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PATTERNS OF RENEWAL: NATIVE WOMEN ARTISTS AND THE NORTHERN NEW MEXICO EXHIBITIONARY COMPLEX IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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PATTERNS OF RENEWAL: NATIVE WOMEN ARTISTS AND THE NORTHERN NEW MEXICO EXHIBITIONARY COMPLEX IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
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BY THE COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF

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Abstract

Native North American women in the Southwest adeptly navigated a transformative moment in their economies of arts production in the early tourism era, the 1880s to 1910s. They altered their practices within a divergent time reshaped by drastic increases in commerce and travel via transcontinental railways. As arts leaders, Native women adapted their extant practices of mentorship and education, local and international reach, interdisciplinary forms, and place-specific interactions. Through this work, they established an exhibitionary complex with area partners that reached northern New Mexico by the 1910s. During the remainder of the twentieth century, Native women artists built upon this foundation in northern New Mexico. In the twenty-first century, Native women persist these legacies in wide-ranging arts practices in this locale.

There exists a robust scholarship on Southwestern Native arts and exhibitions of the early tourism period. Studies have focused on particular media and associated artists and patrons, with an emphasis on potters and painters in institutional and familial contexts. My dissertation examines the tethered relationships between Native women artists of the early tourism and the post-2000 periods. In doing so, my selection of a trio of in-depth case studies allows me to focus on this topic from a broader, generational perspective. Further, I analyze the relationships, or patterns of renewal, between Native women's arts and exhibition practices established in the early tourism era and the ways that Native women artists carry these acts of accomplishment and leadership forward in the twenty-first century. In this study, I trace a history of Native women's leadership within the dual contexts of interdisciplinary art forms and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico between the 1880s and 2010s. Following this historical context, I focus on the arts practices of Susan Folwell (Santa Clara Tewa), Cara Romero (Chemehuevi), and Athena LaTocha (Hunkpapa Lakota/Ojibwe) within solo exhibition contexts in northern New Mexico.

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Preface

Native women's arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico nurture a legacy of the cross-cultural, creative work of their feminine ancestors of time immemorial in central Turtle Island, or North America. From this foundation, each generation of Native women both navigates new sets of cross-cultural relations and finds new pathways for their arts practices. In the northern New Mexico area during the late nineteenth century, Native women artists instrumentally shaped a major juncture in their arts and exhibitions contexts that was directly influenced by tourism, or leisure, business, and scholarly travel, to the area. These women's instrumental leadership in establishing a northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex carries on in the regenerative, or renewing, practices of their feminine, generational descendants.

Locating this study in terms of social relations, I begin with a brief setting of the stage to discuss critical, historical events as precursors to this area becoming a hub for Native arts and exhibitions at the turn of the twentieth century. When reviewing this history, it becomes clear that Native women's leadership in arts and display practices largely established the advent of a Native arts center in this particular place. Further, Native women artists cultivated an efflorescence of generational legacies born from their contemporary experiences that became foundational to their endeavors of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in this area.

In Tewa territory, *Kua'p'o – oge* and *O'gha Po'oge* are Native names for present-day Santa Fe, New Mexico (Fig. 1).[1] In Tiwa territory, *Teotho* is a Native name for Taos, New Mexico.[2] These two places, as time immemorial homes to Indigenous peoples and sites in focus in this study, participate in ongoing histories of cross-cultural exchange and arts production. As

[1] Gregory A. Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo), "A Pueblo Perspective of the History of Santa Fe," in *White Shell Water Place*, ed. F. Richard Sanchez (Santa Fe: Institute of American Indian Arts, 2010), 21.
[2] Ibid., 27.

such, the Tewa and Tiwa peoples carry on matrilineal clan systems which organize both positionalities and responsibilities among tribal members while adopting newer forms of governmental structure, particularly the male roles of governor and war chief.[3] The peoples' community lives strive to create balance between societal gender roles as well as related ways of being and knowing through familial and clan associations. This social organization connects the tribes to their beginnings in creation while also reflecting ongoing changes in the community.

