UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

WAYS OF KNOWING: JEWELRY OF THE NAVAJO, ZUNI, AND HOPI

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN ART HISTORY

By

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Norman, Oklahoma

2020

WAYS OF KNOWING: JEWELRY OF THE NAVAJO, ZUNI, AND HOPI

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE

SCHOOL OF VISUAL ARTS

BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

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Abstract

This research examines the introduction of Southwestern Native American jewelry as an art form in the Navajo, Zuni and Hopi cultures in conjunction with developing sociographic variables, supporting cultural survivance while resisting European colonization. It examines handmade pieces of jewelry made by members of Native American source communities, informed by their visual language and material culture, in the creation of flexible art objects that work to transmit knowledge, tradition and heritage. The primary focus of this research is to develop methods of artistic attribution utilizing social media sources as a direct link to the source communities. Important works containing different levels of knowledge will no longer be operational if they lose their connection with their source of activation. By using a relationship matrix linked to a piece of jewelry's movement through time and space, becoming the responsibility of different stewards, it became possible to access its link to its artistic origin.

First, by examining an artwork representing facets of the relationship between a Native American artist and their Tribal community, it is possible to access specific cultural information embedded in the work aside from cryptic knowledge meant only for specific cultural members. This research does not seek to understand the protected knowledge within a Native American art-object; however, it does seek to show the presence of the information allowing for the object to operate on multiple levels. Secondly, by examining the relationship between the piece of jewelry and its collector, we can see the piece's flexibility not only as it operates as an object of cultural transmission but also as an artwork, a piece of fashion, and an item of identity for the collector who came upon it. Finally, as an art-object enters the stewardship of an institution, such as the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, its knowledge may become available once again to its source community if the institution knows how to access its history.

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I share culture and heritage with two Native American communities in New Mexico, the Pueblo of Cochiti, and the Pueblo of Zuni. I started making jewelry as a third-generation silver-smith learning the artform from my mother Linda Eustace and my grandparents Ben and Felecita Eustace. Native American jewelry has played a significant role in my cultural identity my entire life beginning with works I received from family as an infant.

The questions answered in this thesis began formulating in my mind as a child as I watched my family make their pieces and sell them and despite my best efforts and years spent seeking answers, I had no answers. The research in this thesis could not have been successfully completed without the patience, encouragement, and investment of faith afforded to me by my committee, Dr. Robert Bailey, Dr Amanda Cobb, with special thanks to my Chair, Dr. Alison Fields and for this, I am literally made of thanks. I would also like to extend thanks to the rest of the faculty and staff in the Center for Fine Arts; the thought of not finishing was unfathomable yet, even under the height of stress I could still feel a culture of support. I would also like to give thanks to Dr. Jackson Rushing, it is his research and work in the Native American art history program that brought me to the University of Oklahoma to study. Finally, I would like to thank the staff at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art. This includes Hadley Jerman and Mark White, whose knowledge in the collections is priceless, for allowing me access to both the Adkins and Bialac collections of Southwestern Native American jewelry to conduct my research; I hope this thesis will offer a new perspective on the collection.

Many different motives fuel this research, and while it is a good start, there are many more theories and insights that need further development. Moving forward, with each new re-search project the additional information will help to refine past projects further synthesizing the knowledge.

Introduction

My thesis, a study of Southwestern Native American jewelry in the Eugene B. Adkins and James T. Bialac collections at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, addresses these specific questions: What are the social, cultural, and political processes that legitimize folk art as fine art? How can Native American artists assist the field of art history in the crafting of new methodology unique to discussing Southwestern Native American jewelry? This research examines the process of making jewelry by hand as a fine art, specifically in Native American cultures. Furthermore, I will study the popularity of this art form and analyze the technical skill that is required to create such artwork. This thesis contributes to the field of art history, more specifically Native American art history and ethnography, with further implications for museum studies and arts management. As a Native American artist who has practiced for thirty years and participated in major museum shows, I have unique access to other Native American artists and their work, which has assisted me in conducting this research.

Although scholarship focused on Native American art is increasingly available, little has been done to study the process whereby Native Art is legitimized as a "fine art." New work is required that incorporates both an understanding of the institutions that legitimize fine art, such as the School of Advanced Research (SAR) and Indian Market in Santa Fe, in conversation with the artists who encounter these institutional forces. My research occurred in four stages. Stage one reviewed and considered the existing literature devoted to Native American jewelry. I deconstruct and utilize essential vocabulary to create terminology serving as new connective tissue between the artwork and museums, thus developing a critical analysis of Native American jewelry as "fine art." Secondly, evaluating Southwestern Native American Jewelry as a fine art, appreciating the skill, design principles, and elements of style required an institutional blueprint specific

to the art form being created. Thirdly, the new parameters developed from existing terminology were applied deliberately to study the cryptic iconography, technical skill, use of material and the general success of the artworks. Finally, an evaluation of the implications, limitations and organization of the newly formed blueprint derived from the research are addressed. This will allow for future research and study to be conducted in a peer reviewed academic atmosphere.

Both the Adkins and Bialac collections contain important works of art that need historical context. Southwestern jewelry designed and crafted by Native Americans as an art form began in the mid-nineteenth century and occupies a significant area within art history. The first recognized silversmith, a man named Atsidi Sani, learned from a Mexican smith named Nakai Tsosi in the 1860s.[1] By 1940, most New Mexico Tribes and Pueblos had members in their communities who became professional silversmiths.[2] This should not be surprising considering these cultures had a long history of creating items of adornment for aesthetic as well as ceremonial reasons. Silversmithing developed in these communities which already had a proclivity for creating valuable works of art, and simultaneously provided a new source of income through the sale of handmade silver jewelry. Understanding how the production of Southwestern Native American jewelry developed since its beginning into an ongoing art form can provide insight into the artists, communities, and socio-cultural aspects that drive this living tradition.

For example, the Adkins collection contains pieces made by Zuni jewelers during the early nineteenth-century. These pieces were obtained during the auction of the C.G. Wallace collection in 1975. Wallace was one of the first trading post owners in Zuni and is credited with encouraging both Navajo smiths and Zuni smiths to learn the trade and to incorporate their own individuality

[1] Bahti, Mark. Summarized from *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*, (David McKay Company, Inc. New York, 1980.) 96-97
[2] Bahti, 1980 42-43.

into their jewelry designs. He is also credited with encouraging the first female Native American jeweler to learn the artistic craft. Della Casa-Appa became one of the most collected Zuni jewelers and her work is well known and prized for its technical skill and design qualities. Wallace also introduced Mediterranean red branch coral to the village of Zuni where it quickly became fashionable and incorporated into the jewelry. His collection was all encompassing, and both the Adkins and Bialac collections contain many of these historically significant works of art.

Methodology

Southwestern jewelry designed and crafted by Native Americans is a significant body of work and deserves its own methodological approach in understanding its unique design inspirations and design qualities. Developing methodologies specifically created to help identify these artworks is possible but only with the help of the Native American source communities. These communities are familiar with their relatives' and friends' work and can see specific nuance which outsiders may overlook that allow them to determine who might have made an un-hallmarked piece. Because having direct access to these people and their knowledge is often not feasible, an indirect electronic review via email, and social media becomes an integral part of the research and identification process.

From 2014 to 2018, Japanese anthropologist Atsunori Ito worked with twenty-two members of the Hopi tribe to research "about 2,200 collected items belonging to the collection of fourteen museums and private collections in Japan."[3] The tribal members were asked to identify objects, explain each object, give cultural context, and describe them for the collection catalogue. The aim of the project included improving documentation, digitizing collections, and creating an interactive database. This process undertaken by the researchers, museums, and members of the

[3] Ito, Atsunori. Reconnecting Source Communities with Museum Collections: A Minpaku Info-Forum Museum Project, National Museum of Ethnology, 2018.

source communities forms a methodological template for identifying and understanding undocumented or unattributed works. Ito also explains that both direct review and indirect review were part of the process, as Hopi members viewed works in person and on a computer to help identify the maker and explain the meanings.[4]

In my work at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, understanding the collecting practices of both Eugene B. Adkins and James T. Bialac is crucial. As I become more familiar with the collections and archives, I have been able to identify what prompted an acquisition. This extends to painting, pottery, and sculpture resulting in finding additional information concerning these artworks. For instance, I have determined both collectors were interested in obtaining works that won awards at Native American art markets. Because of this, there are publications that often have a picture or reference to the piece making it identifiable. Pieces obtained through auctions can be traced using the auction programs. Finally, both collectors would see pieces in publication that were featured as exceptional, and they would seek to purchase them. Because of this collection practice, I have been able to locate pieces in the publications that originally featured them. This has created a paper trail I have used to attribute and identify works.

Appreciating the skill, design principles, and elements of style will require an institutional blueprint specific to the art form. This takes resolve to examine and study variances in the way jewelers apply their design stamps, cut their stones, choose their materials, and make their bezels. Pieces can be placed in a time period based on the style, use of materials, and technique. Often it is possible to attribute a specific Native American culture associated with the design motifs. However, some of the challenges I have faced in conducting my research include the fact that so few pieces were signed with a hallmark before the mid-twentieth century making it

[4] Ibid.

challenging to confidently identify artists.[5] Secondly, because the artform became so popular within Native American societies, multiple members of Native American families worked together in their communities, meaning the work was often collaborative, or heavily influenced by the creative atmosphere in which it was designed. Moreover, the learning of new techniques required a period of experimentation during which those techniques were mastered. As a result, the works created in these experimental conditions are particularly difficult to attribute to the artistic hand that created them. Finally, the popularity of handmade Southwestern Native American jewelry made the artform collectable and valuable meaning there was much profit to be made from the artwork. Traders and non-native manufacturers copied and mass-produced works, making it further difficult to know specifically who should be credited with a particular design or work of art.[6] Therefore, the question becomes how can one go about the task of identifying Southwestern Native American lapidary and metalsmithing in jewelry designs? Furthermore, how can museums who care for these items identify them for historical purposes?

Literature Review

In addition to the work conducted by Ito and the subsequent publications documenting his process, I am also relying on other literature written by experts in the field. These resources include, *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*, by Mark Bahti who was the founder and president of The Indian Arts and Crafts Association. He worked with metalsmiths, museums, collectors, and research institutions to better understand the artform of Southwestern Native American jewelry. At the time of publication in 1980, a number of books existed about Native American jewelry, the most popular being John Adair's, *Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*. Bahti

[5] Paula A. Baxter, Reviewed from, *Encyclopedia of Native American Jewelry: A Guide to History, People and Terms*, (2000) 66.
[6] Marsha Lund, Summarized from, *Indian Jewelry: Fact and Fantasy, An Informative Guide to Jewelry of the Southwest*. (1976). 86-87.

states that three basic categories existed, the first being, the consumer aspect, the second, a historical narrative, and the third, discussing the beauty and aesthetics of the artform. Bahti states that this book is written to understand the misinformation and misunderstandings that exist about Native American jewelry so we can better understand its importance to the community and cultures who create it; in addition, the avoidance of terminology such as "primitive," "modernistic," and "sophisticated" is an essential active consideration because they are meaningless representations.[7] Finally, the research conducted to write this book entails the early first phase of metalsmithing, stating that the Zuni people began the artform in 1910, by 1920 there were only eight active artists working, and by 1938 there were ninety, including nine women. It is this type of information that makes this book so important in understanding how the artform developed and the literature that exists about its development, bringing the reader up to the year 1980, where we can begin a study of more current literature.

Next, I have chosen, *Pueblo Bead Jewelry Living Design*, by Paula Baxter who is one of the leading researchers in Southwestern Native American jewelry. She has authored numerous articles and books, including *The Encyclopedia of Native American Jewelry*, *Southwest Silver Jewelry*, *Southwestern Indian Rings*, *Southwestern Bracelets*, and now her most current work, *Pueblo Bead Jewelry Living Design*. The development of ideas about Native American jewelry is well underway and it is because authors like Baxter realized the subjugating terminology and established notions about Native Americans as "primitive" is not supported by the designs they incorporate into their art work or the embedded philosophies that are often the inspirations behind such works.

[7] M. Bahti. *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*. (D. McKay Company) 1980. X

In her latest book, Baxter states, "this examination, we encounter some established "facts" that are questionable." She explains that, "the nature of design contributions needs reappraisal regarding the differences between Navajo metalwork and Pueblo metalwork. Moreover, she states that we must reexamine key assumptions that were made by non-native observers during the twentieth century, and why these assumptions do not reflect an accurate portrayal of Pueblo living designs." She also explores, "historical and consumer misunderstandings and non-Native pursuits of knowledge, and that Native discourse will soon supplant non-Native evaluation."[8] Finally, and most importantly, she explores the use of design history as a methodology rather than other established Western methodologies. This includes material culture and an appreciation for living designs. These will be some of the methodologies that I explore to see how they work to better understand Southwestern Native American jewelry.

Next, Steven Curtis's *Navajo Silversmith Fred Peshlakai,* examines the life of a significant Navajo silversmith. Peshlakai was the son of Althts'osigi (Slender Maker of Silver), who was the younger brother of Atsidi Sani (Old Smith), who is considered to be the very first Navajo to learn the art of silversmithing. Peshlakai instructed Kenneth Begay, a contemporary of Charles Loloma and Preston Monongye, all three considered to be masters of the artform. Curtis gives us an in-depth look at the work of Peshlakai and we can see the network of other artists that were influenced by his mentorship. This is a valuable resource for my research because it helps to pull together both time lines, and artistic lineage. Curtis also explores design techniques, motifs, and how design stamps can also be employed as a hallmark since no two handmade stamps are identical even if first appearing similar. This is a unique methodological approach to the identification of Native American jewelry and one that I am using currently as I research both

[8] Paula A. Baxter, Reviewed from, *Encyclopedia of Native American Jewelry: A Guide to History, People and Terms,* 66 (2000). 15.

the Adkins and Bialac collections of Southwestern jewelry. Curtis also broaches the important subject of trading posts and their positive impacts on the artform as well as some of their more unethical practices which confounded the historical narrative and soiled collecting practices. This is the first publication that I have seen that has a detailed examination of each of the stamps that Peshlakai used in his work, and this is a key to identification of artworks.

Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest, by Henrietta Lidchi focuses on understanding the dynamics involved in the changing marketplace, interest by collectors, and gallery representation along with trading-posts. These changes have much to do with technology, but more so with the aging of many of the artists, those who represented them, and the collectors specifically. The industry is aware that there is a need for a younger generation of artists to take an interest in their traditional cultural artform. If this occurs new markets and new collectors will follow. Lidchi also explains how these relationships function. She states, "This book acknowledges that there is something irreducible in the existence of objects and collections. It creates and additional link. 'Surviving' is used to recall the importance of the scholarship of Anishinaabe writer Gerald Visenor and his definition of survivance articulated within Native American literature as the necessary condition for the continuation of stories; the 'active sense of presence over absence' and the 'heritable right of succession.'"[9] I would point out that both Baxter and Lidchi focus on "Surviving," and "Living Designs." This methodological approach concerns the continuation of historical narratives and is part of the ethnography imbedded in Indigenous visual languages. Finally, Lidchi also points out, that the "reverse engineering of an art history applicable to Native American jewelry is important in the wider

[9] Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest.* In reference to the methodological approach and importance of stories as narratives. (223).

politics of recognition."[10] The conversation about art and objects is a main goal of Lidchi's work and her exploration of new methodological approaches concerning the study of Native American jewelry is most valuable to my own research.

In 1929, the Navajo reservation complained to the Bureau of Indian Affairs that imitations of their work were being copied and mass-produced by non-native traders and it was having a damaging effect on their ability to make a living. In, *Reassessing Hallmarks of Native Southwest Jewelry: Artists, Traders, Guilds, and Government,* Pat and Kim Messier, document and explain how the demand for Native American jewelry became so great that the market attracted a plethora of non-Native individuals looking to capitalize from the Southwestern Native American jewelry artform. The cheap imitations that were being machine-made and mass-produced and sold as authentic were only copies of design motifs and intellectual property of the Native American artists who made the original pieces. Because of this the industry needed to devise a way that they could protect their designs, motifs and intellectual property. In this book we see a detailed explanation of how hallmarks became an important part of that process and how it now helps collectors and researchers identify pieces and the cultures they originated from. These examples of existing literature are focused on the methodologies of researching Southwestern Native American jewelry. However, the number of resources I am using to conduct my research include additional publications that are more concerned with viewing works of art and some historical context of the pieces and their makers. It is these resources I use to help identify the artists of works in the Adkins and Bialac collections. There are well over one hundred publications, and countless magazines and periodicals I am sifting through looking for clues about particular pieces of jewelry in the Museums' collections.

[10] Lund, Marsha Mayer. *Indian Jewelry: Fact and Fantasy*. Paladin Press, 1. (223).

Plan

My work adds to existing scholarship by bringing attention to important works of art that have been out of public view in private collections due to the limited information available about each object. My research provides the required information needed by the museum to properly curate these objects for exhibition. Work on this project began in in the spring semester of 2019, when I worked as a Mellon Intern at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art. Prior to the start of the internship, I sat down with Hadley Jerman, the assistant curator at the museum, and we devised a list of goals and objectives concerning the expansion of knowledge about jewelry in the Adkins and Bialac collections. These objectives included creating a research document with an image, title, accession number, creator, date and notes about the pieces. I worked to identify hallmarks and artist information, suggested conservation or noted pieces that needed special care, and identified works of significant importance. In addition, I have begun work on a checklist for a future installation in the gallery of Southwestern Native American jewelry accompanied by a printed jewelry guide. To do this, I worked with the physical collection, a digitized version, and corresponding archives. I also used my own knowledge of jewelry, along with existing literature, and consulted with experts in the field. The research is ongoing and informs the overall structure of my thesis.

Chapter 1 provides a historical overview of Southwestern Native American jewelry and explains its importance to the artists and communities along with the methodologies I use to discover the artist, time frame created, materials used, and the artistic design aspects, and motifs.

Chapter 2 describes the actual process of conducting the research. For example, while conducting my research I came across a bolo tie in the Bialac collection accession No. 2010.024.1448. It is sterling silver and has a mosaic pattern inlayed with ironwood, lapis,

turquoise, and red coral (Fig 1). My first impression was that the design is reminiscent of works created by Charles Loloma, a Hopi metalsmith and lapidary artist, who also worked as an instructor in a variety of different institutions. I looked for a hallmark and found TC and a lightning bolt arrow on the bottom etched into the silver (Fig.2). It is a hallmark I am unfamiliar with and have not seen in my research. I know that Loloma was a professor at the Institute of American Indian Arts from 1962 to 1966. I also know that a student by the name of Tommy Cannon studied metalsmithing with Loloma over the years of 1965 and 1966. The students were required to take courses in all types of art including paintings, sculpture, creative writing, and metalsmithing. This means that Tommy Cannon was a student of Loloma while he attended IAIA. After looking through IAIA archives I discovered that Tommy Cannon latter became T.C. Cannon. Moreover, I discovered that Loloma's students often created works that were very similar to those of their instructor using the same materials. The use of ironwood in Southwestern Native American jewelry, along with lapis and sugilite were features of work created by Charles Loloma. His students at IAIA had access to these materials and were encouraged to use them in their work. Suspecting that this bolo-tie may very well be made by T.C. Cannon the well know Native American painter, I started conducting a process of elimination looking for any other metalsmith with the initials TC, looking to find a similar hallmark. I reached out via the internet and contacted Paula Baxter, an expert in identifications of Native hallmarks, and she compiled a list including Thomas Curtis, and Tommy C. Singer, along with a few others. I looked at these artists' work, histories, and hallmarks, and none of them have any work or similar hallmarks to that on the bolo. I am specifically looking for any sketch, painting, poem or document that is signed by T.C. in a similar way, definitively attributing the bolo tie to him. I can show the feasibility and probability that this bolo tie is his work, but without the proof of signature I can only state a

possible attribution that the work is his. I can also document where and when the bolo most likely was purchased by James T. Bialac, along with other circumstantial evidence. Currently I am starting the process of reaching out to artists who attended IAIA to see if they remember him making this piece.

Figure 1 Bolo Tie from the James T. Bialac collection, possibly the work of TC Cannon but there is not enough evidence to make an attribution currently.

Chapter 3 explains the importance of the pieces and how they fit in the larger conversation. Artwork, museum collections, and the stories the pieces relate about culture and the variations of technique bring attention to works that exceed expectations. In the Bialac collection of jewelry there are 300 pieces, 78 unidentified. In working through this collection and I have identified over 30 works. To do this I have had to become very familiar with both collections, archives, and existing literature about Southwestern Native American jewelry. I have also used social-media and email for information from Native American source communities.

Chapter 4 further explains the process of research and addresses issues that came up in the process. In this section I document the pieces that were previously misidentified. Misidentification is harmful to the artist, the museum, and those who appreciate the work in the source

communities including collectors and connoisseurs. It explores what worked well and what methods were less successful. This section will synthesize the deconstruction of previous methodologies that were insufficient and analyze the blueprint concerning new methodologies I am creating to facilitate these processes.

Chapter 1

Historical Overview: The Long Walk to Silversmithing

In the introduction of *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*, Mark Bahti states that the literature concerning "craft" was "largely ignored," until the mid-1970s, when public interest fueled an abundance focused on "Indian jewelry." However, it was focused on the consumer aspect of collecting, the history of the art form, and books devoted to visual representations. In his publication, Bahti states his motivations were based on creating a broader approach to understanding jewelry's development, while purposefully avoiding subjective terms such as 'sophisticated, 'or romanticized descriptions.[11] Bahti's scholarship begins the undertaking of a more nuanced appreciation of Southwestern Native American jewelry from a decidedly art historical approach. Placing the conversation of Native jewelry into a larger context, asking how it operates as an art form but also as objects of cultural continuance, knowledge transfer, and representations of visual design and style unique to its Indigenous source communities, I argue that jewelry is still a marginalized artform in Native American art history, and gets little attention when compared to ceramics, painting, textiles, or sculpture. It is important to understand what obstacles are in place that continue to relegate the artform to cabinets and drawers instead of on display in exhibitions. This question becomes more pressing as collections containing valuable knowledge about the development of the artform find their way into the stewardship of

[11] M. Bahti, *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*. (D. McKay Company, 1980). X.

museums like the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art which cares for both the Eugene B. Adkins, and the James T. Bialac acquisitions.

