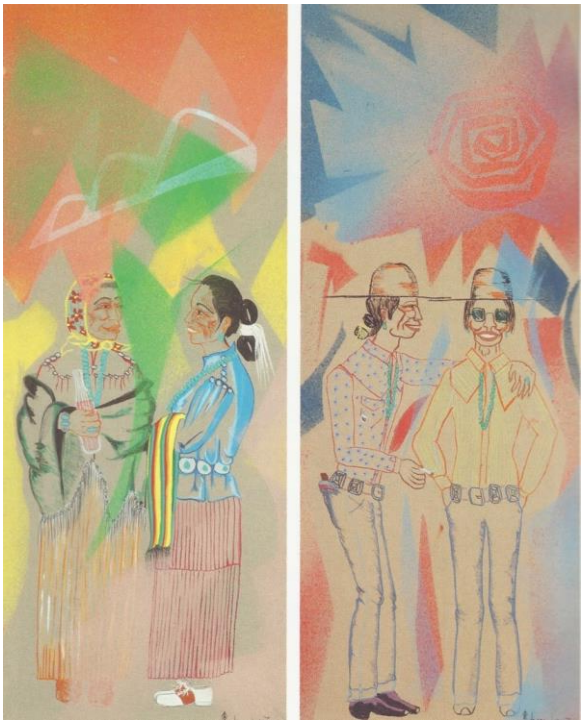

Figure 62. Helen Hardin, *Navajo Women and Navajo Men,* 1964, casein on board, Private Collection, Santa Fe. From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 66.

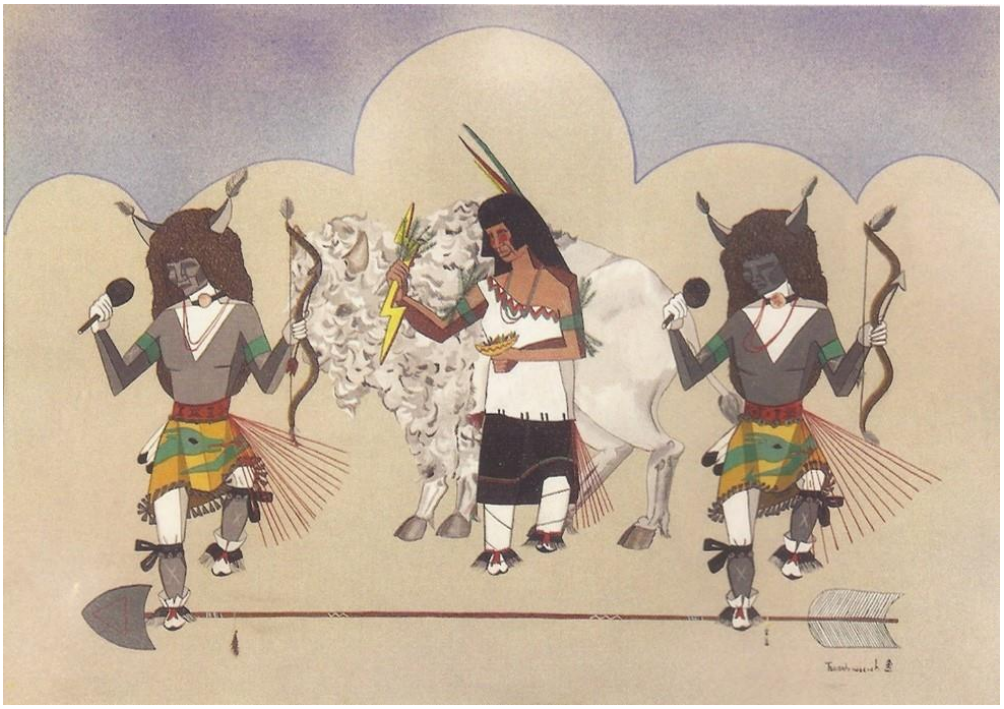

Figure 63. Helen Hardin, *White Buffalo Dance,* c. 1968, casein on board, Private Collection, Santa Fe, NM. From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 80.

Figure 64. Helen Hardin, *Courtship of the Yellow Corn Maiden,* c. 1971, acrylic on board, Private Collection, Santa Fe, NM.
From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 133.