For the Tewa and Tiwa peoples, women made art forms for domestic and ritual use, like basketry and pottery, dating back to at least 300 BCE.[4] Their work in making these vessels creates links for tribal members between everyday and ceremonial contexts while renewing a legacy of women's centrality in artistic production. These vessels reflect tribes' developments in agriculture, architecture, irrigation, and seasonal dances, all of which bear associations with women and the tribes' origins from a feminine earth. These contexts include women's work of grinding cornmeal, women's oversight of the building and replastering of homes, women's carrying of water to the villages, and women's prayers for water and health through ceremony and social dances. Considering the thousands of years of tribal inhabitance and creative processes, it is only in more recent centuries that the Indigenous homelands in Turtle Island formed new relations to continental outsiders and were then referenced by non-Native names.

By the fourteenth century, the Tewa and Tiwa peoples lived in large areas throughout the four corners region, marking a time of expanded presence.[5] But, around the next century, certain villages were abandoned, and tribal presences shifted to areas immediate to the Rio Grande,

[3] Rachel Moore (Hopi), "Matriarchs at the Heart of Pueblo Families," Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, accessed July 18, 2021, https://indianpueblo.org/matriarchs-at-the-heart-of-pueblo-families/.
[4] Edward P. Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America* (Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1983), 1.
[5] Ibid., 3.

including ancestors of the Apache and Diné peoples who settled nearby during this period.[6] Further, Spanish invaders began to influence this area around 1541 and arrived during this epoch of Indigenous life in the area.[7] That year, Francisco Vasquez de Coronado and his expedition occupied this region in search for gold, which was rumored to be plentiful in these lands.[8] Defending the criticality of Native women for the tribes, a group of local Native peoples retaliated against the Spanish soldiers after an expedition member raped a Native woman.[9] Through this action, the Indigenous inhabitants demonstrated their sovereignty of these lands and their peoples to the invaders, who, in turn, murdered many of the local Native peoples, who had been supporting the expedition with food.[10] During this time, this expedition and no other European country had attempted to lay claim to the area, but Coronado's cavalry destroyed a number of villages.[11]

The encounters of 1541 foreshadowed the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, or revolution, which resulted after an 82-year period of Spanish occupation, after Juan de Oñate claimed the area for Spain in 1598. Oñate and his caravan of people and animals formally ushered in a new era in northern New Mexico, and he instilled a foreign value system of colonization rooted in racial and gendered hierarchy and patriarchy. During and following this period, the Spanish renamed the Tewa and Tiwa peoples' villages according to Catholic patron saints. Catholicism was also violently imposed upon Native peoples, and they were forced to build mission churches in their villages while suppressing their own spiritual ways.[12] After eight decades of Spanish

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Cajete, "A Pueblo Perspective of the History of Santa Fe," 23.
[9] Ibid., 24.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Dozier, *The Pueblo Indians of North America*, 4; Richard L. Spivey, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2003), 1.

colonization, the Tewa and Tiwa peoples organized a rebellion led by Popé, of *Teotho* (Taos Pueblo). This movement ousted the Spanish colonists for 13 years, until Don Diego de Vargas' cavalry invaded the area and re-claimed it for Spain. Because of the turmoil of this settler occupation, in the early 1700s, some Tewa peoples migrated to the Hopilands in present-day, northern Arizona and established Hano, the only Tewa village in the Hopi's homelands (Fig. 2). Today, Tewa and Tiwa peoples practice a mixture of religion, often with a duality of Native and Catholic ways.