It becomes ever more important to document what information can be obtained before it becomes impossible to discover due to the passing of time. Focusing on questions specific to the operation of jewelry as an art object or economic vehicle ignores how the pieces work as objects of cultural retention or cultural continuance. Moreover, what methodological approaches need to be employed to understand the development and growth of the art form within different Indigenous communities? How can a greater understanding of the cryptic iconography protecting cultural knowledge be understood without working to gain access to sensitive information not meant for general consumption? And what can Native jewelry tell us about the conversations that were ongoing pertaining to Native American sovereignty and colonizing forces that continued to work as economic, religious, and cultural subjugators?

Recent scholarship by Paula Baxter and Henrietta Lidchi centers the study and research of Southwestern Native American jewelry on its importance as a tool of survivance and cultural sovereignty, acknowledging that these art objects are much more complicated than previously thought. Both Baxter and Lidchi work hard to draw distinctions between authentic and inauthentic as defined by Native American artists and source communities; in opposition to non-Natives imposing definitions of authenticity based on attributes of "Indianness." Silversmithing was incorporated into Southwestern Native American cultures as an economic driver, allowing for greater access to the new market economy. Therefore, it became exceedingly problematic when definitions of authenticity were created by non-Native profiteers seeking to create artificial paramotors defining "Indian identity" as imagined by non-Native sensibilities. In, *Surviving Desires*, Lidchi chronicles the first recorded instance of piece work by the Fred Harvey company in 1899.

Native American jewelers were hired to make work with "Indian-like designs" with materials provided to them by the companies.[12] Essentially, the companies were purchasing "ethnic identity" allowing them to advertise the work of the silversmiths as "authentic Indian Handmade." In other words, they hired Native Americans to make jewelry unrelated to their culture, traditions or artistic identities; then the works were presented and sold as authentic objects of Native American material culture.

This example tells us how hostile and ruthless the economic market was for Native Americans. I propose that jewelry functioned as an important tool in the retention of culture where the nature of the medium encouraged Native artists to use their traditional design motifs and visual aesthetics in the creation of new works made from new materials. While the type of work was newly adopted into the communities and the materials were different, the cultural knowledge that informed the artworks remained the same; the motivations just moved from ceramics, textiles, and other forms toward the direction of silver and stone. Jewelry allowed for direct deals with non-Natives in an economic market that was usually exclusionary for Native peoples. This was due to different reasons, ranging from racism, prejudice, language and cultural differences. Native artists relied on intermediaries for access to the market who would facilitate commerce between the artists and collectors, such as trading post owners. Native people had to be exceedingly clever to survive in an economic environment based on a good deal, bad deal binary, placing the trading post owner in position to receive a good deal and the Native artist in position to receive a bad deal. The power dynamic was so one sided that this relationship developed into a situation of indentured servitude, whereby the trading post owners and profiters amassed

[12] Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires: Making and Selling Native Jewellery in the American Southwest*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015) 22-23.

staggering amounts of wealth from the endless good deals made at the expense of endless bad deals for Native artists. At the same time the trading post would extend credit, or they allowed artists to pawn their work after refusing to purchase it, leaving the artist with few options. Often, the artists only option would be to pawn the work for immediate cash funds, then never be able to reclaim their art leaving it to become "dead pawn," a very common term on the reservations in the early twentieth century.

Not enough work has been done to address the tremendous contribution Native American intellectual creative property contributed to the regional, national, and international economies. These business entities were independent from any relationship to Native American culture or people, yet they created economic opportunities associated with Native American material culture making profits that rarely trickled down to the pueblos or reservations. Lidchi details events that took place between the years of 1931 and 1941, and the resulting economic boom that southwestern jewelry provided the regional economy, creating opportunities for non-Natives to open curio shops, trading posts, and manufacturing companies that offered a number of underpaid, piecework jobs to Native silversmiths who were not compensated for the use of their Native American identity even though that was what was being purchased. The employer could only legally sell the jewelry as authentic "Indian Handmade" if it was made by a Native American, therefore, non-Native jewelry, with non-Native designs were marketed and sold as authentic "Indian Handmade" only because they hired a Native to do the workmanship. Without the ethnic identity behind the crafting of these curio items, these businesses specializing in Indian Arts and Crafts could not sell their Indian-like items legally. Lidchi explains:

> Around 1911, J. S. Candelario curio dealer and former pawnbroker, farmed out Navajo style Jewelry to prison labor…. Simultaneously, lighter weight jewelry was being made to order by Indian traders and then increasingly manufactured in Gallup, Denver and Albuquerque by curio dealers with decorative signifiers of

> 'Indian-ness' – arrows, thunderbirds and whirling logs aimed at tourists. It was during this period that Native American Jewelry acquired a new identity, that of 'curio,' commodity and demonstration art. Indian jewelry, the material commodity and stereotyped perception of Native American craft, entered into the mainstream commerce and the popular imagination.[13]

The Navajo adopted silversmithing into their culture for economic reasons. Southwestern Native American jewelry became more popular than could have been expected. This resulted in countless non-natives seeking opportunities to cash in on Native American culture and creativity. Because of this the market became infected with fake, Indian-like, trinkets for "tin-can" tourists. The Government had recently changed their federal policy toward Native American cultures, going from its destroyer to its protector and advocate. The market for authentic Native American artwork was being corrupted and destroyed by non-Natives who worked as authorities on authenticity and then sold cheap junk labeled "Indian Handmade." This resulted in the Federal Trade commission investigating how certain curio shops obtained their inventory. The focus of the investigation was Maisel's Indian Trading Post, Lidchi writes:

> In 1932, it brought a case against Maisel's on the basis of misrepresentation prompted by a coalition of philanthropists and Southwestern Indian traders. Maisel's had entered the curio trade in 1923 and correctly assessed an appetite for lighter and inexpensive jewelry sold as "Indian made". Maisel's advertising cleverly capitalized on prevailing perceptions of Navajo craftsmanship and this gave them a competitive edge. The FTC needed to prove that this was a basis for complaint because "Indian made" was widely understood to mean something specific: handmade by Navajo silversmiths (according to traditional methods and techniques). Maisel's was consequently breaching consumer trust and damaging an already difficult market.[14]

The investigations challenged notions of authenticity by questioning how designs arose, what the religious significance might be what methods were used in the jewelry's crafting, and what the

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[13] Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires: Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015) 272 22-23

[14] Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires: Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest*. . (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015) 272 22-23

perception of "Indian Jewelry" was in the mind of the buyers. The marketplace for Southwestern Native American arts and crafts had many facets with the Native artist at the center of production. However, Southwestern Native American jewelry was not a traditional art form and did rely on modern technology; therefore, it defied constructs of authenticity. Or rather, "Indian-made" should be measured by independent volition in design; if a Native person made a piece for a company and was not involved with the creation, inspiration, or designing of the piece, then their identity is of no consequence in the making of the piece, they are just an individual providing the labor. I believe the Native people who chose to work at these jobs were aware of the situation. They had good jobs that were providing a steady income, the work was comfortable since they were working with other Natives, and they understood what they were making for the curio shops, trading post and other dealers, had no relation to their culture, heritage or tradition, it was just a job, regardless of the way the work was marketed based on their identities. We must remember jewelry was adopted into the cultures as an economic solution, and a steady job and wage meant the medium was working successfully. It provided Native Americans with a way to monetize their most valuable asset, their cultural persona, while preventing the commodification of their material culture tied to tradition and heritage. This is one creative way the Natives were able to navigate a ruthless evolutionary colonized market economy.

False Narratives

For too long Native American creative intellectual property has been claimed, stolen, and appropriated by others who collect the rewards for re-envisioning, re-imagining and re-creating existing visual elements.[15] It is impossible to believe that Euro-American colonizers and

[15] Christian Feest states in an article concerning the collection of objects from cultures still existing titled, *Which Ethnography do Ethnographic Museums Need?*: The case of the "discovery" of "primitive art" by modernist artists during the early twentieth century may be seen as a prime example of appropriation that

collectors of culture, were not inspired, and motivated by exposure to a never ceasing supply of objects activated through visual engagement. These objects were not created with the purpose of visual pleasure but specifically used for the transmission of cultural knowledge. In fact, academic disciplines such as archeology, anthropology, ethnography, and art history found Native American cultures an especially interesting subject for research, so much so that some individuals devoted their entire careers to documenting the material culture, stories, traditions, and heritage of America's Indigenous societies.[16]

Histories were written, and narratives were constructed. The constructed narrative imagined that Native Americans were a primitive society, savage by nature, who regretfully were out of time to evolve any further. Their erasure made way for a more developed civilized society; the primitive savage was destined to vanish. Given this constructed narrative a falsehood seemed to argue an advanced civilized culture such as the Euro-American colonizer could not be enlightened by exposure to objects originating from a primitive savage culture. This created an environment where Native American culture was collected, and intellectual property used in the

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does not in any way serve as a better understanding of other cultures, but merely has contributed to the transformation of cultural documents into high-status commodities, with profits not going to the descendants of the makers, but to the players in a "primitive art" market. Ethnographic museums have at times (and mostly unsuccessfully) tried to have their share at least of the prestige of "primitive art", but at the price of selling their anthropological souls. 193.

[16] In *How an Art Historian Connects Art Objects and Information*, Richard Brilliant explores the relationship between artworks and art-objects that were labeled with different categorizations imposed on them by those who found interest in studying them as art or culturally. He states, the aesthetic distance from collectible to art object may or may not be very great, but it is a perception worth exploring. At the very least, an art historian should be conscious of the critical import of the classification "art object" and its potential for illusory gratification. Perhaps art historians need not derive aesthetic pleasure from the objects they study and publish–more's the pity–but classification alone will not distinguish them from those historians and anthropologists who investigate the products, producers, and consumers of material culture, nor should it. The fact that the classification of an object may be in issue demonstrates the continuous gradient of an object from artifact to art, from the subject matter of history (or anthropology) to that of art history. Accordingly, the permeability of the boundaries of art history must be understood as a condition of research and so too the dependency of the art historian on the resources of the library in the humanities and social sciences. 121.

development of modern society, resulting in moments of non-native modernity.[17] However, anti-modernists embraced the responsibility as the more advanced culture to preserve the remnants of the vanished culture. It is not "Kill the Indian, Save the Man," rather it is, "Preserve the Primitive and Collect their Stuff." With deference to history, culturally related objects became objects for "illusory gratification" and moved from artifact to art.

Southwestern Native American jewelry develops under this constructed narrative. Silversmithing, a new artistic tradition, develops independently outside the purview of non-Native influence because it was not part of any tradition, thus, holding no value for culture collectors to take any interest. In addition, a vanishing culture adopting a new skillset working to ensure cultural continuance is a counter-narrative. Anthropologists, archeologists, ethnographers, art historians, and cultural groupies, were all preoccupied with the death of culture, the dying, and the vanishing, hoping to play a part in the documentation of an historical moment when a culture ceases to exist. They had no interest in "Living Designs" or "Surviving Desires." Concerning one's perspective, the preservation of cultural heritage can have two different meanings dependent on why the knowledge is being preserved. From a Native perspective the collection of cultural knowledge and heritage was for the sake of preserving the culture. While for the non-Native academics it was to document and record the cultural information and knowledge of a culture extinct. These two different perspectives might be called the extinct, extant paradigm.

Current narratives are directly linked to past misconceptions, misnomers, and untruths. For instance, the current narrative states the traders and dealers worked very hard to establish the

[17] When the Indians refused to vanish by the turn of the century, intellectuals contended that, regardless of population counts, the inevitable course of assimilation certainly doomed Indigenous cultures. By the 1920s, scientists and antimodern activists joined forces as they embraced the concept of cultural relativism, providing another wrinkle in the attitudes of some white elites toward Native peoples. For Euro-American intellectuals, this often meant a reassessment of Indian culture as they mined it for symbols that spoke to their own dissatisfaction with modernity. 35-36.

crafts market for Native artists. I believe this is a myth. I would argue that the Southwestern entrepreneurs identified a winning product that would virtually sell itself. I would further suggest, it took very little work for them to hype or promote the silver work being created by the Native people. In fact, I believe the traders and dealers did more to kill the market with unethical and dishonest dealings rather than creating market demand. Southwestern Native American jewelry became such a driving force in the market that countless non-natives were capitalizing off the culture of the Native American far more than the Native people themselves.

On March 9, 1937, under the direction of John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board (IACB), stated:

> Navajo, Hopi and Pueblo silver work, as an art and as a product with a 'quality' market, has been overwhelmed by machine production. The Indian craftsman, struggling to compete in price with the machine-made and factory-made imitations, has in turn been forced to adopt a machine technique, while at the same time his wages or earning have been depressed to the ''sweatshop'' level. Quality has been sacrificed to that extreme where Indian jewelry has become hardly more than a curio or a souvenir.[18]

Then on March 22, 1946, The United Indian Traders Association, Inc. issued a general bulletin. The UITA was established in 1931, and was comprised of traders, and attorneys and other prominent socialites. The purpose was much the same as the IACB, and that was to guarantee a genuine, hand-hammered, Indian-made piece of jewelry. The specifications certifying authenticity were crafted by a government agency and followed up by the association of traders. These specifications were meant to protect the market for Native silversmiths from the encroachment on the market by industrialized machine-made products. Southwestern Native American jewelry as an artform was commodified by an industrial machine that spanned internationally where the Native

[18] Bille Hougart Books, Quest for Authenticity – U.S. Government Hallmarks on Native American Silver, 1938-1941: Short Term Project; Long-Term Impact, January 24, 2018. https://billehougart-books.com/blogs/news/u-s-government-hallmarks-on-native-american-silver-1938-1941.

people who began and nourished the artform with their cultural knowledge became victims of the theft of their creative property, and their own ability to compete in the market was diminished as such. It was the Fred Harvey company that started the practice of creating designs by non-Natives that had a blend of Native motifs or Indian-like designs that were meant to portray the essence of Native American culture. This decision created the curio market that led to the need for the IACB and UITA to take the actions they did to counter something collective greed created. It is established knowledge that there were two different markets associated with the Southwestern jewelry, one for the tourist and one for the true artform. The curio market provided needed jobs for many Native Americans, and it also provided an opportunity to learn more about the trade and that knowledge was used when they moved on and began to work for themselves in the art market.

This first concern with this narrative is that the non-Native entities, in this case, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the United Indian Traders Association believed they had the authority to inform Native Americans what parameters they would need to follow so their work could be considered "Indian Handmade." If a Native American artist did not follow these guidelines, they would not be able to sell their handmade Native American work as Indian handmade. It would not be authentic. To enforce these edicts the institutions required artworks to carry a stamp with the trademark of either the IACB or the UITC. To accomplish this the piece would have to be mailed to the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico, inspected, stamped, then mailed back to the artist, or the artist would need to wait until an agent showed up

at the reservation to inspect and stamp the works there.[19] The letter from the United States Department of the Interior, Indian Arts and Crafts Board states:

> *Standards for Navajo, Pueblo, And Hopi Silver and Turquoise Products*
> Subject to the detailed requirements that follow, the Government stamp shall be affixed only to work individually produced and to work entirely hand made. No object produced under conditions resembling a bench-work system, and no object in whose manufacture any power-driven machinery has been used, shall be eligible for the use of the Government stamp. In detail, Indian silver objects, to merit the Government stamp of genuineness, must meet the following specifications:
>
> (1) Material. Silver slugs of 1-ounce weight or other silver objects may be used, provided their fineness is at least 900; and provided further, that no silver sheet shall be screws for earrings; backs for tie clasps and chain, which may be of silver of different fineness and mechanically made.
> (2) Dies. Dies used are to be entirely hand-made, with no tool more mechanical than hand tools and vice. Dies shall contain only a single element of the design.
> (3) Application of Dies. Dies are to be applied to the object with the aid of nothing except hand tools.
> (4) Appliqué elements in design. All such parts of the ornament are to be hand-made. If wire is used, it is to be hand-made with no other than a hand-made draw plate. These requirements apply to the boxes for stone used in the design.
> (5) Stone for ornamentation. In addition to turquoise, the use of other stone is permitted. Turquoise, if used, must be genuine stone, uncolored by any artificial means.
> (6) Cutting of stone. All stone used, including turquoise, is to be hand-cut and polished. This permits the use of hand- or foot-driven wheels.
> (7) Finish. All silver is to be hand polished.
>
> For the present the Arts and Crafts Board reserves to itself the sole right to determine what silver, complying with the official standards, shall be stamped with the Government mark.
>
> John Collier, Chairman, Approved March 9, 1937
>
> Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior[20]

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[19] Bille Hougart Books, Quest for Authenticity – U.S. Government Hallmarks on Native American Silver, 1938-1941: Short Term Project; Long-Term Impact, January 24, 2018. https://billehougart-books.com/blogs/news/u-s-government-hallmarks-on-native-american-silver-1938-1941.

[20] Billie Hougart Books, Quest for Authenticity – The United Indian Traders Association: Better Quality, Greater Sales. https://billehougartbooks.com/blogs/news/quest-for-authenticity-the-united-indian-traders-association.

The UITC had a chance to learn from some of the missteps made by the IACB but they followed in a similar path and created a list of rules that was equally as cumbersome. The list of requirements in their letter stated:

> 1. Silver of nine hundred fineness (coin) or better shall be used only in the following forms: squares or slugs; scrap; sheet; round, half-round, square and triangle wire. Solder of lesser fineness and in any form is permitted. Findings, such as pin-stems, catches, joints, ear wires, tie holders, spring rings, jump rings, clips, clasps, chain, etc., may be made mechanically of any metal by Indians or others.
> 2. Dies used are to be entirely hand-made by Navajo or Pueblo Indian craftsmen using no tool more mechanical than hand tools and vise.
> 3. Dies are to be applied to the object only by Navajo or Pueblo craftsmen with the aid of nothing more than their hand tools.
> 4. All appliqué elements of the ornament are to be entirely hand-made by Navajo or Pueblo Indians.
> 5. Turquoise and other stones used must be genuine stones, uncolored and untreated by any artificial means. Stones used may be cut and polished by Indians or others without restriction as to method or equipment used.
> 6. Casting only by the sandstone mold (sic) method is permissible where the Navajo or Pueblo craftsman carves out the mold which is entirely hand-made only by simple hand tools.
> 7. After the manufacture of an object is completed by a Navajo or Pueblo craftsman within these regulations, it may be cleaned, buffed and polished by Indians or others without restriction as to methods or equipment use.[21]

These are two of the many institutional forces that relegated jewelry to the confines of craft, not necessarily on purpose but from poor decision making regarding the management of the Southwestern Native American jewelry market. It seems apparent that these are anti-progressive policies, and that is precisely what they were meant to be. They complicated the market significantly for Native artists who tried to follow the guidelines. The policies were arrogant in their creation and ignorant in the application of the complicated process for Native American jewelers. Most artists working in metal and stone ignored both agencies and their recommendations.

[21] Billie Hougart Books. Quest for Authenticity – The United Indian Traders Association: Better Quality, Greater Sales. https://billehougartbooks.com/blogs/news/quest-for-authenticity-the-united-indian-traders-association.

The introduction of silversmithing was changing the relationship spectrum between Southwestern Native Americans and the power dynamic that existed between them and the institutional forces. I believe that the introduction of silversmithing into Native societies resulted in a lifted pride and self-esteem with the knowledge and understanding that they could be independent. I argue that jewelry operates differently than the other artforms found in Native American material culture because it was adopted into the culture as an economic tool allowing access to the marketplace. It offered a way to earn a living on the reservations where the only commodity left to the Native people was their culture; however, their culture was not for sale. Jewelry allowed for the monetization of cultural signifiers without offending tradition or heritage. In other words, it gave the Native artists an increasing ability to skip the middleman.

How and why did jewelry become a traditional artform for so many different Indigenous communities so quickly? From firsthand experience, I can confidently state that it became an important part of tradition and culture because of its economic impact on the communities and families that learned the artform to survive in the new economic system brought by the Europeans. My grandparents Ben and Felicita Eustace had thirteen children and each of them learned how to make jewelry for the same reason, because their parents believed it was the only way they would survive just in case other opportunities did not work out. It was accepted that everyone in the family needed to know how to make the family designs because it was what the family was known for, and because it was the only way the family could support itself economically. This is a commonality found throughout Southwestern Native American communities that make jewelry. Each family has its own intellectual creative property and they hand this down to future generations. The study of Southwestern Native American jewelry shows the creation of new cultural knowledge in real time in the form of styles and designs each with unique qualities

originating from the first member in the lineage to take up the new artform. Subsequent generations would then take that knowledge and add to it by offering new adaptations and elements. They work on their own individual designs usually with identifiers from family motifs. Some designs made by current jewelers might contain the cultural knowledge of five generations and this tradition and creation of new cultural knowledge continues forward. It is this paradigm that allowed jewelry to become an artform of cultural continuance, survival, and the creation of art-objects that transfer cultural knowledge.