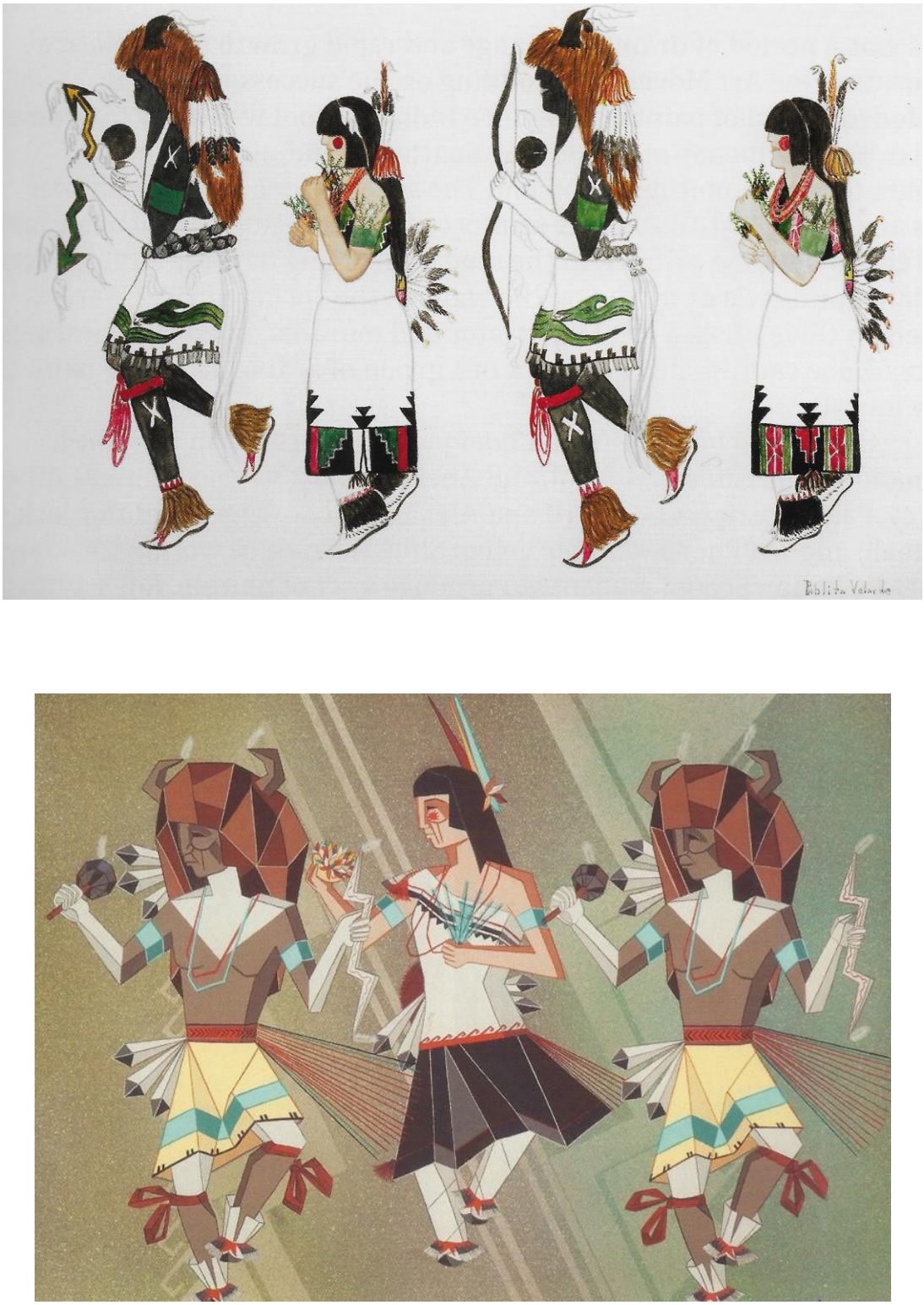

Figure 65. Top: Pablita Velarde, *Buffalo Dance*, c. 1931. Bottom: Helen Hardin, *Courtship of the Yellow Corn Maiden*, 1971.

Figure 66. Helen Hardin, *Little Brother Before Me,* ca. 1969, casein and acrylic, 24 x 18 in. The Eugene B. Adkins Collection at Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, and the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

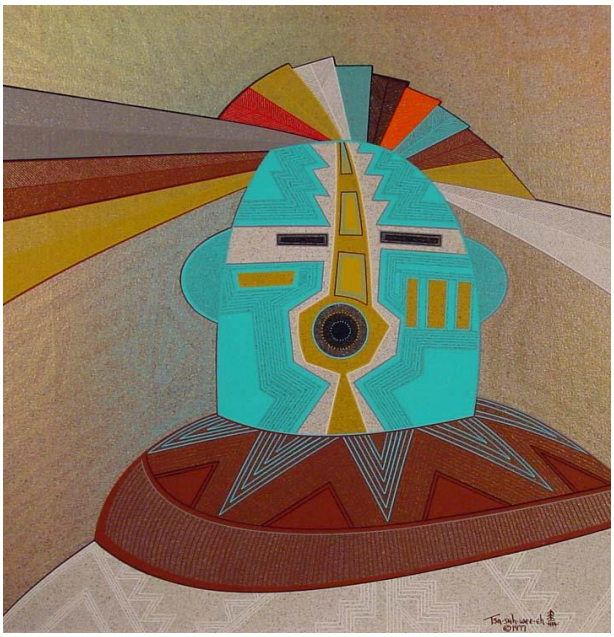

Figure 67. Helen Hardin, *Katsina Mask*, 1977, acrylic on paper, 14 x 14 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, the University of Oklahoma, Norman; Purchase, Richard H. and Adeline J. Fleischaker Collection, 1996, The University of Oklahoma.

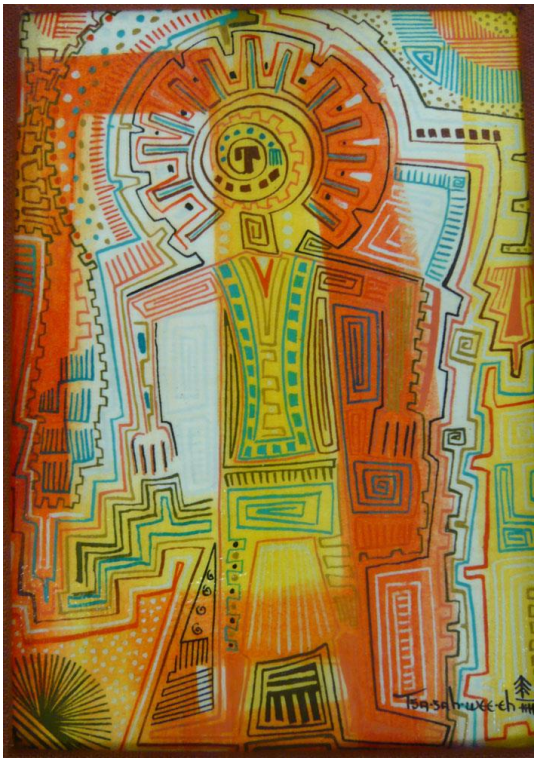

Figure 68. Helen Hardin, *Abstract Man*, n.d., acrylic,11 ¼ x 9 ¼ in.
Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