From the seventeenth century through Mexican Independence from Spain in 1821, the Tewa and Tiwa peoples maintained their own ways of being and knowing in covert ways while also practicing Catholicism in the public eye. Women continued to make baskets and pottery, and the people defended their homelands, as they do today in legal battles and military service. These epochs undergird the area's history and its legacy in the following way, as Tewa scholar Gregory A. Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo) writes:

> Throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods, Santa Fe was a place where cultures, traders, settlers, and Indians alike interacted, traded, and intermarried to form the tapestry of people and ways of life unique to the Southwest. Pueblo people from the surrounding villages interacted with Santa Fe in multiple ways ranging from providing labor and selling wares to serving in the militia and interacting with government officials…Today, Santa Fe is the seat of state government as well as the regional center for Northern New Mexico. Santa Fe has always been, and continues to be, the "big town" to which all people of Northern New Mexico traveled to do business.[13]

As such, the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, during the Mexican period, marks a distinct moment in Tewa and Tiwa history when pottery-making became very limited, and mass-produced wares began to be used for Native cooking and food storage.[14] Thus, less Tewa and Tiwa women made clay wares for many years during the nineteenth century due to these

[13] Cajete, "A Pueblo Perspective of the History of Santa Fe," 19.
[14] Spivey, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez*, 5.

changed conditions of mass production. Major political shifts also included the Mexican-American War of 1846 through 1848. At the close of these two years, federal jurisdiction of Tewa and Tiwa lands turned to the United States, a new country of settlers with colonizing leaders anxious to extend the nation's boundaries from ocean to ocean.

The late 1870s brought about another major shift in lifeways, when the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (ATSF) extended into the region. Tewa and Tiwa women found a new function for their handmade clay vessels, where visitors purchased Native potteries as representative of the maker's tribe and also as an object of "American antiquity." This notion of antiquity references an American desire of the era to locate their identities within a sense of "nativeness" to the land. This foreign desire could be embodied by Native potteries that alluded to the tribes' ancestral origins. During this epoch, Southwest Native peoples had entered the American imagination through their participation in survey photography of the 1860s and 1870s. In experiencing these images as stereographs and single prints in albums, American and Native peoples engaged in many visual encounters in private and institutional locations through face-to-photograph contact. By contrast, the Santa Fe Railway provided travelers with access to the Southwest, and, as such, travelogues from Southwest routes ran concurrent to the railroad's westward development in the 1880s. During this period, Native women co-created the northern New Mexico exhibition network—including artists, artworks, audiences, and visual representations in photography and place-based displays. The legacy of this foundational platform persists today as carried on by Native women artists of the twenty-first century in the same locale—the ancestral home of Tewa and Tiwa peoples.

Introduction

"…the world works in patterns, not in symbols…understanding the pattern is to understand how you move in the world…how you make buildings, businesses, everything…gardens…"[15]

Roxanne Swentzell (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1962),
clay artist & gallery owner, permaculturist, northern New Mexico

"…to not look at Native women's contributions to American art and what it has become… you are missing an enormous chunk of the picture…this is the American story."[16]

Teri Greeves (Kiowa, b. 1970),
beadwork artist & scholar, curator, northern New Mexico

Participating in a legacy more than a century in the making, Native women in northern New Mexico connect tribal, regional, national, and international currents in their arts and curatorial work.[17] Like Swentzell and Greeves, these artists carry on leadership practices learned from female generational forebears, and, in many cases, their mothers. For instance, Swentzell's mother, Rina Swentzell (Santa Clara Pueblo, 1939-2015), a potter and activist, contributed Tewa philosophies to museum collaborations in many publications and programs. Greeves' mother, Jeri Ah-be-hill (Kiowa/Comanche, 1934-2015), a museum educator, directed the Santa Fe Indian Market's Native clothing contests for 17 years and sold Native women's beadwork at two trading posts. As patterns of renewal, Native women's accomplishments in arts and exhibitions in the twenty-first century emerge from collaborative, familial, and intergenerational legacies. In

[15] "Flowering Tree Permaculture Institute – Patterns," YouTube, accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGKQFbK-zd8&t=3s.
[16] "Smithsonian American Art Museum - Hearts of Our People Curator and Artist Conversation," YouTube, accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D2drTA_6u6Q. For more about this exhibition, see Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Kiowa), eds., *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists* (Seattle: Minneapolis Institute of Art in association with University of Washington Press, 2019).
[17] Native refers to Indigenous, or original, persons. Tribal refers to Native communities that are state and/or federally recognized. Regional references an area linked by land similarities. National refers to nations, including tribes, who communicate via governmental channels. International refers to the governmental relationships between nations.

northern New Mexico, their leadership remains tethered to Native women of the early tourism era, who created new patterns in their arts and exhibitions during immense changes in the region.