It becomes exponentially more challenging for isolated and racialized groups to compete in a market driven economy when they are socially vulnerable. Most would agree, it is immoral and unethical to take advantage of someone's economic situation to swindle as much as possible from them. When a Native artist tried to assert themselves economically in relation to the value of their work, they were quickly rebuked by the dominant power structure. For instance, in *Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry*, Laura Jante Moore states:

> Demonstrators who tried to take business into their own hands, as did a silversmith called Taos, threatened this monopoly. "He is making silver for other Indians and they are selling it," Huckel complained to Hubbell. "He is going over town and selling it and also selling it to our guests on the quiet. Taos has been spoiled by his experience at St. Louis" during the world's fair and, though a "silversmith is quite an attraction," he was becoming uncontrollable. In the end, they sent him home with his wife even before she had completed the blanket she was weaving, which they bought for twenty dollars. Taos received thirty-one dollars, although he asked for $36.50. Harvey manager Snively refused him the additional five-fifty "as I thought he was trying to skin me." He also refused to pay him $12.50 for putting Pins in 50 buttons for Hat Pins which was about two days' work but compromised with him at 12 1/2 cents each.[22]

[22] Moore, L. J. "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwestern Tourist Industry | Kopernio." Accessed December 28, 2019. https://koper-nio.com/viewer?doi=10.2307/3347066&token=WzEyMTE0NTAsI-jEwLjIzMDcvMzM0NzA2NiJd.l2TJ3lWz2v3oqVrjO0mfpSqyUHU. 31-32.

There is no pride in the commissioning of a good deal when one party has no leverage and must accept whatever is offered. This was the economic system that was in place for Native American artists during the Trading Post era in the early to mid-twentieth century. In a staff report to The Federal Trade Commission, titled, *The Trading Post System on the Navajo Reservation,* submitted in 1974, an account of questionable to overtly unethical practices conducted by trading post owners at the expense of the Native people shows egregious business practices. Moreover, the trading post system created an environment allowing the trader to "exert profound psychological and social influence over the Navajo customer."[23] By using testimony given by Navajo people, the report states, "Navajo dependence on trading facilities is maintained through a variety of formidable and abusive trade practices…. Historically, the trading post represented the only daily contact that Navajos had with white society. As such, all business that might be transacted with white society was channeled through the trading post, personified by the trader [himself]. The trader was not only the sole source of white society's goods; he was also the post office, interpreter, scribe, banker, creditor, newscaster, employment agent, railroad claims agent, ambulance driver and furnished the community social center."[24] The geographic isolation of the Navajo residents resulted in an economic monopoly where bad business ethics turned into abusive treatment imposed by many of the trading post owners. The report continues, "the trader's monopoly rests upon ignorance and poverty, many Navajos are illiterate, most are unsophisticated in commercial transactions… and the trader maintains his monopoly through the geographic isolation of the Navajo residents."[25] Despite the reality of an "evolutionary economy" that valued survival over

[23] "The Trading Post System on the Navajo Reservation." Staff Report to the Federal Trade Commission. The U.S Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education. June 1973. 15.
[24] "The Trading Post System on the Navajo Reservation." June 1973. 15.
[25] "The Trading Post System on the Navajo Reservation." June 1973. 13.

ethical business practices, the report continues, "the operation of a trading post is, in theory, a privilege that is carefully regulated and easily lost. This theory has never achieved the status of reality."[26] The reality of the situation that infested the trading posts and curio dealers originated from access to the valuable resource of Native American material culture, a commodity that was monetizable, and a culture in need of funds in the cash economy.

The middleman position of the dealers gave way to a monopoly on goods, services, and economic concerns. As transactions occurred, they syphoned off enormous amounts of capital that were due the Native communities. However, in the market economy these transactions are completely legal because the Native people were dependent on the trading post and dealers, so they accepted whatever was offered to them. This positioned the middlemen to rationalize their behavior and actions with the false belief that they were righteous based on the premise that they were given permission by the Tribe to conduct business on the reservations and they were providing a valuable service on Native people's behalf. It placed them in the position of facilitator and guardian, and it offered too great an opportunity leading to corruption and uncontrollable greed. I argue that giving a historical example of how these situational dynamics functioned in negotiations within the marketplace reveals the different spaces and functionalities silver jewelry develops as a tool of adaptation in the preserving of cultural continuance, allowing the artform to become an outlet for the transmission of cultural heritage. For instance, when an artist created a piece of silver jewelry, the work would contain the history of silversmithing from its introduction into Native societies, the artist's personal history, and their cultural identity. It could also store various amounts of cultural knowledge dependent upon the artist's intention. This type of

[26] "The Trading Post System on the Navajo Reservation." Staff Report to the Federal Trade Commission. The U.S Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education. June 1973. 15.

transmission of knowledge is not available to everyone, different people have different levels of access to the knowledge an object contains.

A Silversmith is Born

Figure 2 Photography by Ben Wittick, "Jake, a Navajo Silversmith at Work." 1880-1890. Glass Negative, Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, and "Navajo Silversmith Charley Jueros (Blond Charley)," photograph by C.E.Lord.

Embedded in the early work created by Navajo silversmiths is the knowledge of their forced removal from their ancestral homelands and requires additional explanation. A photograph contains information, and we can understand the significance if we have a general understanding of the historical context. The image activates our memory and creates associations corresponding to the visual information. If we have no reference to the subject matter in a photograph, then the knowledge is not available to us. Early works by Native American jewelers operate in a similar way. The art object was created as a solution to economic hardship allowing development into a vehicle for artistic expression; in addition, they also worked as a relationship

builder between non-Native and Native cultures alike. These are the elements that allowed it to operate as a tool for the transmission of knowledge within its source communities and the amount of knowledge it activates can be considerable.

When the Diné returned home to the Four-Corners region after multiple years of hardship at Bosque Redondo, they adopted silversmithing into their material culture (see images 3; 4) partially for economic survival, but also because they appreciated silver objects as a form of adornment. They frequently traded their goods with a Mexican platero named Nakai Tsosi who shared the tradecraft with Atsidi Sani, the first Navajo to learn silversmithing. Shortly after it became a new economic option for the Navajo people.

This research examines why and how the process of adoption into the culture occurred and seeks to understand how the pieces of silver jewelry operate as objects capable of the transmission of knowledge. The art form was not considered to be a specific cultural identifier meaning it could be shared with other Native American communities in the Southwest region. The benefit of making silver jewelry was quickly realized and encouraged among the tribes and pueblos. It provided a livelihood, creative sovereignty, and could be used as a tool to protect cultural knowledge from erasure. From the perspective of the "institutional forces" such as museums, academia, government, and boards comprised of various influencers, the adoption of silversmithing into Native American culture carried no significance because it had no connection with Native cultural history. Silversmithing was insignificant. It existed only on the periphery of Native American material culture, thus allowing for its unmolested development. This phenomenon needs to be unpacked further: let's do this by examining the Squash Blossom necklace (see figure 5).

As noted in, *Indian Silver of the Southwest, Illustrated, Volume One*, Harry P. Mera

writes:

> Images for the most frequently seen are those beads to which have been affixed conventionalized floral representations or "squash-blossoms," as they are commonly known. By whom and under what circumstances the latter name was first applied to these conversations is a matter of conjecture, as the term has not been in common usage for many years. However, it is not believed to have been Indian in origin, nor is it thought that these flower-like objects were intended to symbolize the blossoms of the squash. As a matter of fact, competent authorities agree that the idea was taken over from a class of popular, Spanish-Mexican garment ornaments which were stylized versions of the pomegranate, either of the flower or perhaps the immature fruit.[27]

Mera's research published in 1959 did not reveal the origin of the name for the squash-blossom necklace. In his 1980s publications, Mark Bahti, states: …it seems reasonable to assume a Spanish origin for the Navajo Naja. The squash blossom is an elongated version of the silver pomegranate blossoms worn as trouser ornaments by Spanish dandies."[28]

However, that the most recognizable design in Southwestern Native American jewelry had been inspired by the trouser beads of a Spanish dandy, I suggest, is a false narrative. It is believed that a trading post owner long forgotten was responsible for giving the Navajo necklace the moniker of "squash blossom," and this is still the accepted belief today.

In conducting this research, it became important to understand how the Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi developed three different distinct styles and how artists work within these established parameters while having their own unique interpretations of designs. In asking how this occurred, I looked at each culture and their "way of knowing." Specifically, I looked at how the cultures came to understand the world and how their cultural knowledge informed their visual language in objects, and art objects.

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[27] Harry P. Mera. *Indian Silverwork of the Southwest, Illustrated, Volume One*, Published by Dale Stuart King. 96-98.
[28] Mark Bahti. *Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry*, David McKay Co. 1980. 80.

Figure 3 Pistillate flower bloom of the Cucurbita maxima also referred to as the Navajo squash, or Hubbard variety, blue gray variety.

Figure 4 The blue Hubbard squash harvest next to a pile of various size handmade Navajo beads, and finally a line of a similar variety of blue Hubbard Navajo squash, smaller in nature.

It seems clear to me that the squash blossom necklace was based on agriculture and it was inspired by the Blue Hubbard or Cucurbita Maxima (See figures 3, 4.), a variety of squash often referred to as the Navajo squash. There is evidence that this heirloom vegetable dates back more than four-centuries in the agricultural history of the Navajo people. The re-cultivating of the ancestral homelands was certainly at the top of the priority list when the Navajo returned to the four corners region in 1868. At that same time, they began designing and making silver jewelry. It must have taken countless hours to rebuild their hogans, plant new crops, and to begin raising

new livestock after their communities had been leveled by the troops of the U.S. Military half a decade earlier.

I argue that the Navajo were thinking about agriculture and a good harvest of winter squash during the first few years back on their ancestral homelands. This would include the variety of squash referred to as Navajo, and prayers for its bountiful harvest must have been in the forefront of the minds of the community. Interestingly, the squash variety is blue gray in color and looks conspicuously like silver beads.

Figure 5 Antique Navajo silver melon bead, Squash Blossom necklace, and a Santa Clara Squash Melon pot made by Helen Shupla (1928-1985)

I believe that it was this process of cultivation that was the inspiration behind the squash blossom necklace. Moreover, I believe that there was a limited number of Spanish or Mexican dandies on the reservation wearing pomegranate trouser beads fastened securely to their fancy pants. It is also not very likely that the first Navajo silversmiths were looking to have a better gander at the pomegranate beads of any dandies. However, despite little to no evidence, the pomegranate narrative continues as the historical given. How is this possible given the obvious and logical likely scenario that the first Navajo jewelers were in fact inspired by their relationship to their ancestral homelands and established agriculture practice? Furthermore, the Cucurbita

Maxima, silver and gray in color, resembling a silver bead, displaying a pistillate flower blossom that extends from its gourd was regionally referred to as a Navajo squash. The public discourse associated with Native American art history and Southwestern Native American jewelry has been all too willing to accept that the first Navajo silversmiths were incapable of the creative energy or inspiration to be responsible for the creation of the squash blossom necklace and must have needed to copy the existing motifs of the Spanish. Clearly, this is a false narrative.

Consider also the other art objects in Native American culture that are representative of the squash, as well as bean and corn, the three sisters' diet common in many Native American cultures. In figure 5, we see an early squash blossom necklace from the Adkins collection next to an antique silver melon bead and a melon pot made by Santa Clara Pueblo artist, Helen Shulpa, These images add visual evidence refuting the pomegranate-dandy narrative by suggesting obvious associations between the artwork of the indigenous communities and what informs the designs and inspires the artists to create these cultural objects.

Objects as Art

Figure 6 Jenifer Curtis, Sterling Silver Concho Belt with natural Morenci turquoise, "In Memory of Thomas Curtis, Sr." and a first era Concho belt obtained by Eugene B. Adkins, Coin Silver hand wrought

The Navajo established a modern silversmithing style incorporating heavy pounded or melted silver poured into a casting matrix made of sand and clay along with heavy stamped Conchos on belts of thick leather, long strands of heavy handmade silver bead squash blossom necklaces. and heavy stamped bracelets. These were all features of the first phase of Navajo silversmithing during the late 19th century. It is my belief that the work and creation of these pieces of jewelry represented an emotional, visceral attachment to their ancestral homelands. Having so much taken from them in the way of identity and self-determination, the establishment of a new

form of expression realized through an active physical relation to the materials taking control over the silver-metal and literally shaping it to desire allowed for creativity to flourish. It directed powerful energies of pain, hurt and despair into personalized works of art.

By 1941, the consistent narrative regarding Navajo silver jewelry was an appreciation for the hand wrought techniques, whereby The Museum of Modern Art promoted the artform as unique featuring artistic design concepts. In *Surviving Desires,* Lidchi points to the work of Rene D'Harnoncourt in the promotion of Navajo jewelry as a movement positioning the artform at the center of the American studio jewelry society.[29] The Adkins collection at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum contains pieces that represent these specific design elements dating back to the late 19th century. The Bialac collection has works created in the mid-twentieth century up to the year 2016. Studied together these two collections represent a strong to comprehensive collection of works showing the development of the artform from its beginning to current times. Early photographs of the first smiths show them wearing their own jewelry, designed, influenced, and inspired by their own personal histories, and relationship to culture.[30]

The relationship between an object and its creator is informed by the motivation for its creation and contained in each object is the cultural heritage of the individual who is responsible

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[29] Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest.* (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2015). 35.
[30] Lidchi, 38.

for the object's existence. No matter what the object is, it contains information about where it came from, who made it, its purpose, and its relationship to its creator. Southwestern Native American jewelry for instance, contains the history and development of the artform. For example, questions about what information is contained in "Memory of my Father, Thomas Curtis, Sr." (see figure 6)" a Concho belt made by Diné silversmith, Jennifer Curtis can be asked. It is possible to find out how Curtis was first introduced to the artform and how she learned about the history of her family through the development of silversmithing in her culture. The Concho belt is an art object, created by Jennifer Curtis and within it is the history of the Curtis family's tradition of silversmithing, along with the family's relationship to their Native American Navajo culture. The belt tells a story of the disruption of cultural continuance. This includes the ramifications of settler colonialism, assimilation policies, and relocation. It also contains information about the material culture of the Navajo people and their resistance, resilience, and survivance. While all this information is embedded in the belt's existence, it does not mean it was the intention of Curtis for the belt to operate in this fashion. The information contained in the belt results from its relationship to Curtis, and contains cultural information based on the relationship between Curtis and her family and culture.

It is not necessary to know the history of Jenifer Curtis or the Navajo to enjoy the Concho belt. The relationship between the object and its owner operates differently where no obligation exists requiring an owner to inquire about the cultural knowledge contained in the artwork. If,

however, those who collect the work become curious about the purpose behind the belt's existence, they will discover why the belt was created who created it, and its significance in relation to its maker and the tradition and heritage contained in its cultural knowledge. An object contains its own history including the history of the culture it originated, whereby, it becomes an object of cultural transmission. Once the work has left its source community it finds a new space to exist. The Curtis Concho belt for instance was acquired by James T. Bialac and is currently part of the collection at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art. Eventually works find their way back to source communities or institutions dedicated to their preservation. The Concho belt, "Memory of my Father, Thomas Curtis, Sr." was created with the intention of being worn and enjoyed. However, it was purchased and was immediately placed in the stewardship of the Fred Jones Jr. Museum where it currently exists but not on display. It sits in a drawer with its significance hidden from public view. The belt was created with the intention of telling a specific story about the Curtis family tradition of silversmithing. The art object was created with the intention of being worn and enjoyed as well as transmitting cultural knowledge of tradition and heritage. It can do neither in a drawer in a museum out of sight.

Southwestern Native American Jewelry is part of the material culture of the communities who embraced the artform into their traditions and heritage. This adaptation of cultural expression through a new medium was a direct result of the changing economy and cultural disruption imposed on the Indigenous people of the Southwest by colonizing forces seeking to assimilate and relocate the Natives from their ancestral homelands. Silversmithing spread through the region quickly as it became a solution for a list of problems facing the Tribes and Pueblos of the region. Economically it served as a commodity for trade and sale, linking market and subsistence economies allowing for participation in either depending on immediate need. Handmade jewelry

could be sold for money or traded for goods. It had value in both economies, and quickly became an object of self-identity, wealth, and pride in Native American communities. It also became an object of ethnographic collection among non-natives who wanted an item representing their own relationship to the person who made it and the culture it was associated.

As a new form of expression, silver jewelry was not associated with protected cultural knowledge or ceremonial practices. Therefore, neither the federal government nor the societal elders of the communities were objectionable to the expansion of the new artform throughout the southwest. Southwestern Native American jewelry fulfilled the needs of the communities that adopted it into their material culture. At the same time, it provided an art object of cultural significance to the non-native communities who were curious about understanding Native American cultural heritage.

Transmission of Cultural Knowledge

Navajo cultural identity is shaped and informed by a relationship to their ancestral homelands. The relationship is informed by two principles. The first being, "interconnectedness" and the second being "harmony." When these two concepts are in alignment they result in "the rightful state of hózhó."[31] The concept of hózhó is often defined as beauty, while its definition is much closer to that of the sublime. A common misunderstanding about Navajo artwork is that it

[31] Emma Brewer-Wallin explains a portion of the cultural knowledge working to inform identity. At the core of The Diné philosophy and worldview is hózhó, often translated as "beauty." Rather than a superficial beauty, however, this describes a sense of balance, harmony, and wholeness…specifically referring to creation narratives, ritual ceremonies, and understandings of relationships between people and non-human beings, which I find are articulated within the oral histories of the Long Walk in such a way that suggests their importance in the agency of collective self-determination at Fort Sumner and beyond. In "Diné Culture, Decolonization, and the Politics of Hózhó," Larry W. Emerson articulates an essential question of what he calls Diné journeying: "How do I respectfully make relational and interconnected decisions for myself, the land, the plants, my family and kin, and community within the Diné Four Sacred Mountains in a good way?" " "We are lonesome for our land": The Settler Colonialist Use of Exodus in the Diné Long Walk." 75

is motivated by a desire to create visually beautiful objects and the works are not tied to their cultural heritage, however, when a work is created in harmony, it is connected to the sublime which is informed by cultural heritage. There is no feeling of urgency to correct or inform those who have a limited understanding of the sophistication of the relationship between the artists and their creations.

"Memory of my Father, Thomas Curtis, Sr." the Jennifer Curtis Concho belt in the James T Bialac collection, shown with a first phase Concho belt from the Eugene B. Adkins collection work together allowing access to the history of Navajo silversmithing from its inception to its current existence. These works hold cultural knowledge associated with their source communities. These belts tell the story of the tools used, the design style, the origin of the stones. and their special qualities. They also tell the story of the history of the award-winning jeweler Thomas Curtis Sr. who won over 600 ribbons while he was working as a silversmith. It also tells the history and story of his daughter Jennifer Curtis, also an award-winning jeweler who created the belt in her father's honor. Shown together they share a considerable amount of information concerning the nature of silversmithing as it relates to the Navajo Nation.

In addition, it tells the story of the relationship between the artist and art object; the art object and the collector, and the relationship between the collector and the museum institution where the belt is currently located. This work is an extremely important piece because it links together the silversmithing tradition as it exists currently, while also telling the story of the

silversmithing tradition historically. When it is displayed in an exhibit dedicated to the history of the artform alongside other historical works these pieces will begin to tell a dynamic account of Native American creative sovereignty and cultural survivance.

Finally, this research and the process of acquiring access to the knowledge contained in the collection of works held by the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art is partially informed using social media. After creating a post that featured, “Memory of Thomas Curtis, Sr,” Jennifer Curtis viewed the post and reached out to me to let me know she was happy to know where the belt was. This example demonstrates the power and need for this research for the Native communities, artists, and continuation of the artform.

Chapter 2

Social Media Crowd Sourcing for Artist Attributions

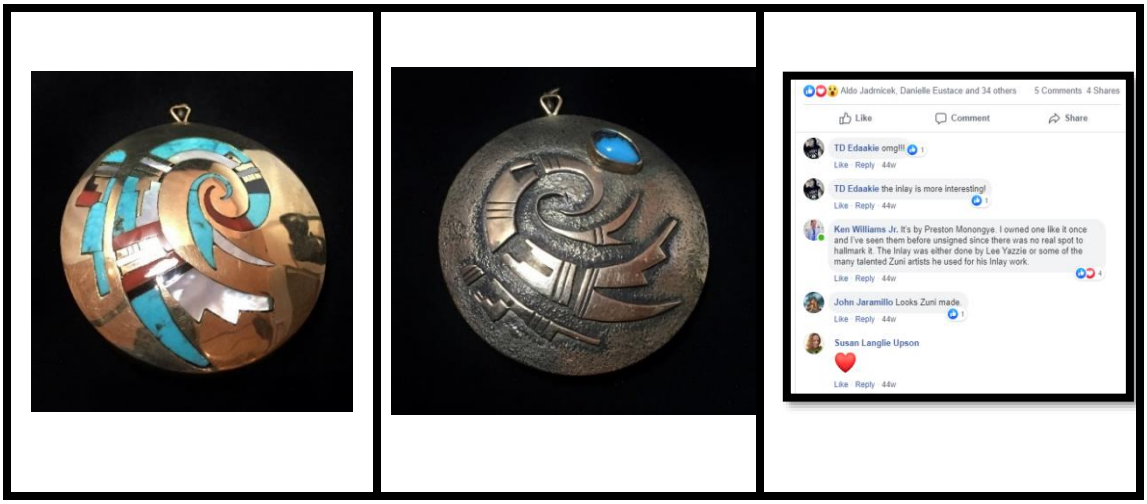

Figure 7 Hopi water bird design by Preston Monogye, reversable, with inlay possibly by Lee Yazzie, Sterling Silver hand forged using hollow forming, overlay and inlay, with a response from social media on information regarding its creation.

On March 1st I created a Facebook post with the two images (see figure 7). The front view and back view of a pendant on display in the current exhibit of jewelry at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum featuring the Adkins collection. This piece is one of many that is assigned to an unknown artist. My focus was on the pieces that are currently on display and have no artists attribution. I suspected this work was by Preston Monogye but needed confirmation. The corresponding conversation resulted in a response from Ken Williams Jr. a specialist in Southwestern Native, American jewelry who works with the collection at the Wheelwright museum in Santa Fe New Mexico. He stated, "It's by Preston Monogye. I owned one like it once and I've seen them before unsigned since there was no real spot to hallmark it. The inlay was either done by Lee Yazzie or some of the many talented Zuni artists he used for his Inlay work." It is a Hopi water bird design and is reversable. It is created using an overlay technique combined with inlay, it is hollow-formed and texturized, all variations of different techniques to create different visual effects. The inlay is an example of a cross cultural collaboration which was common and often part of the artistic process in jewelry creation during the decades of the 1960s and 70s. Not enough work has been done to understand these relationships informed by collaborations in Southwestern Native American jewelry and is outside the scope of this research yet remains a subject for future study.