Figure 69. Helen Hardin, *Vision of a Ghost Dance*, n.d., oil on board, 12 x 24 in.
The Eugene B. Adkins Collection at Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, and the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Figure 70. Helen Hardin, *The Original Robes*, 1980. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 74.

Figure 71. Helen Hardin, *Winter Awakening of the O-khoo-wah*, 1972, acrylic on board, 23 x 38 in. Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, The University of Oklahoma, Norman; The James T. Bialac Native American Art Collection, 2010.

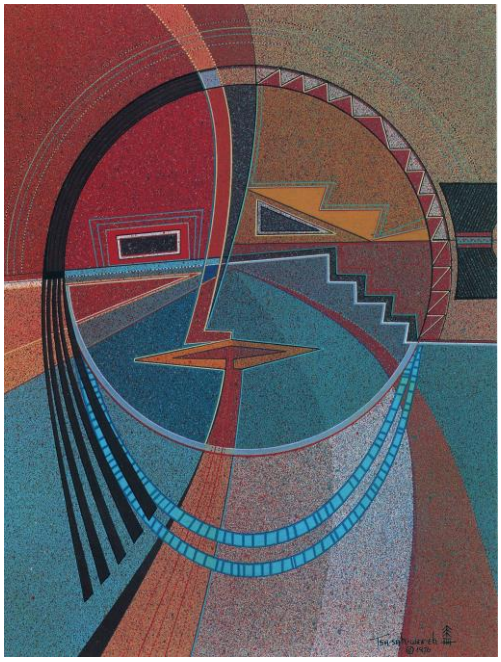

Figure 72. Helen Hardin, *Looking Within Myself I am Many Parts*, 1976. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 133.

Figure 73. Helen Hardin, *Changing Woman*, 1981, four-color etching. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 136.

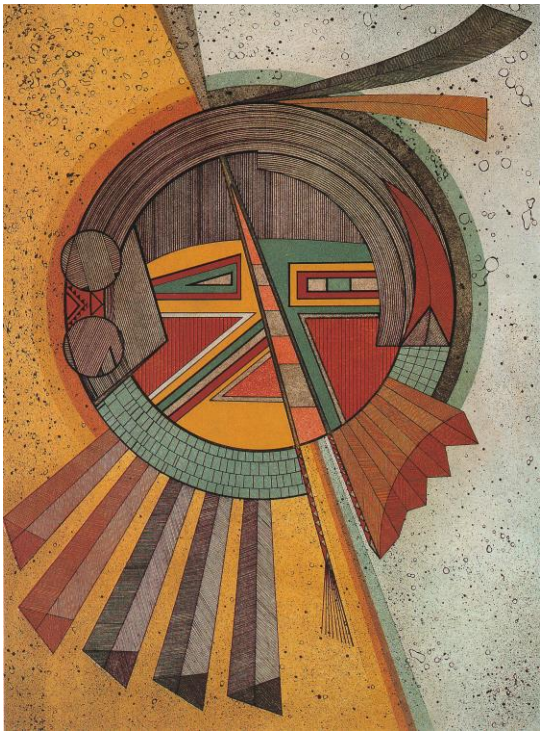

Figure 74. Helen Hardin, *Medicine Woman*, 1981, four-color etching. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 142.

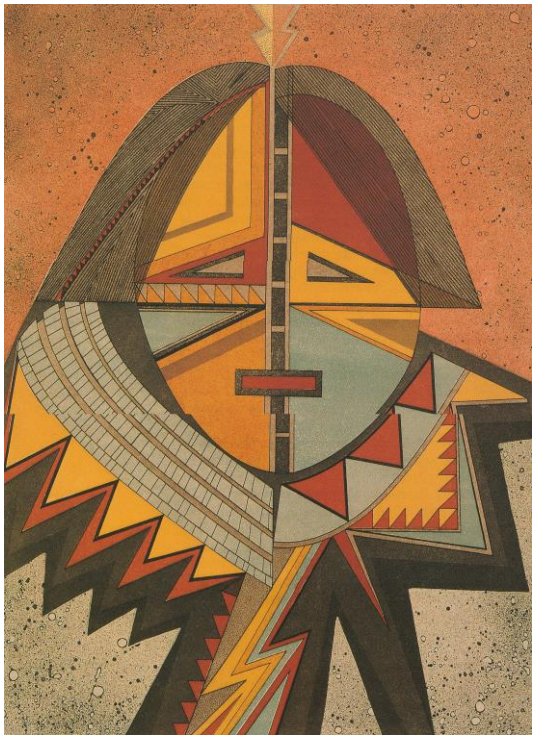

Figure 75. Helen Hardin, *Listening Woman*, 1982, four-color etching. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 145.