Scope of Study

My dissertation provides a scholarly analysis of Native women's leadership in northern New Mexico arts and exhibition practices of the twenty-first century—intergenerational patterns of renewal that build upon Native women's work in the early tourism years in the area. Further, I focus on the ways that Native North American women of the twenty-first century expand international legacies through matriarchal leadership in arts and curatorial practices in galleries, art centers, and museums specific to northern New Mexico's exhibitionary complex. In a chapter that offers an early tourism era to 2010s historical context, I identify Native women's arts and exhibition practices begun in the late nineteenth century in northern New Mexico that fueled the display of their works in galleries, art centers, and museums. I follow this with a discussion of their feminine descendants' twentieth and twenty-first century developments and leadership in the field.

Then, in three chapters that serve as case studies, I analyze the ways in which these women's generational descendants of the twenty-first century carry on these accomplishments in this locale. Throughout this study, I argue that Native women of the early tourism era performed critical roles in establishing, shaping, and redefining the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex through their arts practices. These practices include mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions. Further, I argue that Native women artists in the twenty-first century carry on these practices in expanding the northern New Mexico complex into a global reach. In doing so, these women persist these

legacies in collaboration with their feminine forebears, contemporaries, and forthcoming generations.

To present a complete picture of this study, I begin by both describing the terms that are critical to this scope of study and the methodology that I am using in my dissertation. From there, I follow this discussion with a literature review pertinent to my dissertation's focus. These sections provide the necessary background to approach a series of case studies of the twenty-first century with an informed perspective. Following these sections, I introduce my chapters of focus and then segue into the following chapter that provides a detailed historical context that highlights the evolution of Native women's contributions over the past century. Following this discussion, I transition into three chapters as case studies on the topic of focus. These in-depth discussions critically examine the work of three Native women artists in solo exhibitions that took place between 2017 and 2019 in northern New Mexico. In my concluding thoughts, I look at the way forward from this research in terms of both concepts and artists of interest.

When I discuss patterns of renewal, I am referencing artist Roxanne Swentzell's teachings of spiral and wave patterns as an Indigenous general model principle and as movements born of a beginning that centers all beings.[18] Citing art and technology as primary examples, Swentzell explains that both the spiral and wave movements shape all aspects of life and maintain a constant visibility in the everyday, once one knows to look for these patterns.[19] As a facet of patterning and movement in the lives of artworks, the exhibitionary complex, a term coined by scholar Tony Bennett, embodies "a self-monitoring system of looks in which the subject and object positions can be exchanged."[20] As cross-cultural ontologies, or ways of being,

[18] "Flowering Tree Permaculture Institute – Patterns," YouTube.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," *new formations* 4 (Spring 1988): 82.

Indigenous patterns of renewal and the exhibitionary complex enliven the collaborative, intergenerational contexts of Native women's accomplishments in their arts practices in northern New Mexico. In this locale, an arc of ongoing relationships between Native women artists of the present and the early tourism era pivots through these ontologies. As this study's focus, Native women artists of the twenty-first century build upon the foundational leadership of their matriarchal predecessors, who largely established the area's exhibition complex in the early twentieth century.