The use of social media in researching Native American artwork is a relatively new process that is quickly becoming a common practice in the identification of artworks created by specific artists. This is because of the speed, easiness, and success rate in finding those who have knowledge or have a personal relationship with the creator of an artwork. As jewelry developed through the 1960s and 70s, the artform was receiving a considerable amount of publicity and several jewelers were reaching the status of celebrity. The publication Arizona Highways often featured jewelry and showcased both established artists and those up and coming. These

publications became essential for the collector class influencing many of their collecting practices further realized when they attended annual Indian art markets. Combing through publications and literature focused on Southwestern Native American jewelry is the method of identification available prior to the use of social media. I utilized both in my research and was able to assign artistic attribution to pieces in both the Adkins and Bialac collections. I presume much of Adkins collecting practices were based on information that he was exposed to through the Arizona Highways publication.

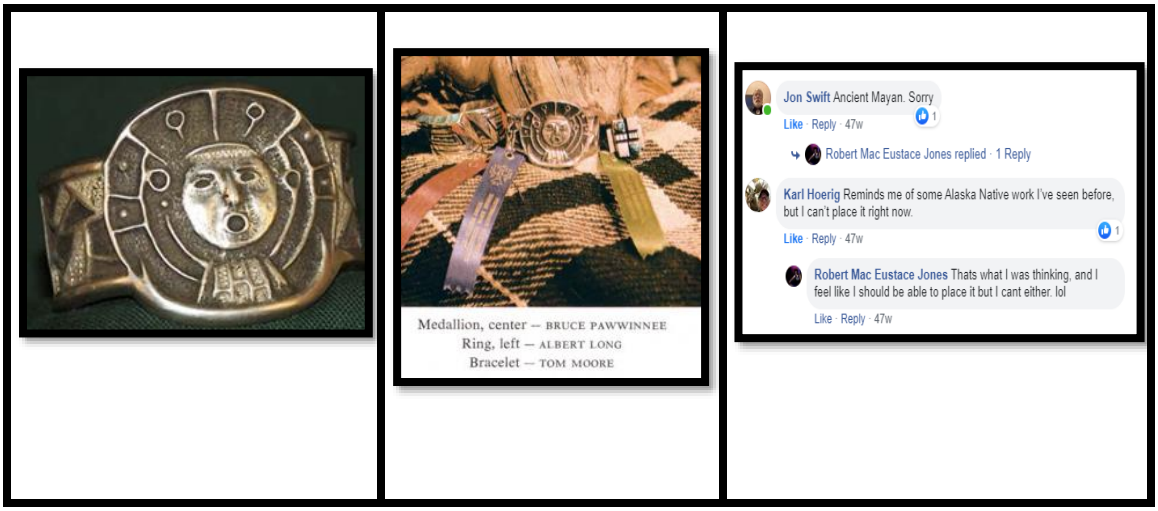

Figure 8 a solid silver cast bracelet by a Ute named Bruce Pawwinnee. It won an award at the Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition. The design looks to be a sun face or sun medallion. Done by tufa stone casting.

While working to discover the origin of several works including the Water Bird pendant by Monogye, I found a reference concerning a bracelet in the Adkins collection. While searching through the archives of the Arizona Highways publication I noticed a small picture of a bracelet I had given up on identifying. When I first viewed this bracelet, I believed it would be something that was easily identifiable because it was so unique. Most unique pieces have a memory associated with them that someone will recollect. However, I quickly realized after placing a post on social media that there was virtually no association with the design, meaning, style or

iconography of the piece. At this point I believed it a virtual impossibility to ever discover the origin of the work. The Facebook post and following conversation followed as such:

> Okay, I need help once again. If you recognize any of this work, please let me know. Thanks in advance. Okay, ready set go... who made this bracelet? (See figure 7).
> "Ancient Mayan. Sorry."
> "Reminds me of some Alaska Native work I've seen before, but I can't place it right now."
> "That's what I was thinking, and I feel like I should be able to place it, but I can't either. Lol."

As I was reading an article written by Preston Monogye about the New Native American Jewelry, I looked at a small photograph and saw the bracelet I believed impossible to attribute (see figure 8). Monogye writes:

> Then we have a solid silver cast bracelet by a Ute boy. It won an award at the Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition. The design of this particular piece is very interesting and looks to be a sun face or sun medallion. Done by tufa stone casting, this a rare because there hasn't been much Ute jewelry. I have not seen many Ute objects of solid silver, and this is the first silver bracelet I have ever seen. They have, however, made religious earrings and pins in peyote birds and things of this nature.[32]

This example shows that the utilization of new methods for discovery does not negate conventional methods of looking through archives. This becomes more relevant if one can determine the collection practices of the person who accumulated the artworks. In this case I became familiar with the collection practices of Eugene B. Adkins and this allowed me to refine my search of archival material and discover where he was finding his information informing the motivations behind the collection of certain pieces. The name of the Ute jeweler is Bruce Pawwinnee, I have not found any additional information about him or the work.

[32] Preston Monogye. The New Indian Jewelry Art of the Southwest. Arizona Highways, June 1972. 5-10, 45-46, 6.

Figure 9 Eugene Holgate, Jr. "Return of the Game," won First prize in Division B—Necklaces, bracelets, rings, belts, buttons of traditional design using any metal or combinations. 1971 Heard Guild Fair

This discovery brought my attention back to another bracelet I had given up on finding an artistic attribution (See figure 9). Similarly, this work I believed would be easy to identify because of its uniqueness yet there was no information resulting from social media that I was able to use in its identification. The Facebook post and following conversation reads:

> "Do any of my artist friends and lovers of Native American jewelry recognize this bracelet? It may have won an award in 1971 at the Heard. It is in a collection that I am working on trying to identify the hallmarks and makers."
> Linda Kaplan Tim: Do you know who did either the carvings or the rest?
> Robert Mac Eustace Jones: I found a letter with Eugene Adkins signature and it matches the one on the bracelet, so I am near certain it's a copy of his signed first name.
> Linda Kaplan: Robert Mac Eustace Jones, great. So, we have to go by the work and that hallmark.
> Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Linda Kaplan, and that is was made in 1971, there is a note it won a ribbon at the Heard Guild.
> Linda Kaplan: Robert Mac Eustace Jones, oh. So, there might be a record of it?
> Denise Neil: You might contact Diana Pardue at the Heard. I will run it by folks here at the Wheelwright Museum as well. I will let you know if I find out more information.
> Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Denise Neil-Binion thank you. I appreciate it.
> Jonathan Jd Day: That actually looks kind of like an FTC hallmark. I'll ask him.
> Linda Kaplan: Jonathan Jd Day ftc?
> Jonathan Jd Day: Falcon Trading Co.

After discovering the origin of the Ute Sun face medallion bracelet, I remembered I had seen a reference to the award ribbon. Based on Adkins collection practices I investigated the same years' ribbon winning pieces at the Scottsdale National Indian Arts Exhibition. I was able to locate the Tenth Scottsdale, National Indian Arts Exhibition program, February 27th–March 7th, 1971. The program that was delivered through Interlibrary loan was that of the Heard museum guild mislabeled as the Scottsdale National. It contained the information I was searching for: the Bracelet is titled "Return of the Game," and it was made by Navajo smith Eugene Holgate, Jr. and won First prize in Division B—Necklaces, bracelets, rings, belts, buttons of traditional design using any metal or combinations.[33] The cause for its unassigned artist attribution was due to an error in the labeling of a market program.

In addition to using Facebook I also used Pinterest which was surprisingly helpful. The platform allows for the culmination of numerous examples of similar works and this gave me ability to identify minute details in works that work as hallmarks in various artists work. Keep in mind at the time these identifies were well known in the communities but are now being forgotten. Using these various methods, I was able to attribute several works to artists and the process is ongoing. These works are as follows:

[33] The 4th Annual Heard Museum Guild Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibit. Program and list of winners.

Figure 10 Coolidge Nez (1914-1973) He sat next to Joe H. Quintana in The Covered Wagon in Albuquerque when they both worked for Manny Goodman in the early 1960s.

Bille Hougart: That is the hallmark of Coolidge Nez (1914-1973). He sat next to Joe H. Quintana in The Covered Wagon in Albuquerque when they both worked for Manny Goodman in the early 1960s. Nice! His work is pretty scarce. You should send this to me

Robert Mac Eustace Jones: oh my god Bille thank you so much. I knew Manny Goodman well when I was a child, and Irma Bailey was a good friend of my family and I loved her much. I know she was Joe Quintana's biggest fan.

Jolene Eustace: My late parents worked for Manny at one time, but then he always bought from my parents anyway. I remember going there many times, late at night, just waiting in Covered Wagon…with my parents as they waited to sell. Manny took notice of me. I was about 7 years old. Asked if I made jewelry yet. Yes, I did. He ordered 100 single turq tie tacs...yep…at about 1.25 each…lol. I was at it. Bought my own bike… Schwinn ten speed… little help from my parents.

Figure 11 Eddie Beyuka Bird with Edward and Pablita Quam foliage, verified on Pinterest

Linda Kaplan: That is Eddie Beyuka Bird but Edward and Pablita Quam foliage.

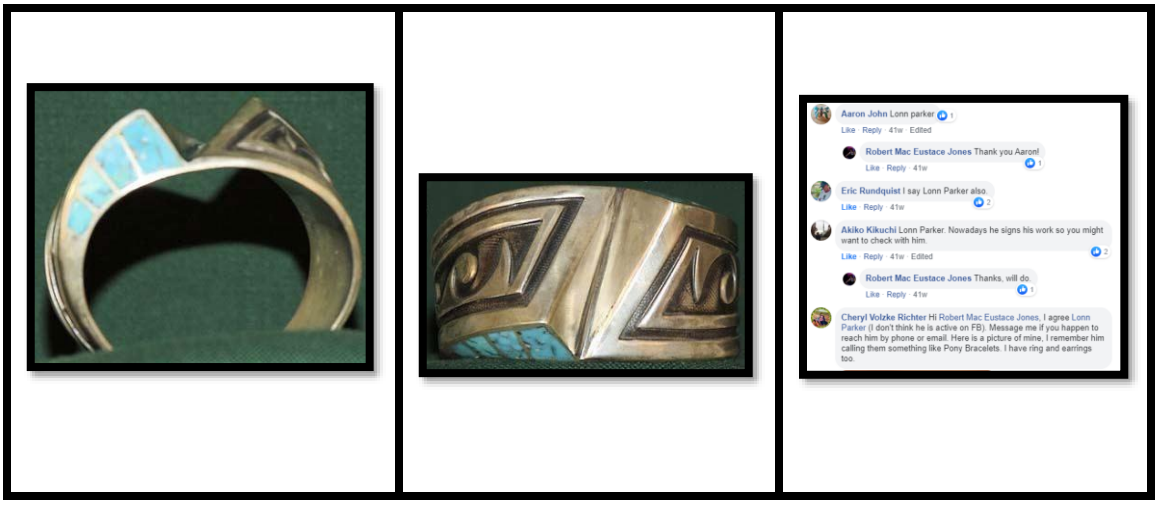

Figure 12 Lone Parker Navajo, Sterling silver, hollow form bracelet with overlay and inlay

Aaron John: Lonn parker
Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Thank you Aaron!
Eric Rundquist I say Lonn Parker also.
Akiko Kikuchi Lonn Parker. Nowadays he signs his work so you might want to check with him.
Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Thanks, will do.
Cheryl Volzke Richter: Hi Robert Mac Eustace Jones, I agree Lonn Parker (I don't think he is active on FB). Message me if you happen to reach him by phone or email. Here is a picture of mine, I remember him calling them something like Pony Bracelets. I have ring and earrings too.
Cheryl Volzke Richter: Here is another view.
Margie Altman: Definitely Lonn Parker. A standup guy. Still makes cuffs, rings and earrings
Linda Kaplan: Definitely Lonn Parker.

Figure 13 Henry Rosetta from Santo Domingo Pueblo

Ken Williams Jr.: Henry Rosetta from Santo Domingo Pueblo
Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Thanks Ken! Your knowledge is off the chart. I appreciate the help. :)
Ken Williams Jr.: You're very welcome! Always happy to look at things and see
Heather Ahtone: Ken Williams Jr. you are amaaaaazing!
Ken Williams Jr.: Heather Ahtone 😊😊 jewelry is one of my most favorite subjects!!
Lauren Hyman Henry Rosetta
Kathryn Taylor Upchurch: No they are part of a museum collection I am working on. I am trying to identify each piece and its maker and give as much context to the work as possible.
Kathryn Taylor Upchurch: Robert Mac Eustace Jones so beautiful! Thanks!

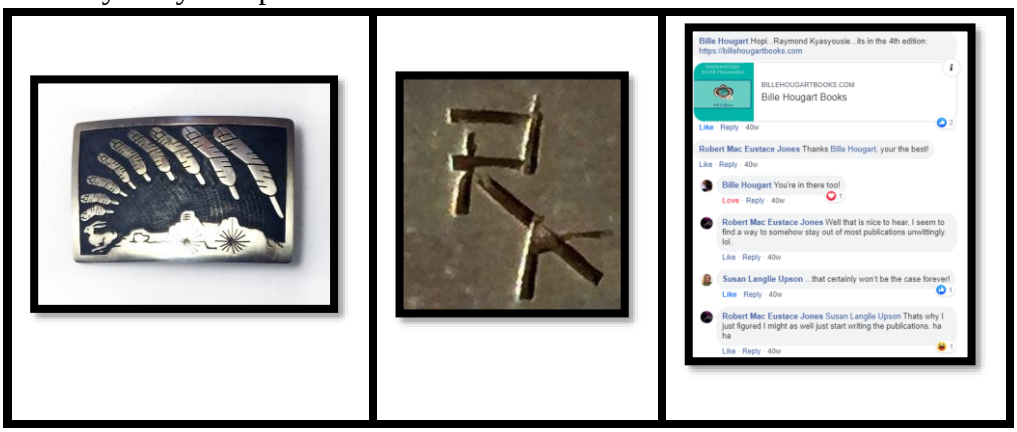

Figure 14 Raymond Kyasyousie. Hopi, Sterling Silver overlay belt buckle

Bille Hougart: Hopi...Raymond Kyasyousie...it's in the 4th edition: https://billehougartbooks.com
Robert Mac Eustace Jones Thanks Bille Hougart, you're the best!
Bille Hougart: You're in there too!
Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Well, that is nice to hear, I seem to find a way to somehow stay out of most publications unwittingly. lol.

> Susan Langlie Upson: ...that certainly won't be the case forever!
> Robert Mac Eustace Jones: Susan Langlie Upson Thats why I just figured I might as well just start writing the publications. ha ha
> Susan Langlie Upson: exactly!

This is an example of the types of conversations that were taking place online in the search for artists attribution using social media. It is very uplifting, inspiring and positive dialogue that is cheerful and exciting while also allowing for people to share their stories and memories of the artist and the designs they are responsible for. The searches that revealed no new information did not mean the search was over, I used other means as mentioned above in their identification. This is in regard to the two types of Southwestern Native American Jewelry, the "Tin Can Tourist, non-native designed Native outsourced works, and the works that developed independently away from non-Native molestation. It is only the second category that holds value in relation to this research.

It was also during the decades of the 60s and 70s that Native American silversmiths were working to break away from the expectations of the three design styles and techniques synonymous with the Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni cultures. It was commonplace for Native American silversmiths to be rebuked if their work appeared to be outside the parameters of their own cultural style. Specifically, the traditional techniques of the Navajo, Hopi, and Zuni including wrought hand-tooled silver, inlay, and overlay became expected by the non-Native collector circles that included the casual buyer, trading shop owners, and dealers. Contained in these historical accounts is the imbalance of the power dynamics that were a prominent feature in the socio-cultural relationships that existed between Native Americans and non-Natives. In an article titled, "The New Indian Jewelry Art of the Southwest," in the June 1972 edition of *Arizona Highways*, jeweler and artist Preston Monogye states:

> When you talk of new art in paintings and baskets and pottery and, certainly in jewelry, you are not talking traditional. Much of this dates from the late 1800's, and that is recent time. So, we progress from that point…and that is what the new Indian jeweler is all about, progression! An old piece of philosophy given to me by my father and other men of the Hopi Mesas is that, "If you can progress without hurting your tradition or your religion, you should do so." I believe all Indians do this whether they are quite aware of it or not. It is because the Indian culture is beautiful, I feel, that is shines through in their art.[34]

Southwestern Native American jewelry operated and navigated non-native expectations differently than those of the more traditional artforms, such as paining, ceramics, and weaving This allowed for more freedom when confronted with non-native regulations that normally coincided with an absence of Native American artistic and creative sovereignty. As Monogye points out tradition and progress can exist simultaneously if one does not work to destroy the other. Jewelry developed without concern for harming tradition or religion since it was adopted into the cultures as an economic means. Pottery for instance was a part of the material culture and even though it was transformed from a utilitarian object to an art object it still had obligations to preserve cultural heritage. Monogye continues:

> Now, in 1972, we have found there is a new art emerging from the old art. It is called "The new Indian jewelry of the Southwest." The traditional Indian silversmith can no longer be stereotyped. He has branched out into many avenues of jewelry making. He has done a very fine artistic job of this. Such artists as Charles Loloma – Hopi, Third Mesa; Kenneth Begay – instructor at Navajo Community College, Roger Tsabetsya of Zuni; Mary Tsikewa – a very fine fetish carver; Robert Leekya; and the Navajo brother and sister team of Lee and Mary Yazzie. These are just a few. There are others form Santo Domingo, Cochiti and in the last few years there have been very fine overlay pieces coming from Taos, New Mexico. These tribes are taking jewelry into an even newer dimension…a new degree of silversmithing. [35]

It is vitally important to clarify by stating, the intention of this research is not to reintroduce the confines of the design styles created by the Navajo, Hopi and Zuni, but to acknowledge the

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[34] Preston Monogye. The New Indian Jewelry Art of the Southwest. *Arizona Highways*, June 1972. 5-10, 45-46, 6.

[35] Preston Monogye. The New Indian Jewelry Art of the Southwest. Arizona Highways, June 1972. 5-10, 45-46, 6.

proprietorship of the techniques and styles that were created as a direct result of the cultural knowledge and visual language of their respective cultures. The importance of this is to revisit the contributions these cultures had on the jewelry and fashion industry then and today. Native artists were successful at breaking down stereotypes and refused to relinquish creative or artistic sovereignty to non-Native notions of authenticity. The established styles are losing their association with their origination, and historically it has been all too easy to change the narrative and give the credit of Native American creative intellectual property to others. The Adkins and Bialac collections at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum contain just the pieces to see the development of the art from then untill now with numerous examples from all three cultures, making it a very informative cross section of important works.

The Collection

Figure 15 Edison Wadsworth, Hopi Sterling Silver, overlay belt buckle
Figure 16 Virgil and Shirley Benn, Zuni Mud Head Figure, Sterling Silver inlayed
Figure 17 Tony Abeyta, Navajo bolo tie, cast silver, Yei figure

The Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art cares for both the James T. Bialac and the Eugene B. Adkins collections of works including paintings, sculptures textiles, ceramics and jewelry. Both collections predominantly contain works by Native American artists. Together they represent one

of the finest examples of Southwest Native American jewelry in existence. I suspect, Adkins and Bialac were in competition for the same work at yearly exhibitions featuring prominent Native American artists, such as Indian Market in Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the Heard Museum, in Phoenix, AZ.; both collections contain ribbon winning pieces. Between the two collections there are over fifteen-hundred pieces of jewelry. Currently only fifty-seven works are on display, all from the Adkins collection. Of the fifty-seven works twenty-seven are attributed to unknown artists. The categories the work represents are, tradition, innovation, and symbolism. In addition, there are pieces that operate on multiple levels and can also work as objects of transmission and are embedded with imagery informed by centuries of cultural knowledge. We can see this in the examples represented in figures 15, a Hopi belt buckle, Sterling silver created by Edison Wadsworth, depicting a ceremonial dance scene, figure 16, a Zuni inlayed bolo tie depicting a Mud Head dance figure by Virgil and Shirly Benn, and a Navajo cast silver bolo tie of a Yei figure made by Tony Abeyta.

The scope of this research is primarily concerned with the process of identification and the different tools for discovery allowing museums to provide contextualization to their collections of Southwestern Native American jewelry. Jewelry serves as a connective tissue working as a socio-cultural unifier while resisting the colonial melting pot. Understanding how jewelry developed into a universal tool and operates in various socio-cultural circumstances reveals works of art that are cross-cultural as well as innovative in design and technique. Specifically, in relation to Adkins and Bialac it seems that both collectors were predominantly interested in distinct styles that developed and were representative of their source communities. The Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi are well represented in the collection with a focus on works that are created in the styles they are associated, making it possible to study the visual aspects of these pieces and how

they reflect each cultures unique way of knowing. In the past an emphasis on understanding the inspiration and motivation of the work of individual artists in favor of trying to understand how cultural collective artistic choices influence the development of designs and styles that become part of the community's visual library.