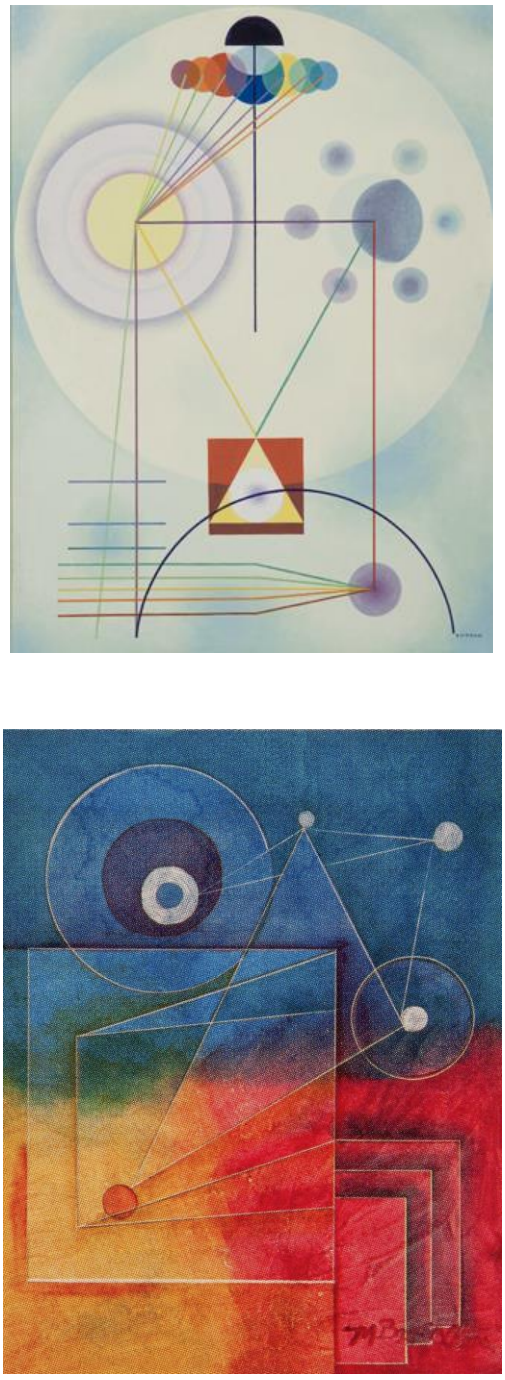

Figure 76. Top: Emil Bisttram, *Tensions*, 1939, oil on board, Phoenix, Phoenix Art Museum, Gift of Richard Anderman in honor of Lorenz and Joan Anderman. http://egallery.phxart.org/view/objects/asitem/items$0040:11445. Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Untitled*, oil, 8 x 10 in. One of The 3 books Premier Edition small paintings. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 84.

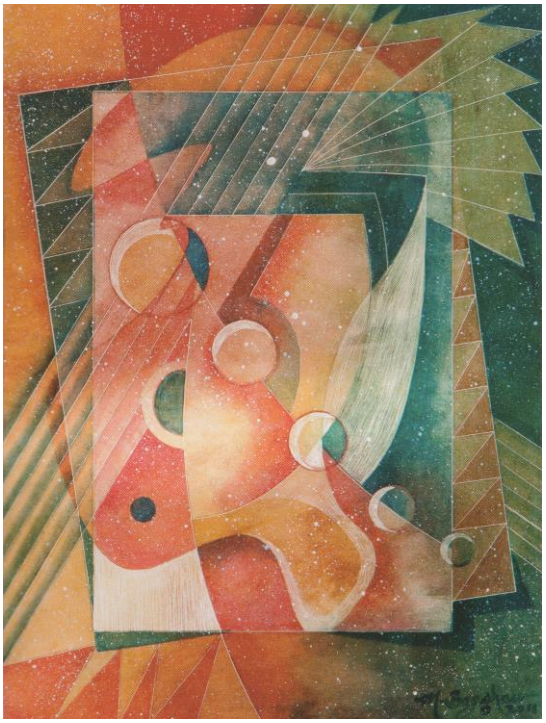

Figure 77. Top: Emil Bisttram, *Celestial Arrangement*, c. 1938, oil on canvas, 36 x 32 in. From D. Wigmore Fine Art, Inc. http://www.dwigmore.com/west.html.
Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Cosmic Contemplation*, 2011, oil on panel, 16 x 12 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 59.

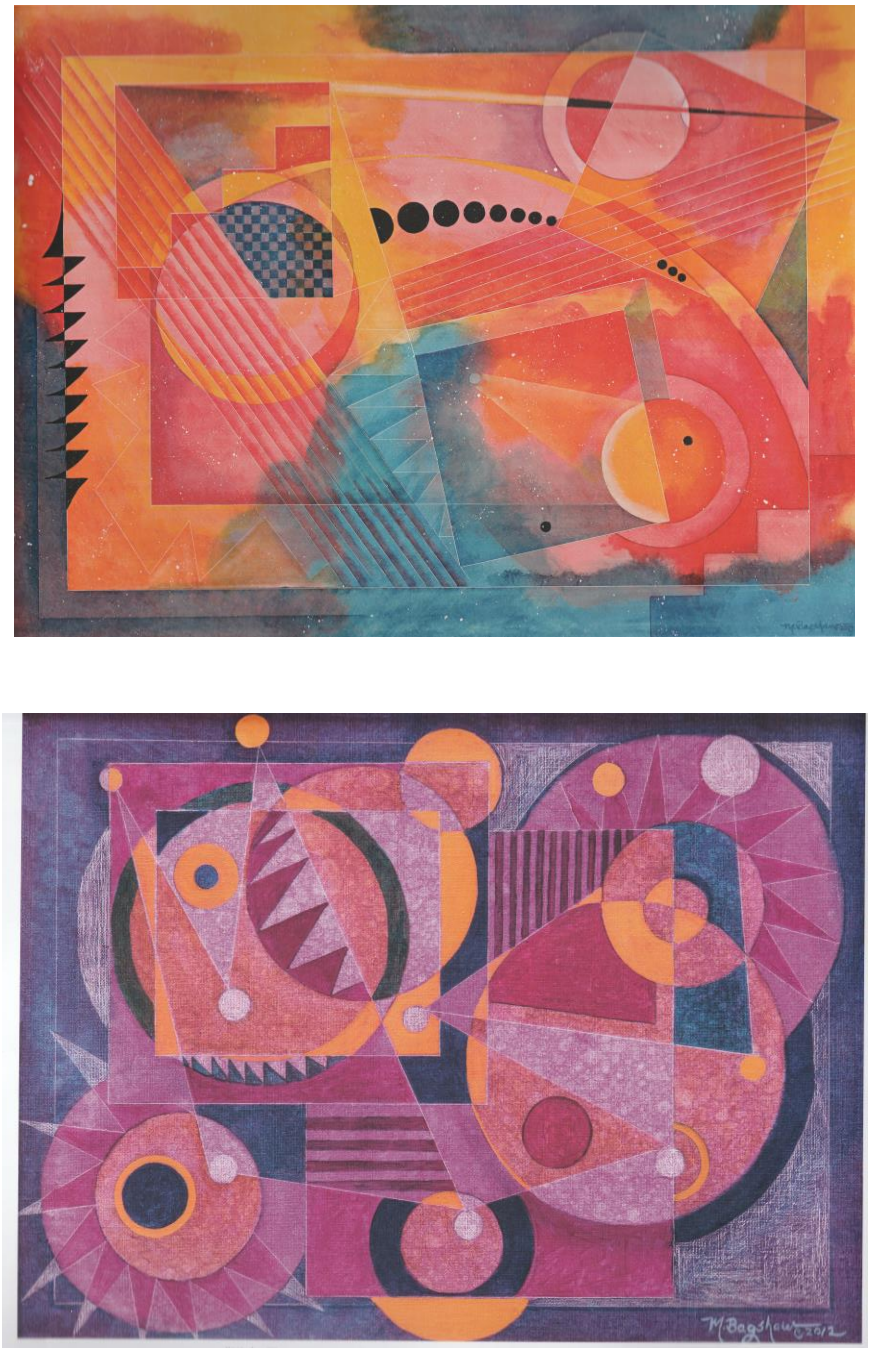

Figure 78. Top: Margarete Bagshaw, *Intergalactic Postcard*, 2013, oil on panel, 30 x 40 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 113. Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Night Time Diagrams*, 2012, oil on Belgian linen, 18 x 24 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 88.