This approach has resulted in a misunderstanding of the artform altogether. Taking another look at the squash blossom necklace, we are told the idea for the design was activated by an individual's attraction to the silver trouser beads of a Mexican Dandy, ornaments representing the material culture of the Mexican or Spanish. A competing narrative might argue that a cultures collective appreciation of important traditions guided by heritage and cultural knowledge such as agriculture and the importance of the squash plant in its ability to feed the community might have activated the motivation behind the development of the squash blossom necklace design. In a study published in 1927, Bulletin No. 244, *A Systematic Study of Squashes and Pumpkins,* E.F. Castetter and A.T. Erwin write:

> Dr. Elmer E. Higley, of Ames, Iowa, for years a missionary among the Hopi Indians, informs the authors that the squash blossom is a sacred emblem of the Hopi, signifying fertility; and it is one of the chief emblems worked into form by the Navajo silversmith, as is shown in the sketch of a Navajo necklace, the original of which is the property of Dr Higley. [36]

A design informed by this collective concept would be understood and appreciated by all in the community who would immediately understand its relevance and importance. More research is needed to determine if in fact the Navajo appropriated the creative intellectual property of the Spanish when they created the Naja, a circular designed pendant as the focal piece of the Squash Blossom necklace; it is possible that the Navajo were familiar with the shape of a circle before colonization, however, this is speculative. The desire to discover the origin of designs was

[36] E.F. Castetter, A.T. Erwin *A Systematic Study of Squashes and Pumpkins*, Iowa State University Volume 21 Number 244. November 1927. 6.

largely based on broad assumptions leading to questionable details in the historical accounts. The first account regarding the origin of the squash blossom necklace design first appears in John Adair's book, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths,* he states:

> The best-known type of necklace, which is called the squash-blossom necklace, probably did not come into existence until sometime after 1880.…Arthur Woodward had pointed out a very interesting fact in his discussion of the beads of this shape. He says that they were originally Spanish-Mexican trouser and jacket ornaments which were fashioned to resemble the pomegranate. He says the pomegranate was a common Spanish decorative motif, painted and carved on mission in Mexico and used as silver trim on men's clothing. Woodward shows the similarity in the forms of the Navajo squash-blossom bead, and the Mexican ornament, and the pomegranate, by a drawing and by photographs of the Navajo bead and the Mexican closing ornament. One may also compare the Navajo squash-blossom to a photograph to the young fruit and see the two are practically identical in form.[37]

Moreover, Adair states, "it is highly probable that this term was coined by a white man who, upon asking a Navajo what the bead represented, was told a squash-blossom. The Navajo did not mean that the bead was symbolic of the flower, but merely that the bead looked like the flower."[38] This claim was published in 1946, University of Oklahoma Press, and even with the knowledge that a Navajo silversmith believed the necklace looked like squash blossoms, Adair explains the does not mean its representative of the flower. In, *A Systematic Study of Squashes and Pumpkins,* published in 1927, 19 years earlier than Adair, Castetter and Erwin refer specifically to the necklace as a squash-blossom necklace and it was believed to be inspired by the importance of the plant in both the Navajo and Hopi cultures.[39] The assumptions Adair made about the origin of designs, published in his study of Native American Jewelry have been repeated as established fact time and again. Adair also gives an account of the design of a cross and how it developed as a Native American motif; he states:

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[37] John Adair. The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press 1945.
[38] John Adair 85.
[39] E.F. Castetter, A.T. Erwin *A Systematic study of squashes and pumpkins,* Iowa State University Volume 21 Number 244. November 1927. Pg. 6.

> These were of two types, the common cross with the single crossbar and the one having the double crossbars, Smaller crosses were sometimes strung on the necklace, taking the place of the squash-blossom as a decorative motif. Pendants of this type owner also copied from the Mexicans, who wore metal crosses ad Catholic emblems. To the Navajo the cross was simply a decorative form, void of any religious value.[40]

The cross design is a common motif and does not belong to any culture as intellectual property. Second, the Isleta Cross featuring two bars operated on multiple levels. This design represented resistance and offered access to its meaning to those who were aware of its purpose. The Spanish and Mexicans were pleased to see a Native wearing a cross believing it was confirmation of a Native converting to Catholicism. The Dragon Fly double bar cross is an example of how the Native Americans were using cryptic iconography and hidden meanings in designs as a form of cultural retention, and the transmission of cultural knowledge.

The double bar cross existed in multiple worlds navigating the issues of religion and ceremony, containing flexible elements that can be read different ways depending on the beliefs and perspective of the viewer, operating on multiple levels simultaneously.[41] These designs are the culmination of centuries of navigating colonizing forces, learning how to avoid cultural disruption and loss of heritage. John Adair states the cross design holds no value or meaning for the Natives, completely overlooking its use as an object that can inform about the history of the Catholic church in New Mexico. He ignores culturally motivated choices made by Native artists designed to ensure their art objects also work as objects of cultural transmission. Considering Adair's lack of understanding about the development of the cross design it makes sense that he would have been equally misinformed about the origin of the squash-blossom design as related

[40] John Adair. *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press 1945).
[41] Allison Bird, Heart of the Dragonfly: Historical Development of the Cross Necklaces of the Pueblo and Navajo Peoples. (Avanyu Publishing, Santa Fe, New Mexico. 1992).

to an important plant that gives so much to the people versus a silver ornament that only functioned as a trouser bead.

It was not uncommon to see design motifs in silver jewelry shared as collective cultural knowledge between the tribes and pueblos. Making the exchange of cultural intellectual property between tribes and pueblos an important aspect in the development of designs and styles contributing to creative relationships resulting in collaborations and expansive creative choices. This also provided a negotiation of designs that might be off limits for one culture but not for another resulting in cross cultural relations between the villages and tribes adding new ideas and concepts to the visuals elements available to work from. In *Pueblo Bead Jewelry, Living Design*, Paula Baxter explains:

> Careful compromises were achieved. Canny jewelers appropriated petroglyph-like figures, corn and olla maidens, popular dancers including those wearing tablitas, and secular male and female forms. Pueblo jewelry makers also seized upon Hopi girls with their hair in traditional whorls, and even non -Pueblo figures such as Apache Gan dancers, with the striking lattice like head dresses. Zuni jewelers were under particular pressure to come up with eye-catching figures; they chose two minor deities, the Knife-wing and Rainbowman, which quickly became classic designs.[42]

The claim that the first Navajo jewelers borrowed, appropriated or copied the shape of an oval or circle as the inspiration for the crescent shaped pendant is doubtful. I argue that if the first Navajo smiths had borrowed the common shape of a crescent then it would have a meaning that would be associated with its origin. As it exists, it is a cryptic symbol with meaning to those who have access to its knowledge. This dispels the notion that Mexican or Spanish representations of common shapes and designs like circles and crosses contributed to Navajo concepts in jewelry design. However, the similarity of designs originating from the Moorish, the Spanish and Mexican cultures provide a representation of similar objects that contain differences related to

[42] Paula A. Baxter. *(Pueblo Bead Jewelry: Living Design*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2018). 30

the visual language of each culture. The Naja was the Navajo cultures contribution to the existing variation and forms of the crescent shaped pendant design. New concepts, ideas and knowledge are created during the process of material cultural exchange resulting in living designs. The inspiration behind the Navajo Naja design was informed and built off the material culture and knowledge of the Spanish and Mexican societies, however, the squash blossom necklace is far being the creation of a bunch of copied elements from other cultures strung on a chord.

> The Navajo, later entrants into the American Southwest, adopted and adapted many aspects of Pueblo culture to suit their own purposes. One aspect of culture they shared was the belief in adornment—especially from fine materials—as 'jewels.' This term, found both in Pueblo and Navajo songs and stories, refers to turquoise and other valued stones.[43]

The Navajo version had an entirely different meaning and purpose for existence, making it wholly informed and inspired by a Navajo way of knowing that had little to do with any other culture.

The reluctance of giving credit to Native American artists for their creative contributions corresponds with a high rate of pieces misattributed in collections of Native American jewelry. Therefore, it becomes especially important to find supporting evidence before any attributions are given. After a great deal of consideration, I believe it is equally important to be liberal with ascribing "possible" artist attributions when a strong suspicion exists, but definitive proof is not available. Possible attributions provide access to valuable information and in time, the base of knowledge will increase making it easier to identify specific artists. There are reasons for the challenges in identifying the artists specific to Southwestern Native American jewelry and it that should be clarified why misidentification is common. The commonalities between members of a community and family often will inform the creative process. Because of this variation in

[43] Paula A. Baxter. *Pueblo Bead Jewelry: Living Design*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2018. Pg.28.

designs or understanding of an artistic representation might only differ slightly among members of a family or society. Because of these misrepresentations become common when trying to assign proper attributions to the correct makers.

Cultural knowledge is constantly changing as it synthesizes new information to fit into its cultural foundational principles. Tradition and ceremony change slowly over time as cultural priorities change influenced by outside forces and the adaptation of new knowledge. The members of a culture can situate their own individual identity within the parameters created by the principles steaming from their cultural heritage. For the Pueblos and the Navajos, design elements and motifs gain their meaning from a worldview or a way of knowing. Paula Baxter writes:

> Motifs derive from Puebloan tributes to sacred landscapes, food, water, and jewels from the earth, and sky, These are the primary design sources, along with animals associated with rain and water, frogs, lizards, sacred serpents, and animals whose flesh sustains Pueblo life, rabbits, deer, bears,. Design, especially in jewelry, shows how all these symbols of the people's survival are significant to their cultures.[44]

This informs their place in their societies, but also creates a foundation for their own understanding of the world and their relationship to existence. A culture is the keeper and protector of its heritage, tradition and knowledge. A cultures foundational principle informs its members whereby the members work in conjunction with each other providing a cultures continuance. Language changes as its members are influenced by each other and members of other cultures. In, *The Beautiful and the Dangerous Zuni Ritual and Cosmology as an Aesthetic System*, Barbara Tedlock writes:

> Zunis greatly value multilingualism and hope that at least one of their many children might be a mockingbird, facile and expert at singing and speaking dozens of languages. Zuni love of multilingualism is at the core of their sense of aesthetic value and cultural order. It is described in their language as tso'ya, meaning a combination of dynamic, multicolored, chromatic (in the musical sense), varied, new, exciting, clear and beautiful. In nature they apply their term to the rainbow,

[44] Paula A. Baxter. *Pueblo Bead Jewelry: Living Design*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2018. Pg. 30

> the last stages of a New Mexico sunset, stars and certain mammals, reptiles, birds, butterflies, flowers and herbs.[45]

Language develops differently than other cultural aspects. Language is a tool for communication and as such is adapting to facilitate understanding between individuals and members of other cultures or societies. Language also serves to identify a culture and contains the whole of its heritage, tradition, and knowledge. For the Zuni it also serves as a form of continuance. This Zuni way of knowing is reflected in their artwork as we will see how it is unique as it identifies concepts, ideas, principles, and objects associated within itself.

Three Cultures, Three Distinctive Styles: Hopi Navajo and Zuni

Figure 18 Victor Coochwytewa, Hopi. Sterling Silver Bow Guard with Cornstalk design and turquoise setting
..Figure 19 Navajo Silver Bow Guard Sandcast with turquoise setting.
Figure 20 Teddy Weahkee, Zuni Inlaid Bow Guard 1934, Silver, coral, mother of pearl, spiny oyster shell, black jet and turquoise. Part of the original C.G. Wallace collection of works.

[45] Barbara Tedlock. "The Beautiful and the Dangerous Zuni Ritual and Cosmology as an Aesthetic System," n.d., 255

An important topic concerning the examination of Southwestern Native American jewelry questions how three cultures close in geographical proximity, who shared some cultural similarities, also known to work in creative collaboration, each developed a culturally specific style of jewelry utilizing the same tools and materials such as silver, turquoise, shells and other accessible stones and minerals. For instance, in figures 18, 19 and 20, three ketoh's or bow-guards are shown, originally worn as wrist protection and often given to a Native boy during initiation into a clan or religious society became a valuable fashion accessory in the economic market. These types of objects work on multiple levels cross culturally acting like connective tissue operating to correct imbalances in the pre-existing power dynamics existing between Natives and non-natives. For the tribal member, these pieces of jewelry carry cultural significance as initiation objects into clans, societies, or as parts of ceremonial regalia and are delivered with the transmission of heritage and knowledge, while simultaneously, they work as culturally informed fashion collectables inspired by the traditions of Native American societies. Moreover, the designs and styles are culturally distinctive informing non-natives about the diversity of communities recognizable though their visual languages inspired by unique ways of knowing. Identifying the artist in conjunction with identifying the host community informs on heritage and tradition which often contributes to the symbolism, design, and style of a work. Once these two factors are determined it becomes possible to consider the knowledge within the design that allows it to function as an object of knowledge transmission supporting cultural continuance over generations. These factors are unique to each culture with further differences existing within design motifs developed from a family's history and lineage.

The Hopi, "Corn Stalk Bow-Guard (see figure 18)," was crafted using an overlay technique creating a positive/negative space variance resulting in a very low relief design which

reveals the detail when the silver is oxidized to give contrasting values. The design is a representation of a cornstalk that is stylized featuring tight lines with dynamic movement. The silver has a high polished mirror finish and the stone is offset to the right but is cradled by the curvature of the stalk of the corn vine. The boarders of the design are geometric using the lines to create a triangle shape that frames and activates the composition. The corn stalk is naturalistically rendered. The work suggests the importance of corn to the community, and the importance of clean elegant and sophisticated appreciation of design sensibilities.

The second work is a Navajo piece that is sandcast (see figure 19). Sandcasting and casting silver into a piece of tufa stone or petrified volcanic ash is a technique embraced by the Navajo culture. It requires the use of hand tools to carve a design into the matrix, it is then covered with carbon that allows for a free flow of the molten metal into the carved design. The cast piece of silver is removed after it cools and then cut or filed according to the intention of the design. This type of casting relies on a natural vacuum gravity system that pulls the silver through the mold into the carved design. Each mold is only good for one pour, so every piece is unique.

In the Sandcast Bow Guard example made by a Navajo silversmith we can see the importance of symmetry in design. The design has movement and flows from one curvature to the next and creates a floral composition and relies on repetition and rhythm to create a sense of balance and harmony. The work also includes the addition of a freeform piece of turquoise cut in relation to its natural shape. This is different from cutting a stone to a calibrated specific shape or size. It is the only element in the design that is nonsymmetrical. This becomes an important aspect of design principles and stylistic attributions in the visual language of the Navajo culture based on their specific way of knowing and how to navigate their existence in the world. The design is made of curves and points, but the silver is thick so it creates a high relief as opposed to

the low relief in the Hopi work, plus the Navajo piece does not have a back plate so you can see the leather through the silver design.

The Zuni work is an inlaid frog motif made in 1934, by Teddy Weakee (see figure 20), inlaid with Spinney Oyster shell, Turquoise, Mother of Pearl, and Black Jet. The design is of an anthropomorphized frog that has human attributes and wears a pair of turquoise earrings. It appears to be a ceremonial item, however, usually one does not have enough information to make an accurate assumption especially about Zuni figurative imagery. The Zuni culture divides much of its ceremonial knowledge between about a dozen medicine societies. A benefit resulting from this division is that it makes it impossible for anyone to share to much information in their art or conversations about protected knowledge. The Zuni way of knowing is driven by their concept of *tso'ya,* which refers to a visual aesthetic that values multicolored combinations of dynamic and varied hues and values covering a spectrum of the sublime. Their philosophy guiding their visual language is also pleased by asymmetric compositions that create interest. This is very different from both the Hopi and Navajo ways of knowing. But we can see these principles activated in the bow guard that uses a dynamic array of stones with colors that create hard lines of contrast.

Objects of worship traditional or ceremonial were sometimes adaptable to the marketplace yet only remained culturally relevant if they remained culturally sensitive. The desire for authenticity empowered the non-native collector class to suggest Native artists work within established design parameters because new ideas or design concepts were not traditional therefore not authentic. This non-native rudimentary understanding of Native ways was reinforced by notions of primitiveness and a romanticized nostalgic notion that "Indians" were connected to the past. This narrative fueled a non-native desire to preserve the people and culture from non-

native influences. These motivations worked to greatly limit Native American artistic sovereignty and made it all but impossible to participate in the creation of new knowledge from contributing in a living culture. Culturally inspired artworks are inspired by tradition, heritage, language, and knowledge and culture. These concepts are invested, stubborn, and resilient, if they can also be adaptive, cultural continuance results and it works to reinforce the value of cultural retention.

Hopi

Figure 21 Michael Kabotie, Hopi, Sterling silver belt buckle with turquoise, overlay style
Figure 22 Lawrence Saufkie, Hopi, Sterling silver, overlay bracelet with cornstalks
Figure 23 Raymond Kyasyausie, Hopi belt buckle, Sterling silver, overlay technique

The Hopi overlay style began around 1940 approximately fifty years after the Navajo and Zuni began working in silver. Silversmithing as an artform played a significant role in cultural survivance and continues to contribute to the cultural health of all three communities through the ongoing development of living designs.[46] Its introduction to the communities occurred at the end of governmental assimilation policies designed to eliminate Indigenous culture. In a matter of

[46] Paula Baxter elaborates that non-Native writers often failed to understand that they were dealing with a living art, not one frozen in a traditional time warp. *Pueblo Bead Jewelry, Living Designs*.16.

only a few decades three sophisticated, identifiable and unique silversmithing styles developed despite the tremendous hardships brought about by the decimation of their societies.[47] And within a century "Indian Jewelry" becomes internationally recognized and appreciated for its endless ability to create masterful works and most impressive is that it remains a living artform that is still the intellectual and creative property of the societies and individual artists who contributed to its development.

In the panel above we can see three works by three different Hopi artists, the first piece is a belt buckle made by Michael Kabotie (see figure 21), son of Fred Kabotie, the second piece is an overlay bracelet by Lawrence Saufkie (see figure 22), son of Paul and Griselda Saufkie, and the third piece is a belt buckle made by Raymond Kyasyausie (see figure 23). The buckle required an artist attribution that I was able to discover by utilizing social media. I had the hallmark on the buckle but I was unable to find the artists through traditional means so I decided I would post it on my social media page and ask for assistance. Within an hour I received a message from an expert in the field named Billie Hogart who informed me of the owner of the hallmark, Raymond Kyasyausie. These three pieces are all made in the Hopi overlay style yet share few visual similarities because of personal artistic concepts. They are decidedly modern, and the level of skill shown in each work is remarkable.[48] Paul Saufkie and Fred Kabotie the fathers of Michael Kabotie and Lawrence Saufkie, deserve the credit for developing a technique capable of

[47] Baxter states the spirit of determination that made Pueblo peoples take their religious beliefs underground is part of their conservative lifeways today. They practice a survivance that informs their artistry; their subsequent private worldview and internal belief systems color Pueblo design. Baxter, *Pueblo Bead Jewelry, Living Designs*, 12.

[48] Henrietta Lidchi states, During the 1940s a series of initiatives which extolled the authenticity and aesthetic qualities of Native American Jewelry would result in a series of meaningful insertions that located it within the field of modern American studio craft. This is in relation to the American modernist movement that appropriated Pueblo motifs into a new American design canon. (Lidchi, *Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest*, 32).

representing Hopi visual language in silver. Solving the problems associated with transferring traditional Hopi designs into silver required a technique that could create fine detail without losing structural integrity that keeps the piece of jewelry sturdy.[49] Creating a technique requires moment by moment decisions while engaged in the process of working on a piece because each piece is different and requires the artist to solve these problems as they occur. This is part of the relationship between the artists and the artwork they create. It is literally impossible for a person who does not know how to work with the metal to devise a complicated technique without understanding the tendencies of the materials and how the tools operate.

It is problematic when a search on the internet for early Hopi silversmiths reveals no early Hopi silversmiths, but it does reveal the name of a white woman named Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton. Native American artwork is fraught with false narratives that seek to dismiss Native contributions and work to celebrate the laudatory efforts of non-natives who worked to help the Indigenous people transition into civilized society. It is common to find non-Natives inserted, interwoven and intertwined with narratives of cultural preservation serving as authorities on Native American identity, authenticity and tradition. From this position of power, they can monitor the creation of artwork managing quality and the proper degree of primitiveness.[50] Moreover, the act of suggesting to an artist what designs they should make then offering a critique to make it

[49] Lidchi states Kabotie was the director of the silver project, in charge of design, and Saufkie was technical director responsible for training. The first cohort of thirteen students began in 1947, with a second larger class the following year which forced relocation to a Quonset hut. Students were exposed to a wide variety of techniques, even if a style of overlay emerged as distinctive. This included stamping, sawing and casting. (Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest)* 46).

[50] In Colton's personal letters to Dorothy Dunn, she states "The charm of a native art lies in its contrast to modern mechanical methods and its wonderful primitive invention and utilization of the natural materials at hand. In order that the public may appreciate Indian art, it is necessary to show demonstrative material to explain these primitive methods of manufacture which so greatly enhance the value of a handmade article in the eyes of the public." Laurie Eldridge. *Dorothy Dunn and the Art Education of Native Americans: Continuing the Dialogue*, 102

better, does not constitute participation in the creative process. In this way, Hopi silverwork follows in the path of Rio Grande Pueblo pottery, two-dimensional Pueblo style watercolor paintings, Navajo textiles, and San Ildefonso black on black pottery. Colton worked very hard to follow in the footsteps of her mentor anthropologist Edgar Lee Hewett, who was well known for the black on black pottery style revival and its preservation on the reservation.[51] The attempted theft of Hopi creative intellectual property was only partially successful, not enough to withstand a critical examination, but enough that the wrong name appears when a search is conducted to learn about the originators of the Hopi overlay style. In addition, Southwestern Native American jewelry was driving American modernity, while Colton was an antimodernist stuck in the past trying to preserve the false narrative of Native authenticity tied to primitiveness.