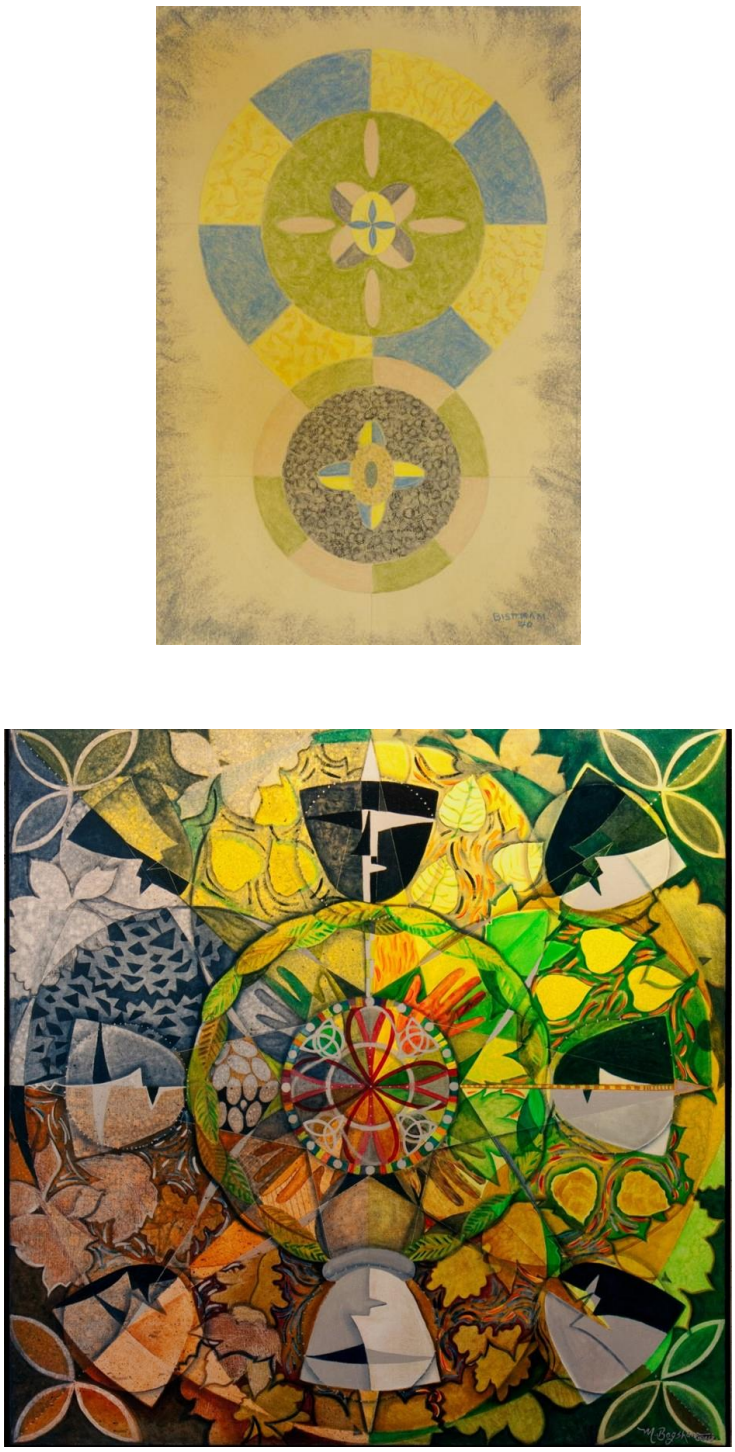

Figure 79. Top: Emil Bisttram, *Mother Earth*, 1940, drawing, 17 1/2 x 11 1/2 in. Chicago, Terra Foundation for American Art, Gift of Aaron Galleries, 1993. http://www.terraamericanart.org/.http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/#/asset/TERRA_DB_103997675. Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Clans of the Old World*, 2013, oil on Belgian linen, 48 x 48 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*,

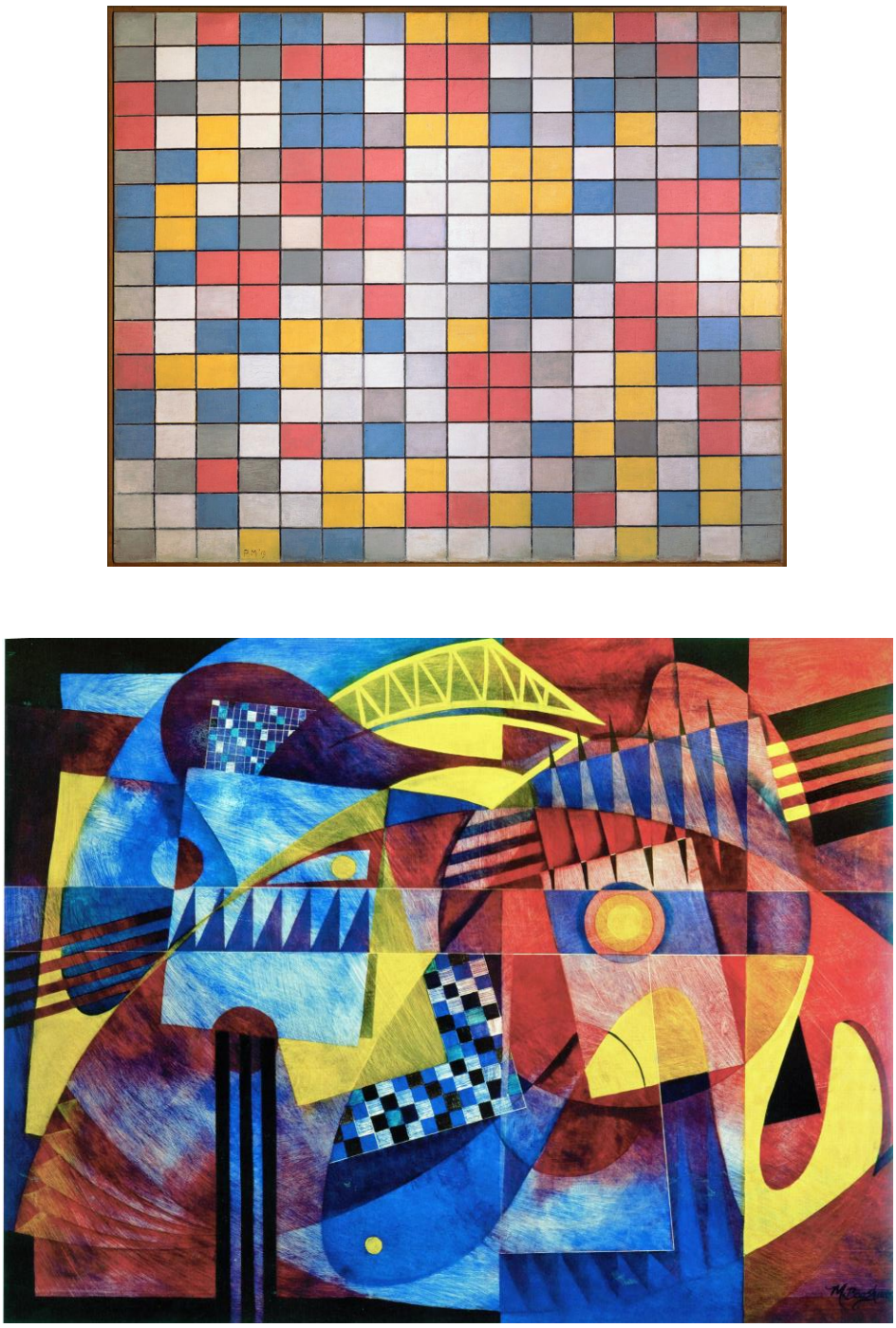

Figure 80. Top: Piet Mondrian, *Composition with Grids: Checkerboard Composition with Light Colors*, 1919, oil on canvas, 86 x 106 cm. The Hague, Haags Gemeentemuseum. http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/LESSING_ART_10310752797. Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Primary Pleasure*, 2010, oil on panel, 30 x40 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 18

Figure 81. Top: Piet Mondrian, *Composition with Grid #1,* 1918, oil on canvas, 31 9/16 x 19 5/8 in. Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Schlumberger.http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/AMHOUSTONIG_10313877509. Bottom: Margaret Bagshaw, *Of the Grid*, 2011, oil on Belgian linen, 60 x 96 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire,* 66-67.

Figure 82. Margarete Bagshaw laying out the composition for *Ancestral Procession*, 2010. Photograph by Dan McGuinness.
From Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 210.

Figure 83. Mark Rothko, *Orange and Yellow*, 1956, oil on canvas, 93 ½ x 73 ½ x 3 in. Buffalo, New York, Collection of Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Gift of Seymour H. Knox, Jr., 1956.
http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/AWSS35953_35953_40439666.

Figure 84. Margarete Bagshaw applying background color by hand, 2010. Photograph by Dan McGuinness. From Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 211.

Figure 85. Margarete Bagshaw, *Rain Council*, 2012, oil on Belgian linen, 48 x 60 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 80.

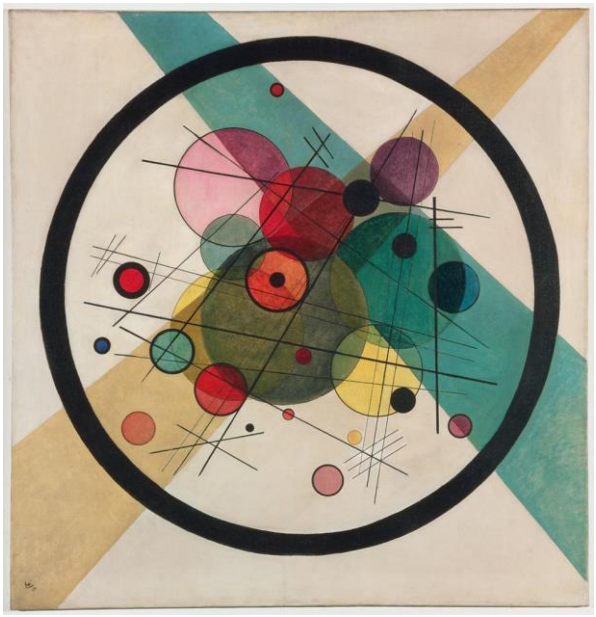

Figure 86. Top: Wassily Kandinsky, *Circles in a Circle*, 1923, oil on canvas, 38 7/8 x 37 5/8 in. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950, http://www.philamuseum.org/main.asp. http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/PMA_1039758596.
Bottom: Margarete Bagshaw, *Woman Made of Fire*, 2010, oil on canvas, 30 x 48 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 10-11.

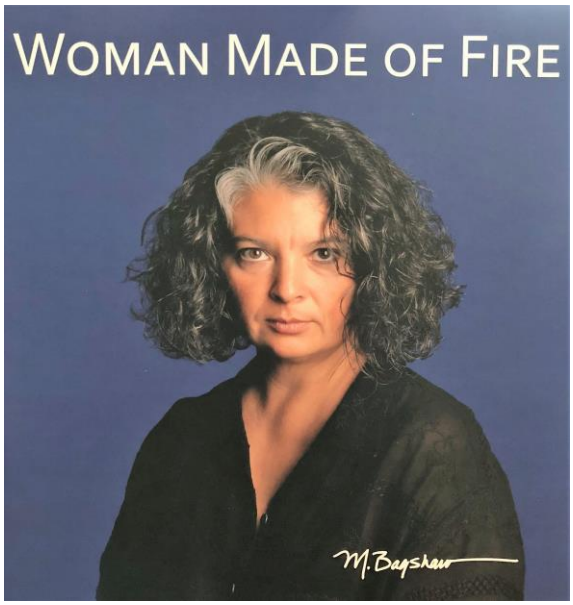

Figure 87. Cover of *Woman Made of Fire*, personal photo.

Figure 88. Margarete Bagshaw, *Subconscious*, 2012, oil on Belgian linen, 60 x 48 in. From Bagshaw, *Teaching My Spirit to Fly*, 175.

Figure 89. Helen Hardin, *Mimbres Kokopelli*, c.1984, copper plate etching. From Nelson, *Helen Hardin: A Straight Line Curved*, 262.

Figure 90. Margarete Bagshaw, *Clans of the Old World*, 2013, oil on Belgian linen, 48 x 48 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 100.

Figure 91. Margarete Bagshaw, *Water Signs*, 2012, oil on Belgian linen, 48 x 48 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire,* 81.

Figure 92. Left: Pablita Velarde, *Mimbres Quails*, 1987. Middle: Helen Hardin, *Flute Players in the Moonlight*, 1977. Right: Margarete Bagshaw, *Water Signs*, 2012.

Figure 93. Margarete Bagshaw, *Time Line*, 2013, oil on Belgian linen, 40 x60 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 107.

Figure 94. Helen Hardin, *The Original Robes*, 1980. From Scott, *Changing Woman*, 74.

Figure 95. Margarete Bagshaw, *Messages and Miracles*, 2010, oil on linen, 60 x 96 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 6-7.

Figure 96. Margarete Bagshaw, *Women's World*, 2011, oil on Belgian linen, 60 x 48 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire,* 58.