The Hopi overlay style is different in appearance because it comes from different design perspectives. Paul Saufkie and Fred Kabotie are the two artists who developed the overlay technique exploring its viability in holding on to the intricate designs Hopi is known for. They solved the many problems that created challenges associated with transferring of traditional Hopi designs into silver. When we look at Hopi work, we can see how a technique that could capture very fine detail was needed, these are not the same challenges that Zunis and Navajos faced when developing their unique styles. Part of the relationship between the artists and the artwork is making decisions in real time addressing in the moment challenges and unexpected problems,

[51] Bernstein, Fender, and Sanchez state, the dominant narrative is that Hewett unlocked the meanings of ancient dwellings and people in the course of his excavations. In concerns to the black on black pottery tradition asking for specific designs be recreated, they write, undecorated Kapo black ceramics had been a staple of Tewa homes for 300 years. This incident casts Hewett as a catalyst of the black-on-black pottery revival, undermining the role of the potting couple. Hewett later claimed his request was about sparking a pottery revival when, in fact, it was about proving his theories about San Ildefonso migration. From, Vessels of a Truth Obscured: *A groundbreaking exhibition presents Pueblo art— and Santa Fe cultural history—from the perspectives of its makers*. BRUCE BERNSTEIN, ERIK FENDER, AND RUSSELL SANCHEZ.

that cannot be anticipated. The designs and concepts are envisioned and are based on cultural knowledge this provides the compositions.[52] Take for example the Hopi bow guard, with the corn stalk from our earlier example. As Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers*, she writes:

> Corn is sacred in the Hopi tribe and is pervasive within their culture…. For the people of the mesas corn is sustenance, ceremonial object, prayer offering, symbol, and sentient being unto itself. Cornmeal is used to lead the katsinam into and out of the Plaza, used to symbolically feed them, and used to pray once the katsinam have been fed. Corn itself is part of the dance, being carried in by the katsinam and given to those in attendance. Including corn and corn symbols on pottery, in jewelry designs and other art forms, it pays homage to its importance to the Hopi culture.[53]

Prior to the development of the Hopi overlay technique, a popular opinion around the museum's and cultural institutions was that Hopi jewelry made before World War II relied to much on the styles and designs of Navajo and Zuni jewelry. Harold Colton and Mary-Russell Ferrell Colten founders of the Museum of Northern Arizona worked closely with the Hopi people with regards to the preservation of their culture documenting and reordering vital information before they believed it would vanish. In her letters, Colton states, "The museum, having worked for the preservation of Hopi arts and crafts for many years, has undertaken a project to encourage Hopi silversmiths to develop a type of silver design using typical Hopi forms, which are indigenous and fundamental. As the Hopi smith is without tradition, other than that borrowed from the Navajo and the Zuni, the Museum feels that it is quite legitimate to encourage him to set up a distinct

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[52] Paula Baxter expounds, stating, "Natives considered themselves artists and created jewelry with design that melded legacy and avant-garde purpose. There was still room for those Indian who were more convertible as crat practitioners, making old-style designs for grateful consumers. The truth lies in the face that Native jewelry makers have always been in control of their designs." (Baxter, Paula. *Pueblo Bead Jewelry, Living Designs.* 17).

[53] Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers.* 30.

and characteristic art of his own."[54] Colton longed to be included in the list of Native American cultural advocates, but she never seemed to rise to the level of elite. In a biographical account titled, *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education*, William James Burns states, "that Colton was remembered as a demigod but was still overshadowed in literature by Mabel Dodge Luhan, Alice Corbin Henderson, Mary Austin, Dorothy Dunn, Freida Lawrence, Amelia Elizabeth White, Mary Wheelwright and Maie Heard."[55] In 1939, sensing a chance to influence the artistic direction of Hopi silversmithing in hopes of being included in the conversation with those she respected, she established the Hopi Silver project, declaring a commitment to help the Hopi silversmiths incorporate new techniques in the production of their silver work featuring new designs based on traditional Hopi visual elements, because they, "were without tradition."[56] In, We Must Grow our Own Artists, William James Burns documents a conversation between Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton and Kenneth Chapman. Burns writes:

> A letter Colton wrote to Kenneth Chapman at the School of American Research in Santa Fe on December 5, 1938 explained her opinion of Hopi silverwork:
>
> [T]hat it is practically without character, just more poor 'Navajo,' that it is quite what one would expect of an art frankly copied from another people, that in very rare instances has it occurred to the Hopi smith to use Hopi design.
>
> Colton believed that Hopi silverwork lacked distinction because the techniques and designs were borrowed from the Navajo and Zuni. She sought to distinguish the Hopi silverwork from that of neighboring tribes.[57]

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[54] Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers*. 34-35.
[55] William James Burns *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education*, 192.
[56] Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers*. 33.
[57] William James Burns *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education*, 237.

I believe it was her intention to insert herself between the artist and artwork becoming associated with the Hopi style of silverwork. Second, she declared the current state of the artwork to be "disgracefully poor," creating a circumstance where action was needed to make it "better." Finally, claiming responsibility for its development she planned on linking herself to the production of future works as a catalyst, whereby she would receive credit for works not even created yet, following the same methods used by Hewitt a few decades earlier.

To help Hopi, improve their silverwork Colton used the imagery contained in early textiles, pottery and basketry as the framework for new designs and a style different from the jewelry of the Navajo and Zuni. She believed these examples would better represent Hopi artistic identity.[58] This presumes that the Hopi silversmiths were incapable of self-representation and that the process of creating a new style in art is a simple task. Burns explains that, Mary Russell Colton conceived of the idea to encourage them to use indigenous designs and simplified forms in their works over lunch.[59] Colton's process parallels accounts of her contemporaries in Santa Fe and Taos who were digging up ancestral lands, unearthing burial items and other objects, then encouraging the Native artists on the pueblos to recreate these early works allowing for a narrative that suggests the non-native elite class was bringing the past back to life and helping the Indigenous people to reconnect to their material culture before it was permanently lost.

Colten requested that the Assistant Curator of Art at the Museum of Norther Arizona, Victor Hubert create the new Hopi like designs and introduce a new technique that the Hopi silversmiths could use to make the new pieces of jewelry. Colton's oversimplification of the process and her belief that it was an easy undertaking to just use designs that already existed and

[58] William James Burns *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education*. 237.
[59] William James Burns. 238.

incorporate them in silver, shows no understanding of how the Hopi people conceptualize visual representations of their culture through their visual language. The Hopi process of design and then crafting is one of self-reflection, invested, involved, committed, and an intense process from start to end. I believe that Colton could not have insulted the Hopi more than she did with her suggestions. She called on Virgil Hubert to research the designs and create examples to be used in silver. Burns writes, Hubert researched the designs, but they were too detailed to use the sandcasting or stamping techniques that were then in use by the Hopi silversmiths. But he knew about an overlay process used for making clothes and decided to adapt it for silver.[60] This is not plausible. There are several variables a jeweler must consider when making a new design, oftentimes, they must experiment to achieve the desired effect concerning the design. It is implausible even allowing for the greatest possibility of success, that Colton and Hubert were able to create a new style that worked to inform Hopi identity in silver, and to devise a technique for its successful creation without having experience in making silversmithing. Hubert suggested the use of filigree appliqué to create the designs, but it was insufficient to create the detail needed to showcase Hopi motifs and visual language. Therefore, for Colton to receive any credit for the Hopi overlay technique is absurd, yet she successfully inserted herself into the relationship between the artist and the artwork. Depending on the source, she is credited with starting the tradition by founding the Hopi Silver Project, creating a technique along with new designs then benevolently sharing them with the Hopi for their use so they could compete with the other work of the Navajo and Zuni.

[60] William James Burns *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education.* 238-239.

It is speculative, but I believe Victor Hubert realized that his name was also associated with the creation of the overlay technique and in an interview with Margaret Nickerson Wright, Hubert states "contrary to some accounts, he did not make up any of the designs into jewelry."[61] His answer, I believe, is meant to disassociate himself with the creative or intellectual property that belongs to the artists who worked to create a technique sufficient to create the type of detail required to represent Hopi designs in silver. Paul Saufkie, and Fred Kabotie deserve the rightful credit for the development of the Hopi overlay technique.

In*, Transmission of Jewelry techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers,* Christine Frances Hellyer further explains the Hopi process and how they use their cultural knowledge and heritage to inform their visual representations of the Hopi world and way of knowing, She explores the creation of new designs that are embedded with history, tradition, ceremonial life and cultural heritage allowing for the creation of new cultural knowledge within their societies. Hellyer works hard to describe the sophistication of Hopi epistemologies in relation to a true representation of their cultural patrimony, lost on many of the non-natives associated with the Native American material culture, such as Colton. She explains:

> Since Anglos are uninformed to the true meanings, judging completeness would solely be based on an aesthetic response. Hopi lifestyle revolves around ceremonies and the artwork reflects the spirituality of their culture…Artwork that communicates traditional symbols and the spiritual would be considered a true representation within Hopi tradition…. Many of the symbols may not be changed, but the artist is open to present them in their own way after reflection. Artists draw upon traditions as the source of their symbols; however, these symbols are transformed within the mind of the artist. The artist using mental manipulation then forms a new non-linguistic mental image. The artist has grown up immersed in the Hopi culture and all the memories from experiences are fodder for the artistic creations formulated within this non-linguistic expression. Experiences are collected through the senses and embedded in the mind. The artist then formulates a concept, based on all the experiences that have accumulated through the senses.

[61] Margaret Nickelson Wright. 1982. *Hopi Silver: The History and Hallmarks of Hopi Silversmithing.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico. 32.

> These stored memories are then translated into a medium of the artist's choosing, creating a corresponding form of representation.[62]

In many cases, non-natives were controlling the production of Native American artwork through collection practices resulting in suppressed artistic sovereignty. This was especially problematic concerning cultural material that functioned as a vehicle for prayer or ceremonial practice. However, I argue that jewelry uniquely operates because it was not originally connected to cultural heritages making it a flexible and adaptable medium, artistically, and for cultural preservation as objects of transmission. Paula Baxter elaborates:

> When twentieth-century master jewelers such as Michael Kabotie, Charles Loloma, Lewis Lomay, and Julian Lovato discussed the artistic features of their creations, they neatly demonstrated how adornment once meant for sacred ritual purposes could be transformed into secular wearable art. Their relatively spare words also underscored how Pueblo jewelry makers could safely operate in two modes: one stream of production would continue to create adornment with ceremonial and religious purpose, while a second and larger stream went for sale to outsiders. Sometimes when a necklace outlived its ritual purpose, it could even go into the market because it had lost its original associations.[63]

These functional ceremonial type items were linked to the notion of authenticity and artists worked under duress trying to negotiate the use of design and style with the use of protected knowledge. This narrative is one that repeats itself in Native American art history as it gives agency to a Euro-American who studies artifacts and material culture linking the past to the present claiming the "Indian" has lost their cultural knowledge. Hellyer explains:

> While looking at artwork created by American Indians, the symbolism is often lost on Anglos who are not educated in its meaning. The Anglo viewer can only perceive the artwork for its aesthetic value, as they are unable to read the pictographic language as it relates to the tribe in which it was made…. Unless the viewer is well versed in the symbol language, it may be difficult to access the art work's hidden meanings.[64]

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[62] Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry Techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers.* 56-57.
[63] Paula A. Baxter,. *Pueblo Bead Jewelry: Living Design*. Schiffer Publishing Ltd, 2018. 16.
[64] Christine Frances Hellyer explains in, *Transmission of Jewelry Techniques and Symbols within a Hopi Family of Jewelers.* 29.

The Antimodernist demands that members of Native communities remain traditional in creative production or they risked losing their cultural identity and Native "authenticity" was an institutional force used with the motivation of collecting as many ethnographic examples of the material culture as possible before the people vanished. Dr. Edgar Hewett, Director of the School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, Kenneth Chapman, Curator at the School of American Research, and local artists and writers like Mary Austin, John Sloan, Dorothy Dunn, Mary Wheelwright, Amelia Elizabeth White, and Frank Applegate labored to preserve traditional Native American art forms[65] The motivation behind the work conducted by Colten can be explained through her own words and scholarship focused on her accomplishments. Burns conducted an extensive study of the contributions of Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton and her letters explain that she felt a duty to do her part in the preservation of cultural knowledge and heritage. This is often the motivation given by the Indigenous cultural archivist. The question never asked is the purpose behind the preservation of cultural knowledge and heritage and for who's benefit? In her papers Colton states:

> …located as we are close to the Hopi and Navajo Indians whose people have instituted the very arts which we are about to go to so much pains to preserve today. Those peoples will soon have forgotten the secrets of their crafts, and when they vanish our country will have lost its only true Native American art. This is our chance to lend them a hand, as the Santa Fe museum has done for the Indians of the Rio Grande.[66]

The motivation behind the preservation of culture was never done on behalf of the culture that was "destined to vanish." In, *Dorothy Dunn and the Art Education of Native Americans: Continuing the Dialogue*, Laurie Eldridge states:

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[65] William James Burns, *"We Must Grow Our Own Artists: Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Educator*."192.

[66] William James Burns explains Colten's opinion on folk art. *"We Must Grow Our Own Artists: Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Educator.*" 102.

> . . . Dunn viewed southwestern Native peoples as 'untouched' for anthropological purposes, more 'authentic' and exotic than other Indian groups, and she maintained throughout her writings a romantic view of the splendor of the past. Dunn's art education objectives institutionalized and codified several of the then current ideas concerning Indian art, and she placed herself in the role of savior, sustainer, and authenticator of Indian art.[67]

Colton wrote to Dunn in praise of the Studio Style and that Dunn's work could still be felt. Colten patterned her sensibilities about Native American art and culture based on the work of Dorothy Dunn. Colten states:

> The charm of a native art lies in its contrast to modern mechanical methods and its wonderful primitive invention and utilization of the natural materials at hand. In order that the public may appreciate Indian art, it is necessary to show demonstrative material to explain these primitive methods of manufacture which so greatly enhance the value of a hand-made article in the eyes of the public.[68]

Silversmithing was a new artform for Native American cultures, and Colton was aware of this, yet she still frames the narrative that the tradition must be preserved and protected and just like Dunn she saw her role as savior, sustainer, and authenticator of Indian Art.

Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton's motivations were concerned with preserving the evidence of a culture's existence post extinction. She worked hard to encourage the Hopi to create a unique style of jewelry where she would be at the center receiving the credit for bringing attention to the visual culture of the Tribe. Moreover, the process of making jewelry is one that requires exhaustive attention to encourage the piece to cooperate and the techniques are a solution to a problem that a silversmith must contemplate carefully to determine the best possible method to create a successful work. The procedure that a Hopi artist engages to bring a new design into existence is complicated and challenging. Currently, the Hopi silversmithing tradition is linked to

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[67] Laurie Eldridge. *Dorothy Dunn and the Art Education of Native Americans: Continuing the Dialogue,* 202.

[68] William James Burns *We Must Grow our Own Artists, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Education.* Pg. 102.

a non-native woman who inserted herself into the relationship that exists between the artist and the artwork, proving that behind every great primitive savage artist there is a great white woman.

The Navajo

Figure 24 Darryl and Rebecca Begay, Navajo, Sterling silver bracelet with 18ct, filigree flower design
Figure 25 Austin Wilson, Navajo 1960, Sterling silver belt buckle, with turquoise, stamped and repose
Figure 26 Thomas Curtis Sr, Navajo, Sterling silver bracelet stamped, hand forged, traditional

Navajo silversmiths informed by their cultural understanding of the world through the sublime, will create works that are in harmony and balance with the glittering world allowing one to walk in beauty. In *Working on the Railroad, Walking in Beauty*, Jay Youndahl writes:

> Such philosophical stress on beauty is consistent with the Navajo approach to personal physical beauty, as seen in the extraordinary silverwork and turquoise that adorn many Navajo women and men. In this vein, N. Scott Momaday, in the Pulitzer Prize–winning book House Made of Dawn, described what his protagonist saw when encountering Navajo families at a celebration: 'The Diné, of all people, knew how to be beautiful. Here and there in the late golden light which bled upon the walls, he saw the bright blankets and the gleaming silverwork of their wealth: the shining weight of their buckles and belts, bracelets and bow guards, squash blossoms and pale blue stones." Thus, the importance of beauty and its relation to the balance sought by Navajos permeates all facets of Navajo life.[69]

[69] Jay Youndahl. *Working on the Railroad, Walking in Beauty.* Religion on the Rez, University Press of Colorado, Utah State University Press. 2011. 65-66.

Silversmithing in the Southwest region develops in Native American communities as a forward-thinking solution to the overwhelming encroachment of Euro-American colonizers who created an existential threat to Native cultural continuance. First phase Navajo silverwork directly tells the history of the United States army destroying every living shelter, every living animal, every fruit tree and every crop that was on the Navajo ancestral lands, forcing their relocation to Bosque Redondo in Southern New Mexico.[70] The Navajo lost a third of their population during removal and during their return to the four corners region. There was nothing left of their society. In an inhospitable arid region, it takes time to cultivate and what represented centuries of development to create a sustainable existence was destroyed. The Diné were faced with redeveloping the entire region (see figure 27). Silver was available because of the market economy and the spread of coin silver. While the new economic system overtook a subsistence economy Silverwork literally worked as a bridge for the Native American societies in the region.[71] The Navajo were able to take "money" (about 2 dollars a day) that was in circulation and use it as material increasing its value then using the new jewelry and artwork they created either sell or trade what they made for many times more what the original value of the coin silver was as currency. Because it was in coin form the Navajo smiths used heavy hammers, chisels, stamps, hammers and railroad ties as anvils to pound out the silver or melt it into ingots creating workable forms.[72] The process developed and creation of silver working techniques were in line with the world view and life philosophy of The Diné or the, "Navajo Way."[73] Youndahl explains further:

> Hózho often appears in the phrase sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hózh, which Gary Witherspoon defines as a description of the "electricity," or lifegiving force, that

[70] Emma Brewer-Wallin*, "We are lonesome for our land": The Settler Colonialist Use of Exodus in the Diné Long Walk, 2018.* Wellesley College. 15-16.
[71] Washington Matthews, *Navajo Silversmiths. Smithsonian Institution*—Bureau of Ethnology. 1880-1881. 170-178.
[72] Emma Brewer-Wallin. 170-178.
[73] Jay Youndahl. *Working on the Railroad, Walking in Beauty.* Religion on the Rez, University Press of Colorado, Utah State University Press. 2011. 65-66.

> moves all life to beauty. For a human, sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hózh, a constituent of all blessing rituals in traditional Navajo religion, powers the "movement toward inner and outer human harmony that leads to beauty." Rituals in traditional Navajo religion are often dedicated to the re-imposition of hózho, as "the desirable conditions of sa'ah naaghaii bik'eh hózh are disturbed and disrupted by improper, inadvertent, or in astute contact with things that are defined as dangerous (báhádzid), and by the malevolent deeds (witchcraft) of others." This essential core is combined with an openness and willingness to engage in flexibility in facing "the given potentialities" of their environment, expressed here in religious practices around work.[74]

Silversmithing and the techniques developed to work in the medium were directly linked to a connection with the ancestral lands to the extent that the matrix created to cast the silver was part of the land itself. Tufa stone a hardened volcanic ash rock was used to carve a design in which the molten silver was then poured.[75] The fire and crucibles were all part of a connection to the environment with endless potentialities, and the process and "practices around work" could be seen as a connection to spiritual and religious practices motivated toward a sense of harmony and balance.[76] This is reflected in the Navajo designs that were created. This is different than the Zuni and Hopi who are creating works based on cultural heritage that represent the visual language of tradition and ceremony informed by their connection to spiritual and religious practices. The Navajo were letting their world view inform designs that are non-representational or non-objective but infused with balance and harmony as expressions of beauty. My belief is that the Navajo are using the principles of their belief system to guide their non-representational design

[74] Jay Youndahl. *Working on the Railroad, Walking in Beauty.* Religion on the Rez, 2011. 66.
[75] Washington Matthews, *Navajo Silversmiths. Smithsonian Institution*—Bureau of Ethnology. 1880-1881. 170-178.
[76] Jay Youndahl. *Working on the Railroad, Walking in Beauty.* Religion on the Rez, 2011. 65-66.

choices, while the Zuni and Hopi are using their belief system to create visual representations that are then incorporated into their ceremonial, and art objects.

Figure 28 Ben Wittick. Jake a Navajo Silversmith at Work, 1880-1890. Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Figure 27 1915, Navajo silversmith, New Mexico, Santa Fe Railway, Glass positive. Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Atsidi Sani was the first Navajo to learn to work silver, and he learned from a Mexican Platero named Nakai Tsosi. Sani had four sons who learned and from that point on the trade was shared starting with the Zuni and spreading to the Hopi, and the Rio Grande Pueblos.[77] The spread of knowledge shows proof of the interconnectedness and network that existed throughout the region of indigenous people in the Southwest. This begins to dispel the accepted account that there were hostile relations between the various cultures of the Southwest, however, more work needs to be done to verify or discount that narrative.

The access to the tools in the area that were used on the railroad, the access to silver because of the market economy the willingness to work and the new art medium fitting into the Diné world view resulted in a desire to learn the trade and it spread quickly through the

[77] John. Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1989. 66.

community and into the greater Southwest. It brought economic security quickly. An artist could create a piece of jewelry, then sell the item, taking the coins, and continuing e the process after the jewelry's sale (see figure 28). Within two-decades the ancestral homelands were resettled, and the Navajo were becoming increasingly self-sufficient and their culture and society were becoming healthy and strong due in part to the introduction of silversmithing into the material culture.

The Navajo established a modern silversmithing style incorporating heavy pounded or melted liquified silver poured into a matrix made of sand and clay.[78] Heavy stamped Conchos on belts of thick leather, long strands of heavy handmade silver beads and squash blossom necklaces and heavy stamped or sandcast bracelets were all features of the first phase of Navajo silversmithing. I believe the work and creation of the pieces of jewelry represented an emotional, visceral attachment to their ancestral homelands. Moreover, having so much taken from them in the way of identity, self-determination, and agency, taking full control over the natural physical properties of the silver-metal and literally bending it to desire allowed for creativity to flourish through experimentation. In addition, silversmithing was exciting. It directed powerful energies of pain, hurt and despair into personalized works of art. Early photos of the first smiths show them wearing their own jewelry, designed, influenced, and inspired by their own personal histories, and relationships to culture.