Figure 97. Margarete Bagshaw, *Ancestral Procession*, 2010, oil on Belgian linen, 80 x110 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 16-17.

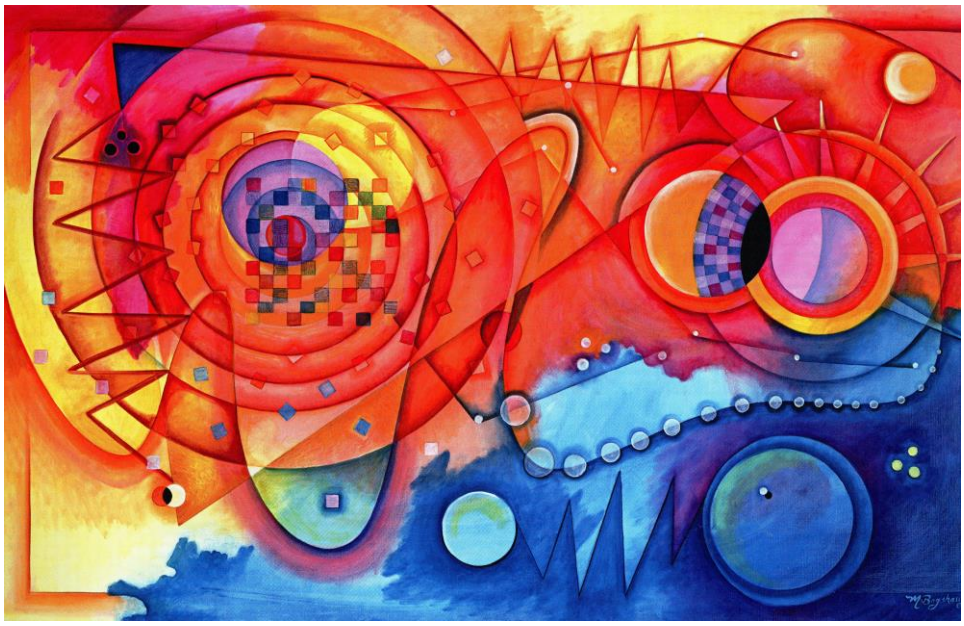

Figure 98. Margarete Bagshaw, *"Maxxed Out,"* 2012, oil on Belgian linen, 60 x 96 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 82-83.

Figure 99.
Left: Peter Max, *1 2 3 Infinity, The Contemporaries*, 1967, offset lithograph, 24 x 18 1/8 in. New York, Museum of Modern Art. http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/MOMA_9750007.
Right: Peter Max, *The Visionaries at the East Hampton Gallery*, 1967, photolithograph, 24 ½ x18 in. New York, Museum of Modern Art. http://library.artstor.org.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/asset/MOMA_9920003.

Figure 100. Margarete Bagshaw, *Sum of the Parts*, 2013, oil on panel, 36 x 24 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 115.

Figure 101. Margarete Bagshaw, *Alchemy of Destiny*, 2010, oil on panel, 48 x 36 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 36.

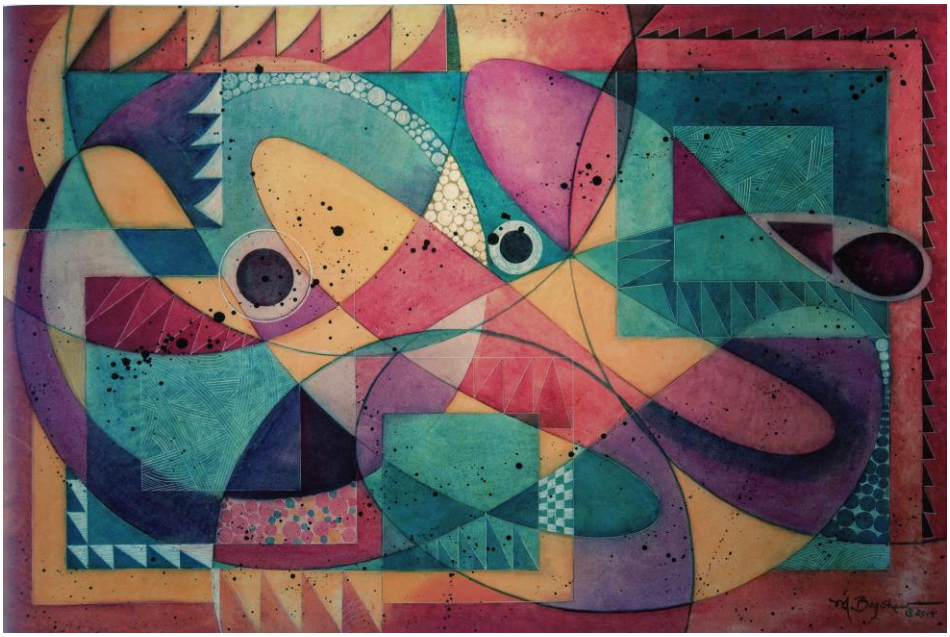

Figure 102. Margarete Bagshaw, *Swimming Upstream*, 2014, oil on panel, 24 x 36 in. From McGuinness, *Woman Made of Fire*, 137.

Figure 103. Jewelry inspired by Bagshaw's imagery, designed by Jennifer Laing. Photo by Dan McGuinness.

Figure 104. *Twist and Shout,* Bronze statue with gemstones, inspired by central figure of Bagshaw's *Ancestral Procession*. Photo by Dan McGuinness.