By 1941, the consistent narrative regarding Navajo silver jewelry was an appreciation for the hand wrought techniques used to create works not viewed as "primitive" but as decidedly "modern". The Museum of Modern Art took notice of the artform as unique and hosted exhibitions promoting the designs and concepts as modern and artistic. In Surviving desires, Henrietta

[78] Washington Matthews, *Navajo Silversmiths. Smithsonian Institution*—Bureau of Ethnology. 1880-1881. 170-178.

Lidchi points to the work of Rene D'Harnoncourt in the promotion of Navajo jewelry as a movement positioning the jewelry at the center of the American studio jewelry society. With Lidchi writing:

> Modern American studio jewelry arose out of the idea of absence and the belief that jewelry could be aesthetically aware, 'intellectually inclined, and politically progressive.' It enthusiastically embraced the idea of the 'hand-wrought', was interested in innovation over perfection and was inspired by Native American and other traditions. Modern American studio jewelry aimed to attract a new kind of buyer: middle class, dis-crimination and individualistic. In the 1940s, MoMA repeatedly showed through their activities that Native jewelry could be at the core of good design and fashion.[79]

The Adkins collection at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum contains pieces that represent these specific design elements dating back to the late 19th century. The Bialac collection has works created in the mid-twentieth century up to the year 2016. Studied together the two collections represent a strong to comprehensive collection of works showing the development of the artform from its introduction up to current times.

In figure 24, we see a bracelet by Darryl Dean and Rebecca Begay made in 2016. This is made of silver and gold, tufa cast bracelet with a flower motif with American grade turquoise. This is a highly identifiable bracelet as the design is the intellectual and creative property of the Begay's. While the bracelet and technique in creating the work is directly associated with the those first learned by the Navajo the design is unique and distinctive. The relationships between traditional motifs and techniques exist as a community's collective property the individual designs and creativity does not extend past artist or family and it is shameful when others use designs or styles, they do not have the right to use.

The development of jewelry design was an act of defiance as silversmithing resisted non-Native impositions that were responsible for restricting artistic sovereignty that were prevalent in

[79] Lidchi, *Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest,* 49-50.

other Native American art forms. Misguided attempts by non-Natives to preserve an artforms staleness were confused with attempts to preserve tradition and authenticity. Tradition and authentic are driving the transitions in design and style from one era to the next and they cannot be left behind. Consider the development of jewelry design had it been halted during the previous stage of development; we could then see the extent of creative energy that would have been destroyed by the regulatory nature of the non-Native institutional force. The study of the development of jewelry design in Southwestern Native American communities provides an opportunity to see how Native American creativity progresses and creates new cultural knowledge unabated.

Figure 29 Four traditional works showing collaborations and development of traditional styles and collaborative, cross-cultural relationships in Southwestern Native American jewelry part of the work available to study in the Adkins and Bialac collections

In figure 25, we see a stamped silver belt buckle made in the 1960's by Austin Williams, a traditional Navajo style work. What makes a work traditional is the development of style and design based on previous works originating from the source community showing a continuance in symbols, design elements, motifs, even themes or innovations. We can also see how the collaborative process works and cross-cultural themes, ideas, concepts and visual elements are sometimes interchangeable, or exchangeable among artists regardless of their communities. Wilsons belt buckle shows similar design, style, and motifs as in works created by artists working a generation earlier (see figure 29). When an artist develops a new style, design, concept, or innovation it develops the artform and becomes part of a community's cultural knowledge. Each

generation contributes to the community's knowledge and when Wilson created his buckle it was based on the repose tooling technique where the silver is pushed into form from the back of the piece creating a doomed like surface, in addition to the stamping, and filigree techniques utilized in the execution of the design. All four examples show this design, technique and stylistic choice in composition. Looking closely, we can see how over time the workmanship becomes more refined, this is due to early works showing the process of solving problems encountered in the artwork's creation. Once these problems are solved that knowledge helps to create the refinement in the work. This is different than an artist's individual ability or talent to work with the material or work experience. The Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi deserve credit for their work in developing the three distinct styles and techniques associated with the traditional examples of their work, all of which are accessible in the Fred Jones Jr. collection of Southwestern Native American jewelry. Also, notice in the Zuni work by Leekya Deyuse (figure 29, the buckle with the animal carvings) the same repose pushed out leaf design in the silver work. It is possible the silverwork is of Navajo origin and the lapidary Zuni. If this is the case it is rare when we know the lapidary artist and not the metalsmith, usually we know the metalsmith and not the lapidaries, however, because Deyuse's stonework is so distinctive it is recognizable while the silver work in this piece is less identifiable since it reflects traditional styles and elements that are shared within the communities making it hard to identify.

There is no non-Native who is associated with the revival of silversmithing because there was nothing to revive. Nor was there any artwork of enough noteworthiness to claim credit in its production and development of style. Jewelry and silversmithing had nothing to offer culture revivers, or material culture investigators so it was largely ignored by the antimodernist establishment. This also helps to understand why so many Native American artists gravitated toward

silversmithing. Figure 30 features a bracelet made by Thomas Curtis, Sr in the style referred to as cluster work. This is petit point style defined by an oval on one end of the stone and a point on the other, it requires the cutting of a considerable amount of high-grade turquoise because a considerable amount of material must be cut away to create the design (see figure 30). You may notice the absence of turquoise in the work by Curtis. This is because his representation does not have any turquoise. The bracelet is solid silver. This is an interesting choice resulting in a contemporary modernistic representation of a traditional style, and is an example of how tradition cannot be separated out from the style or design in Native American silver work because living in each piece is its journey to creation, including development of past works and the history of the artist who produced the piece of jewelry. Thomas Curtis, Sr. is the father of Jennifer Curtis who made the Concho belt made in 2016 as a tribute to the work of Curtis, Sr. The artistry of design replication or recreation is best explained in comparison to artistic choices made by a musician in a live performance of a piece of classical music. Each piece of jewelry while based off a preexisting design is reconceptualized by the artists hand who makes it. This is also one way the artist can be determined in the search to attribute a piece of work.

These works were desirable by many non-Native patrons; however, affordability required the artist to create works less involved and less expensive but still informed by culture. Silverwork develops quickly as designs developed sophistication but still representative of the original first era works. This speaks to the respect for material culture and knowledge resulting in cultural continuance. While there are always new designs and concepts being created the core of the style persists. This connection may be explained by cultural remembrance, or an understanding that those original designs are part of intellectual and creative property that belongs to the Navajo the Hopi, or the Zuni, as a community resource.

Figure 30 No Artist attribution, No. 8 turquoise petit point cluster bracelet, Navajo or possibly Zuni. traditional style next the contemporary work of Thomas Curtis Dr who recreated the design and style of the bracelet all in silver.

The Zuni

Figure 31 Juan de Dios, Zuni, Cast Silver bracelet with Blue Gem Turquoise
Figure 32 Porfillio and Anna J. Sheyka. Zuni, inlayed necklace of birds, sterling silver and multi-stones
Figure 33 Virgil and Shirley Benn, Zuni inlaid pin pendant Butterfly Maiden, silver and multi-colored stones

New Mexico, the Land of Enchantment is home to the A:shiwi, or Zuni people. The pueblo is in western part of the state near the border of Arizona and near the homelands of the Navajo and Hopi. Jewelry was introduced to the people of Zuni in 1872 when a Navajo silver-smith Atsidi Chon taught a Zuni by the name of Lanyade. Lanyade began making beads,

bracelets and other adornments and by 1910, multiple settings of turquoise started to become a frequent feature in Zuni jewelry and the design was referred to as cluster work.[80] This developed into a style known as Petit Point which featured a stone with a curve on one end and point on the other, then Needle Point developed featuring two points, followed by a style called Snake Eyes featuring two round stones side by side.[81] These were the first indications of an emerging unique style informed by a Zuni way of knowing. A significant difference between traditional Navajo style and traditional Zuni is the use of materials. Zuni had great access to stones, shells and minerals due to a Trading post owner named C.G. Wallace who was instrumental in providing the tools and materials needed for anyone in the pueblo who wanted to make jewelry with encouragement.

Zuni was the site of first contact in 1540 when the Spanish were exploring the Southwest region of North America. The Spanish were looking for the Lost City of Cibola or the 7 Cities of Gold and believed they discovered it when they discovered the Zuni village of Hawikuh[82]. In 1927, Kenneth Chapman respected archeologist, admired greatly by Hopi silverwork enthusiast, Mary-Russel Ferrell Colton, arrived in Zuni pueblo, sometime after his reputation. He was exploring new opportunities to collect ceremonial cultural patrimony from still surviving Native American communities of the Southwestern region of the United States. Knowing his past history, the Zuni most likely suspected he was in the collecting mood. With the help of trader C G Wallace, a plan was developed enticing Chapman to invest heavily in Zuni sacred ceremonial pottery.[83] Using money provided by the Rockefeller Foundation, Chapman had a mad desire to

[80] Mark Bahti. Collecting Southwestern Native American Jewelry, David McKay Co.1980. 122-126
[81] Mark Bahti. 122-126.
[82] Bruce Bernstein and Karen Lucic, *In Pursuit of the Ceremonial: The Laboratory of Anthropology's "Master Collection" of Zuni Pottery Journal of the Southwest*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring, 2008), 1- 102
[83] Bruce Bernstein and Karen Lucic, 50-57

build a master collection of Zuni ceremonial ceramics not leaving a single shard behind. His stated goal was to ensure the protection and historical value of the works for the sake of the Zuni people. I believe that these representatives of the institutional forces honestly believed that these cultures were dead, and their cultural patrimony needed to be collected and protected before it was lost. Their humanity was destroyed by their egos desire to collect the objects of people they were looking right through.

The story starts in 1923 and ends in 1990 when the Native American Graves Protection Act was passed, and the School for Advanced Research realized they had these sacred items. Zuni dignitaries were sent to SAR in Santa Fe, New Mexico to inspect the collection of sacred ceremonial pottery held by the institute. Upon inspection they could not contain their laughter, and when asked what was so funny, they explained the ludicrously designed pottery was purchased by Chapman, however, it was not sacred.[84] They explained to the officials at SAR that it was essentially made to see how much Chapman was willing to buy. Zuni had about a thousand pieces of pottery left when Chapman arrived, and he wanted every single pot.[85] The collection numbered over twenty thousand before the first archeologist, anthropologist or ethnographer arrived in the late 19th century. My contention is that the plan to protect the remaining pottery from Chapman never would have succeeded without the help of C.G Wallace who risked everything to do so.

Unlike so many others who worked tirelessly to associate their legacy to Native American cultures, forcefully squishing themselves into the historical narrative, Wallace never sought

[84] Bruce Bernstein and Karen Lucic, *Sacred Illusions: A Unique Collection of Zuni Pots Comes to Light*. American Indian Art Magazine, Volume 27, Number 3, Summer 2002. 50-57
[85] Edward A. Chappell, *Pride Flared up: Zuni (A:shiwi) Pottery and the Nahohai Family. Chipstone, Ceramics in America* 2015. http://www.chipstone.org/article.php/721/Ceramics-in-America-2015/Pride-Flared-Up:-Zuni-(A:shiwi)-Pottery-and-the-Nahohai-Family

credit for the creativity or hard work of the Zuni people. Had Wallace inserted himself into the relationship between artist and artwork, taking credit for the development of the techniques, designs and style, it would have been impossible to dislodge him from a historical narrative highlighting his effort in developing the Zuni style. Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton would have benefited greatly because the Wallace narrative would have made it much more difficult to dislodge Colton from where she managed to stick herself, historically.

By this time Zuni was doing much better economically thanks to the silversmithing trade, and their channel inlay and mosaic inlay designs had established a style unique to the culture and completely different from the style of the Navajo. After silversmithing was first introduced to the Zuni people the skill set was shared throughout the community quickly, first starting with Lanyade, then Juan de Dios and shortly after him, his nephew Dan Simplicio then exponentially. Juan de Dios generally worked in a semi-Navajo style with a few variations at first. Then the work started to take on its own uniqueness with more turquoise and organic design elements, but still with the heavy cast hand wrought designs, similarly to Navajo work only asymmetric opposed to symmetrically balanced. Simplicio and de Dios created the foundation for the cluster work to take shape as well as mosaic and channel inlay.[86] When looking at their work it is possible to see the development of design. Work by de Dios is rare and hard to come by; however, I believe the Adkins collection contains a number. I have only been able to identify one bracelet to this point (see figure 31). In this de Dios bracelet we see eleven Blue Gem turquoise stones cut to specifications set into a sandcast silver cuff bracelet. Stones cut to specification is a Zuni design choice, different from the Navajo aesthetic of cutting a stone to best represent its natural shape. This distinction begins to define the silver work culturally. De Dios worked closely with C.G.

[86] John. Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths. (*University of Oklahoma Press) 1989.

Wallace and many of the pieces in the Adkins collection originated from the Wallace collection. Therefore, it is important to work further to identify and give attribution to the other pieces I suspect to be made by de Dios.

The Zuni aesthetic is defined by cultural order and value a combination of dynamic, multicolored, chromatic, varied, new, exciting, clean and beautiful, mammals, reptiles, birds and butterflies that are defined by a philosophy called "tso'ya."[87] The Zuni language uses a system of equivalents with signifiers to describe color. In Multiculturalism in color: Zuni Colors and the Non-Native American Art Market, Charlaine Ostmann writes:

> Firstly, all Zuni color terms are linked to a certain culture-specific object. Whereas Westerners see color and shape as distinguishable, this is not possible in Zuni, as color are specific shapes that are actually culture-specific objects. Color is corn, or water, and has a special meaning in Zuni. Thus Zuni's equivalent for the English "yellow" is "corn," and corn also means "Zuni life," hence being their favorite color….These colors are also attributed to the directions' respective deities, which are in charge of protecting the village, like guardians: the yellow mountain lion of the north, the blue bear of the west, the red badger of the south, the white wolf of the east, plus the multicolored eagle of the sky, and the black mole of the earth. They are the personification of the colored cardinal directions…[88]

It is not linked to language and features an abundance of coloration and dynamic behavior in the visual representations. A combination of bluish highlights, light spots, orange and black neck bands on their green bodies, long red, turquoise and yellow wail and wing plumage of military and scarlet macaws… iridescent rainbow colors, bouquets of mixed flowers multisensory. These descriptions are seen in the mind's eye and are associated with language afterwards.[89] Dynamic asymmetry and dangerous opalescent, the Zuni way and understanding of the visual is

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[87] Barbara Tedlock, *The Beautiful and the Dangerous Zuni Ritual and Cosmology as an Aesthetic System* Conjunctions, No. 6 (1984), 246-265, 253-254.
[88] Charlaine Ostmann *In Multiculturalism in Color: Zuni Colors and the Non-Native American Art Market.* American Multiculturalism in Context: Views from at Home and Abroad. 273-282.
[89] Barbara Tedlock, *The Beautiful and the Dangerous Zuni Ritual and Cosmology as an Aesthetic System* Conjunctions, No. 6 (1984), 246-265, 253-254.

multisensory and exists separately from defining design with descriptive words. It is a sense of knowing and a personal relationship with the dangerous and the beautiful and it is expressed not through language, but a representation of their material culture created out of a need to see "tso'ya" in material form.[90] It is like Hopi in that it is likened with the way of being, and it is like the Navajo way in that it is compelled by the beauty and seeks to ensure its continuance. It is the visual poetic and its essence is translated directly into the physical manifestation of their artwork, more specifically their jewelry style, designs and tradition.

In figure 32 an inlay necklace is featured made by Porfillio and Anna J. Sheyka. This work is dramatically different than the de Dios bracelet featuring hand formed bezels in the shapes of birds, then natural stones cut to correct size and shape inlaid into the housing, creating the representational design, making it distinctly Zuni and in line with the tso'va philosophy that guides the Zuni aesthetic. In the collection this necklace was misattributed to Dennis and Nancy Edaakie, I placed a picture online and inquired knowing that it was not the correct artist and suspected it was work by Porfilio and Anna J. Sheyka. I did receive conformation and when I updated the post, I made an error by not adding Anna J. Sheyka to the attribution and I was contacted by her daughter who asked me to please add her mother to the artist identification. This was an important lesson for me and reminded me how important this research is to the source communities and the families of the artists. Notice that many of the works in the collection are made by husband and wife teams or there is family lineage father to son mother to daughter attribution with designs and styles that rhyme aesthetically.

In figure 33 an inlay pin/pendant made by Virgil and Shirly Benn is of a Hopi Butterfly Maiden. The figure wears a tablita with a butterfly design theme. The piece is created by using

[90] Barbara Tedlock, *The Beautiful and the Dangerous.* (1984) 246-265.

natural stones in a mosaic inlay style that depicts a representational image of ceremonial, traditional dance for Hopi females when they are in courtship. This work shows the way in which the Zuni philosophies and language work to bring order to their visual representation to the artwork they create. The Bialac collection contains a number of these Zuni figurative pieces.

In many ways Zuni jewelry seems to be the opposite of Navajo work in measurable terms, such as weight. Zuni work is very lightweight while Navajo work tends to be solid and heavy, Zuni work is representational motivated by the visual elements from nature or traditional images. Navajo work often relates to the philosophical esoteric world with non-objective non-representational designs expressing concepts such as harmony making them symmetrically balanced. Zuni work embraces an a-symmetric composition. Zuni jewelers gravitate toward stones, shells and minerals they can cut and slice grind and shape into specific shapes to create colorful images. Navajo work emphasizes the natural beauty of the silver metal as it folds, bends, and melts with limited color that might distract for the pearl-essence of soft polished silver that has its own range of colors in its reflective spectrum. Talk to a Navajo jeweler about taking a large beautiful piece of turquoise and cutting it down and the artist will not appreciate the joke. Give the same stone to a Zuni artist and they are already slicing it up into tiny little pieces before you can suggest they leave it intact. These are not small differences in design principles with major philosophical differences in each of the culture's visual languages.

My belief is that Southwestern Native American jewelry develops as a response to subjugation whereby the artform acts as a release valve for pressures created by colonization and socio-cultural disruptors. Native Americans in the Southwest were seeking to find artistic freedom away from non-Native influences. It was also a reaction to poverty, relocation, boarding school's assimilation policies, and the theft of purpose and self-reliance. There are several interesting

design developments not part of this study but are worth mentioning to give an understanding of difference in object operation from a Native perspective versus that of a non-Native. For instance, storytellers originated in Cochiti Pueblo by Helen Cordero in the mid-twentieth century, storyteller bracelets inspired by the success of the pottery craze was an addition in Navajo design. In the 1980s Zuni artists became financially rewarded when they started to make Disney characters in silver inlaid with various stones to a minute detail. This became such a popular collectable that Disney sued the Pueblo of Zuni to force them to stop production.[91] Before pieces were signed, when Zuni artists were commissioned to make pieces they were not partial to, the artist would make a name up, usually humorous, resulting in a significant amount of jewelry being attributed to an unidentifiable Zuni jeweler.[92] An unspoken negotiation was taking place between the Zuni jeweler and the collector when working on a piece they did not associate with their own creative artistic sovereignty.

These examples are market driven and have nothing to do with cultural retention. They do, however, motivate culture continuance because jewelry required the Native Artist to become very familiar with the principles of the American market driven economy. Many Native artists have copywrites or patents on designs and innovations. This allowed the artists to gain freedom from the middleman who was historically more profitable selling Native artwork than the Native was for making it. This aspect of silversmithing in Native cultures is different than the cheapening of the artform that resulted from non-Natives enriching themselves off the counterfeiting of material cultural in the curio markets and the theft of traditional designs manufactured overseas for the "tin-can" tourist market.[93]

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[91] Paula A. Baxter, *Pueblo Bead Jewelry: Living Design.* (Schiffer Publishing Ltd) 2018. 15.
[92] Atada News, A publication of the Antique Tribal Art dealers Association. Mysteries of Zuni Silver: Part One. 18-24.
[93] Lidchi, *Surviving Desires, Making and Selling Native Jtewelry in the American Southwest.* 66.

Rampant commoditization of "Indian-like" jewelry created by material culture counterfeiters, such as the Fred Harvey company and Skip Maisel, designed by non-Indians not related to Native tradition or heritage, was mass-produced and associated with Native Indigenous material culture.[94] Those works were part of the material culture of an economic system that encouraged the theft of intellectual property and profiteering. The theft of intellectual and creative property by non-native "business" people resulted in the design of objects that looked Indian-like with native type attributes. They would then hire Native Americans to make the pieces of jewelry and then sell it as an authentic Indian made. In this scenario they are inserting the Native American person into the relationship between the profiteer and whoever created the counterfeit design.[95] Many of the tourist believed they were purchasing an authentic piece of Native American material culture when what they were really buying was an inauthentic trinket made by a "real Indian" but designed by a non-Native, and sold by a non-Native. The value of the pieces originated from its authenticity, and cultural origin, buying a piece of material culture from an unethical profiteer. There is no doubt that the savageness of the new market driven economy provided new challenging circumstances for the Native artists to navigate.

Chapter 3

Colliding Perspectives: Time for Rethinking Strategies

When silversmithing was introduced to the region in the mid-nineteenth century, it was immediately embraced by the Navajo and Zuni tribes. Silversmithing became a tool for cultural retention and the reclamation of identity. In addition, silversmithing served as a transitional trade

[94] Lidchi, 66.
[95] Lidchi, 66.

that allowed for participation in both the subsistent economy, congruent with Indigenous philosophies and the competitive driven market economy introduced by colonial settlers. The addition of silversmithing into Southwestern Native American societies marked a major shift in the region's material culture.

Relocation to reservations in rural areas separated Native Americans from participation in the market economy. Indigenous societies quickly realized their best opportunity for making a living was creating objects to sell based on their cultural heritage. United States Federal Indian policy transitioned from an assimilation doctrine to one of cultural preservation. Native American culture was reintroduced to the American population promoting a connection with the past creating a romanticized, nostalgic narrative. This conceptualization of the "romantic Indian" created a new threat just as dangerous to Indigenous identity as was the previous policy of assimilation. Initial intentions were most likely genuine, with a goal of helping Native American artist navigate the new economic markets created by the expansion of the railroads. The Indian cultural enthusiast was now eager to own a piece of Native American artwork because it was related to a nostalgic pre-industrial America associated with the romantic notion of a simpler time. Tragically, the economic marketability of Native American material culture was discovered by advantageous non-natives eager to monetize Native American intellectual property associated with ceremonial and traditional objects. Largely, non-natives had no cultural concerns in the commoditization of traditional or ceremonial items and since it was authentic cultural patrimony these items were in high demand within the marketplace.

The intersection between material culture and heritage in many Native American societies is their relationship to the objects that contain protected information, giving them a functional purpose as objects of transmission. Within the American imaginary the narrative states the

archeologists, anthropologist, ethnographers, collectors, and trading-post owners played a significant role in the promotion of Southwestern Native American artwork. It is true that Indian cultural enthusiasts shared responsibility in the molestation of Indigenous heritage, however, the artforms growth and popularity was ongoing when they discovered its value prior to their claims of promotion. If an object holds cultural knowledge along with its historical context then it would be accessible only to those who know the visual language and have some knowledge of how an object moves through time and space, otherwise the meaning is lost indefinitely. If this information is still living it would only be known by members of the source communities. More importantly if a culture is lost, it does not mean their sacred and protected knowledge becomes collateral damage up for collection by the curious collector.

Southwestern Native American tribes share some cultural similarities along with some shared histories and memories. Differences can range from language, to the order of their societies. Regardless, each has its own unique socio-cultural identity and the members from each community are informed by their knowledge of tradition and heritage. This research set out to understand what those similarities and differences are with deference to changing conditions or adaptions in understanding as cross-cultural influences developed. The purpose in identifying these aspects specifically in the Southwestern Native American jewelry tradition is to determine if there is a correlation to the choices artists make related to the style of work they create, individually and culturally.

An important question this research seeks to understand is how Southwestern Native American silversmithing quickly became popular among the Pueblos and Tribes in the Four Comers region, then among the public, regionally, nationally and internationally, yet seemed to resist being noticed in scholarship, or institutions responsible for the conservation and

preservation of art objects and Indigenous cultural knowledge. The antimodernist movement found non-natives eagerly accepting a new role with the responsibility of preventing any development for Native American people past primitive. I believe this resulted in artists expressing their creativity in other mediums away from criticism. The art of weaving, painting, and ceramics in relationship to the study of "fine arts" developed differently than the art of silversmithing. By examining the relationship between Native American cultural identities informed by tradition and heritage, we can observe artistic trends originating from the pueblos and tribes that are informed by the relationship between the artist and their home communities.

Another question explores why silversmithing became a desired form of artistic expression among so many Native American artist. First, for economic reasons, the circulation of coin silver meant Natives could take the money they earned from the new market economy and turn it into silver jewelry increasing its value multiple times over. Second, the new artform allowed for the continuation of cultural knowledge with the new jewelry pieces now acting as objects of transmission, unnoticed or ignored by culture collectors; thirdly, artistic sovereignty, and freedom from non-native guidelines of authenticity. Lastly, the new artform was largely free from internal cultural concerns that regulated production of ceremonial objects. The creative explosion and development of jewelry also seems to counter the notion that pottery, painting and textiles needed preservation or quality control with current literature taking the view, "without intervention these artforms were destined to vanish."

The study of artifacts and ceremonial items collected in the early twentieth century by non-native researchers created a false authority regarding the function and information contained within an object. While they were being studied by non-native culture collectors, it was realized that artifacts and ceremonial items of the Southwestern Native American ancestral lands had

significant value as art-objects, especially with the development of the railroad. Under the stewardship of a non-Indian using their knowledge of the culture from the study of their artifacts and material culture an effort of reintroducing these objects back into the societies for sale and study motivated object production. Examples of this can be seen in the historical account of Dorothy Dunn and the Studio Styles, Edgar Lee Hewett and Kenneth Chapman and their anthropological and archeological work that inspired the production of "better pottery," or Lorenzo Hubble and his demand for attention to detail in Navajo textiles. In each of these examples, the Native artist was but a means to an end.

Identifying institutional forces responsible for creating the barriers and guidelines that artists found themselves subject too worked to determine the importance of creative output. These guidelines and barriers claim to preserve cultural integrity yet result in the destruction of artistic sovereignty. In observing Southwestern Native American jewelry, it was apparent that the artform existed separately from that of textiles, ceramics and two-dimensional drawing or painting. Its "low-art" status was a direct result of the subversive forces emanating from the institutions self-appointed to make such determinations.

Institutions were created on the behalf of Native American communities with various objectives, then members associated with the institution would use their authority to make decisions concerning Native art object production. It was this power structure that allowed for the collection of pottery at the pueblos for its preservation, and the restrictive guidelines imposed on textiles and painting that created strict guidelines associated with authenticity. Native American societies were still amid the vanishing culture paradigm and their heritage was still being collected and catalogued for historical preservation.

As a new art form, jewelry offered no cultural value in need of preservation, and was a counter narrative to the vanishing culture paradigm and because of this, it was largely ignored. While studying the collections of Native American artwork at the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art in Norman, Oklahoma, the answer started to unfold and become clear. I always found it questionable that people such as Edgar L. Hewitt, Kenneth Chapman, Dorothy Dunn, and Lorenzo Hubble were so instrumental in the preservation of Navajo textiles, Pueblo pottery, and a "new" painting tradition within Southwestern Native American communities. Because jewelry was a new artistic expression there was no need of cultural preservation. Because there was no need for preservation there was neither a need for a non-native associated with its revitalization. Not having a patron associated with its revitalization resulted in the artform being largely ignored by the members of institutional forces defining the guidelines of authenticity.

Separation Anxiety

Southwestern Native American jewelry developed in the mid nineteenth-century and embodies the historical account from a Native American perspective of colonization after the Mexican American War. It is both a testimonial and a counter narrative to the established histories recorded from a non-indigenous perspective. It is an historical account told by Native Americans in their own voice.

Prior to being forcibly moved from their ancestral homelands and imprisoned in an inhospitable environment the Navajo people's cultural continuance was a cohesive system that endured for centuries, however, the threat posed by United States federal Indian policy stemmed from what historian Patrick Wolfe describes as Settler Colonialism. Carson's military campaign was ruthless with the expressed purpose to decapitate the Navajo people's connection with their land. Wolfe explains that Settler Colonialism is inherently destructive because if seeks to

displace people whose identities and histories are tied to their homelands. Settler Colonialism takes away culture, tradition, heritage, and identity.[96]

Objects hold history and can be used to transmit knowledge of historical events. This research relied on several first era works to view the development in thought driving the design and stylistic choices made by early Navajo smiths, and to question how and why these choices were made. These questions allowed the objects to begin revealing their histories and knowledge. Tradition and knowledge contribute to cultural heritage. Heritage is linked to identity within a culture. Navajo culture informs its members about traditions, ceremonies, belief systems, and provides a foundation for cultural identity. These foundational principles result in ethics and a system of beliefs that help to make sense of existence and the world from a cultural perspective. The choices made in an object's creation will be informed by the person's understanding of the world informed by their identity. This relationship shows itself in the knowledge an object contains.

A popular Western art historical approach to understanding artwork is rooted in the belief that our perception of a work is influenced by our individual histories and experiences. To unlock the transmission of knowledge contained in an object a person must listen to what the work is trying to say. Some works of art are meant to engage in conversation. Early Navajo silverwork only wants its viewers to listen. It says that the Navajo were removed from their ancestral homelands. When they returned, they faced great challenges. They learned to work silver and started creating works including turquoise, using Mexican silver pesos and other materials they received

[96] J.Kehaulani Kauanui on Settler Colonialism. As Wolfe noted, because settler colonialism "destroys to replace," it is "inherently eliminatory but not invariably genocidal." He was careful to point out that settler colonialism is not simply a form of genocide, since there are cases of genocide without settler colonialism, and because "elimination refers to more than the summary liquidation of Indigenous peoples, though it includes that." Hence, he suggested that "structural genocide" avoids the question of degree and enables an understanding of the relationships between spatial removal, mass killings, and biocultural assimilation. In other words, the logic of elimination of the native is about the elimination of the native *as native*.

from the neighboring pueblos. The pieces came from a place of hurt and sadness and the materials were resistant and required the silversmith to insist the metal bend and form to will. When this did not work, they realized they needed to work in balance and harmony with the material and it would cooperate. The Diné realized they must work the silver by the same principles that allowed them to cultivate the ancestral homelands, live in harmony with the land to live in accordance. The silverwork in these pieces tells the same story. The silver seemed to help the people find beauty again and the fire will melt the silver and the land will provide clay, and soft volcanic rock to carve designs and tools to shape, and turquoise stones will share their beauty to the designs because all these things are interconnected from the land with The Diné. These early works tell the Navajo people to remember who they are and put that into the silver. This narrative accounts for the presence of heritage and cultural knowledge associated with the Navajo people. The land is a major identifier for Navajo people in the formation of foundational principles, the objects they create including textiles reflect these relationships.

An opportunity exists to ask a question regarding the difference between a Western and a non-Western perspective in the application of methodologies regarding Indigenous works of art. While a Western art historical approach seeks to understand a work of art by isolating it, then trying to understand the artist's intent through its uniqueness in the search for individual genius, a non-Western Native American approach might look at the individual artist but in relation to their identity as a member of a culture and how that relationship informs the work of art. A concern regarding Native American art history is access to the artists and often cultural misunderstandings originating from differences in perspective and philosophical value systems. In, *A to Z of American Indian Woman,* Liz Sonneborn writing about Maria Martinez states:

> At San Ildefonso and at the Indian school in Santa Fe, Martinez taught other Pueblo [women] the techniques she and her husband had invented and perfected.

> Her students were able to make a substantial living by selling their wares, but they discovered they could increase their profits if Maria signed their work, which she eagerly did when asked. Most likely, Martinez did not believe she was being dishonest by signing the work of other potters. She felt so closely linked to her Pueblo friends and relatives that she probably considered; any pot produced at San Ildefonso as one of her own.[97]

This is a fierce difference in cultural perspective. Martinez is concerned with the survival of her community and not concerned with making a distinction between the ownership of creative and intellectual property within the community. She understands that her work is motivated by her relationship to her culture thus, the objects become the intellectual property of the community. The Western art history approach does not consider the antecedents that inform knowledge production expressed in Native visual language, rather the discipline seeks to isolate the art so it may be singled out from the rest as a great work of the individual. Martinez challenged the foundation on which Western art history exists by returning the individual back to the collective. This is significant because it becomes apparent that Native American art history is in need of unique methods uniquely tailored to Indigenous sensibilities regarding what motivates their material culture.

In relationship to textiles a unique attribute began to appear in rugs after trading post owners such as Lorenzo Hubble began to insist that weavers create rugs based on his designs or adjustments to their designs. He created exact replicas of classic patterns and applied boarders to create a rug instead of a blanket.[98] The spirt line appears around this time and is said to allow a weaver's spirit to escape the rug if it becomes trapped because the weaver spent too much energy

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[97] Liz Sonneborn: explains further: At first, Maria Martinez did not sign her pottery. Signing a work of art was a non-Indian custom that the Pueblos did not observe or necessarily respect. Such self-promotion was frowned upon by the Pueblos, who traditionally held that the needs of the group were allays more important than the needs of the individual.

[98] Heidi J. Todacheene, *She Saves Us from Monsters: The Navajo Creation Story and Modern Tribal Justice.* Tribal Law Journal, Vol. 15. 30-66.

trying to make the rug perfect.[99] The trading post owners demanded absolute perfection. In recent literature strong arguments are made that give agency back to the artist who worked on the rugs from the early twentieth-century era. However, this is another example of Western art historical methodology failing to understand how the art objects related to the artist, community and history. While art historians were crediting the traders for the salvation of the textile tradition weavers were creating a path through another dimension in the stich to escape the overbearing control exhibited by a greedy class of non-Native trading post owners. Jewelry did not operate under these conditions because it was a new form of expression and still in its early development stages among the Navajo and Zuni primarily.

And finally, let us look at Dorothy Dunn and the Studio Style. Dunn required the students to paint in a 2-dimensional style that depicted what they remembered from their cultural home-life in accordance with traditions, dances, ceremonies and culture these students were not to be influenced by any modern creative styles and were to paint from memory. In, *Awa Tsireh* and the Art of Subtle Resistance, Sascha Scott writes:

> Based on artist statements like those by Kabotie and Shije Herrera, it would be easy to think that modern Pueblo painting endeavored to faithfully record their ceremonies and ritual knowledge. Such assumptions, however, reflect conventional Western meaning (dominant, colonial, European and/or Anglo American) notions of preservation. For many indigenous peoples, to preserve does not mean to fully disclose. Pueblo peoples believe that preserving their culture entails protecting certain knowledge, in part by restricting or withholding it.[100]

This is during a point in time when it was still highly expected that the Native American was a vanishing race. In 1918, after a Spanish flu pandemic only 88 members of the San Ildefonso Pueblo remained. How would it be possible to think that these people were all but gone. There

[99] Leslie Hsu Oh. "Warp Thread." Fourth Genre: Explorations in Nonfiction 15, no. 1 (2013): 37. https://doi.org/10.14321/fourthgenre.15.1.0037.
[100] Scott, Sascha. "Awa Tsireh and the Art of Subtle Resistance." The Art Bulletin 95, no. 4 (December 2013): 597–622. https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.2013.10786095.

could not have been any hope for their resurgence as a culture, community, or people. A government run school with an instructor encouraging the children to paint their homelife from memory, an anthropologist, named Hewett, an archeologist named Chapman, and a number of other antimodernist collectors of artifacts, stories, objects and culture, all gravitated to a little village in Northern New Mexico to collect cultural evidence of their existence gaining knowledge that would help inform the civilized world about primitive people unable to adapt to a modern world.

The difference in perspectives occurs during the transition from a US policy of assimilation to preservation. Preservation of culture changes its meaning depending on the perspective by those who work to preserve the knowledge. I would argue the reason for the two-dimensional work with an absence of background is because there was an immediacy to document as much information about these cultures before they "vanished." Non-native culture collectors created an environment where the students were documenting their own cultures vanishing in a type of scientific painting, or what Sascha Scott refers to, "as seemingly taxonomic mode of description". As mentioned earlier, both sides of the perspective must have been aware of the finality of the San Ildefonso culture if their social system failed to protect its guarded knowledge through its moiety system. Using the children to paint from memory about heritage might have revealed information the children should have kept private. It was soon realized that the safeguards protecting guarded knowledge held even under the heavy hand of white patrons.

Had the Indigenous people vanished the narrative might be one of praise for the work Dunn and others did in the documentation of the cultures before they vanished. However, because they survived the narrative changed to one of praise for their work after they shifted their perspective to a cultural survival definition of preserving culture. The question then becomes, if

they were preserving culture for cultural survival, then how was it that the children and young adults were capable of painting visual aspects of their traditional lives about the pueblo complete with visual cultural cues from memory? If the culture needed non-native intervention to retain heritage how could the children be informed enough to document their heritage in watercolor from memory? In addition, if it takes memory associated with information or meaning within visual language, then once the knowledge was lost there would be no one who would have the ability to revive it. This shows strong evidence of cultural continuation that was never disrupted to the extent non-native people believed. In fact, this research shows that the visual language just moved from traditional style objects that worked as transmitters of cultural knowledge to a new artform and medium.

We can see visual evidence that the information contained in art-objects was regulated by non-native conditions on authenticity aimed to please the market. This type of control amounts to what Pamela Krch has referred to as "Cultural Violence," whereby she argues that the genre of modern Native American fine art exists today as a result of a non-Indian construct manufactured by white antimodernists of the early twentieth-century who sought to control, exploit, and appropriate primitivism under the overlapping guises of altruism, nationalism, and culture pluralism.[101] White elites ensured that Native artists worked within strict creative confines in alignment with white desires. The Pueblo children were instructed to document their own cultures vanishing by recording their cultural information in scientific drawings before they themselves vanished. These three examples highlight the need for specific methodologies designed with Native American sensibilities informing the critical theory are badly in need. This research relies on Native

[101] Krch, Pamela. "Cultural Sovereignty and Cultural Violence: Native American Artists and the Dunn Studio, 1932-1962," n.d., 210.

American studies methodologies while also exploring new options relying on information about jewelry originating from source communities.

Conclusion

In the recent issue of El Palacio, fall of 2019, an article appeared written by Bruce Bernstein, Erik Fender, and Russell Sanchez, titled, *Vessels of a Truth Obscured*. The authors work to debunk, and correct the historical account concerning the work of anthropologist Edgar Lee Hewitt. The questions they raise are like my own. The article states that Hewett allowed his aspirations to reveal his motives. The authors write, "Hewett wrote, "the Pueblos are nine-tenths archaeology now," and "catch our archaeology alive at Fiestas through dance and historic pageantry." They go on to explain, "He'd worked with Pueblo people on Pajarito Mesa and claimed extensive archaeological discoveries, thus making the continuation of the Pueblo villages unnecessary." Hewett's view, was the "Pueblo culture was represented in the Museum and its programs and exhibitions, it did not need to persist outside the museum's walls." What informs the uniqueness of the Native American southwest style and designs is a direct inspiration and "interconnectedness" to heritage, tradition and the material culture that continues to endure disruptions. The knowledge goes back centuries and when the anthropologists and archaeologists discovered its existence, they could not dig it up fast enough. Assumptions were made that anything they dug up was lost knowledge, but this is far from the truth, but the truth did not serve their self-interests. Bernstein, Fender, and Sanchez write:

> Hewett wrote in American Anthropologist: "I have had much valuable help from my much-esteemed old guide, Wajima, a head man of the Powhoge (San Ildefonso) Indians. His scrupulous care to point out every ruin and to make known to me its traditions, his patience in explaining Tewa expressions and legends, and his

> help in interpreting the paleography of pottery have greatly advanced my knowledge."[102]

Hewett deserves credit for writing down what he was told, but this does not constitute lost or dead knowledge, and it is almost certain that he documented a considerable amount of information that was not his right to disclose. This knowledge still existed in the histories, stories and visual language of the people and was not for public consumption. An important point for consideration, are the motivations behind the decisions made by the Native American cultures. For instance, survival required traditional objects of material culture to adapt to preserve generations of cultural knowledge embedded within the pieces.

Silverwork develops quickly and the designs developed sophistication but representative of the original first era works. This speaks to the respect for material culture and knowledge resulting in cultural continuance. While there are always new designs and concepts being created the core of the style persists. This connection may be explained by cultural remembrance, or an understanding that those original designs are part of intellectual and creative property that belongs to the community as a resource. This research works to show that the styles develop quickly in three communities all three inspired by cultural knowledge, tradition, and heritage, and this study begins to dispel two historical falsities, the first that a non-Native influence is needed to introduce knowledge, tradition, and heritage into a culture so it might become living again, and that moments of modernity were driven by Native American cultural knowledge when synthesized with European ways of knowing.

Objects such as pottery, textiles, baskets, and carvings worked to retain and preserve Native American cultural heritage. Jewelry develops with access to the visual language, traditions,

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[102] Bruce Bernstein, Erik Fender, And Russell Sanchez. *Vessels of a Truth Obscured* – El Palacio. Accessed November 30, 2019. http://www.elpalacio.org/2019/09/vessels-of-a-truth-obscured/..

heritage and material culture of the societies who embrace the new art from, but jewelry does not operate as an object of preservation or retention, instead it works as a living medium recording new knowledge created by tribal members through the development of their culture. Jewelry contains the new concepts, ideas, design innovations, techniques, and inventions, a universal tool, economically, religiously, culturally and artistically, forward looking..

Finally, jewelry exists as an object that functions on multiple levels. For the Native American artist distinctions such as authenticity are not part of the creative process. The non-Native spectators can appreciate Native American cultural heritage; however, they can never know exactly how it works to inform aspects of Native American identity. For both Natives and non-Natives jewelry operates as an object that links the past to the present and is equipped to connect with the future. It provides a sense of nostalgia, unifies and helps to negotiate relationships between cultures, simultaneously existing as evidence of a living people creating living designs that are free from the confines of imagined constructs of "Indian." A cherished object of personal adornment can hold tremendous amounts of information about the identity and history of its owner, and in the case of jewelry handmade by Native American artists it holds an equal amount of information about its creator.

Southwestern Native American jewelry operates as an object of resistance while simultaneously operating as an object of adaptation. It proclaims to the world that its design ingenuity is the creative property of its Indigenous creator, working to provide a counter narrative to foregone conclusions that moments of Native American Modernity were inspired or influenced by non-Native aesthetics. After witnessing the creation of the Squash blossom necklace and the concho belt into American fashion, Modernity visited the Zuni to witness petit point, needle point and works of silver set with stones, that depict images of nature, and surreal images of other

realities. On a roll, Modernity visited the Hopi, where it witnessed the development of Hopi overlay, a technique truly capable of capturing the detail contained in their complicated visual language. But perhaps the greatest moment of Modernity belonging to the Southwestern Native American jewelry artform is its function as a work of art collected by non-Native patrons, whereby it can become a keepsake within a family as an heirloom. This allows the artwork to become an object of knowledge transfer within a non-Native family. When worn, the jewelry operates as an object of beauty, identity and fashion for its non-Native owner, while simultaneously turning its wearer into a living object of Native American Modernity, and cultural knowledge transmission.

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