A glaring omission in art history and museum studies discourses, scholars have mostly excluded this arc in the vast, academic literature that examines visual arts and exhibition histories in northern New Mexico. As I discuss in this chapter, the extant scholarship offers an incomplete accounting for this Indigenous, feminine legacy that remains so crucial to the foundation of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, and, in turn, the evolving contexts of Native American and American art histories. As such, this study intervenes and offers new scholarship to the field. In particular, it contextualizes Native women's arts and exhibition practices in the twenty-first century within an intergenerational and collaborative legacy of regional, national, and international exchange established by Native women at the turn of the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, these women's leadership practices take differing forms during varied historical conditions in northern New Mexico, while concurrently strengthening a matriarchal continuum between both their feminine forebears and their descendants in the field. I locate my research and interviews in deep respect of Native women artists as leaders—past, present, and future. Rooted in ethical scholarship, I prioritize Native perspectives throughout my dissertation. Below, I discuss a series of Native concepts that offer a critical fabric to approach this topic. Following these terms, I present the thesis for this study.

Many communities of Native women in northern New Mexico, as matriarchs in arts production, paved the way for Native female artists of future generations, from leadership learned from their mothers and generational forebears. They created new art forms and forged new positions for these works in the area's exhibitionary complex—a process directly connecting their arts with public audiences. From the center of this sustainable legacy resonates an Indigenous metaphysic, a term coined by scholar Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate) that she defines as the embodied ways that Native peoples move in the world.[21] These movements include "the understanding of the intimate knowing relatedness of all things," that "matter is lively," "the intimacies of human and nonhuman sociality," and "the co-constitutive entanglements between the material and immaterial."[22]

Native women artists' transmissions of intergenerational knowledge also cooperatively link both movement and identity within a particular place between time and space. These artistic transmissions give form to kin-space-time envelopes, a concept coined by scholar Laura Harjo (Mvskoke).[23] She explains kin-space-time envelopes as Indigenous interactions that "provide advisement for how to be in the world" and as "an imaginary that connects with many forms of kin, sites, and temporalities."[24] Thus, the intertribal, or varied, cultural communities of Native women participating in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex overlapping temporally and spatially give form to the infinite pathways of kin-space-time envelopes. These ongoing patterns enact a kin-space-time constellation, defined by Harjo as a movement that

[21] Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate), "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies Thinking, and the New Materialisms," in *Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World*, eds. Joanna Radin and Emma Kowal (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2017), 179-202.
[22] Ibid., 191-92, 194, 199.
[23] Laura Harjo (Mvskoke [Muscogee-Creek]), *Spiral to the Stars: Mvskoke Tools of Futurity* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2019), 28.
[24] Ibid.

"operationalizes multiple dimensions…the spirit world, the practices of ancestors, cosmology, ceremony, and the everyday social reproduction of the community."[25]

Through an Indigenous metaphysic and their kin-space-time envelopes sent far into the future, Native women artists established new, contemporary contexts for their artworks in northern New Mexico at the turn of the twentieth century. As leaders in the area's exhibitionary complex, they made significant contributions within local and international exhibitions, retail displays, news stories, and in-person interactions and demonstrations at the turn of the twentieth century. In so doing, their intercultural exchange within this transitional moment constitutes "the process of culture," a term coined by scholar Rina Swentzell.[26] She explains this concept as "establishing a relationship in which both the non-Indian institution and the Indian communities know each other in situ and recognize the potential for growth in that recognition and consequent interaction."[27] In processes of culture and patterns of renewal in their arts production and exchange, Native women of the early tourism era developed intergenerational relationships with worldwide communities through northern New Mexico's exhibitionary complex and the area's international currents. They held central roles in the success of the early tourism era's ethos of exchange being forever reshaped by the twin drivers of the cash economy and railroad travel.

In my dissertation, I argue that Native women artists of the twenty-first century carry on a Native matriarchal legacy of leadership as arts professionals, as a distinctive turn in their patterns of renewal begun during the early tourism era.[28] I take a particular focus on the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex where a legacy of intergenerational knowledge transmission

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[25] Ibid.
[26] Rina Swentzell (Santa Clara Pueblo), "The Process of Culture—The Indian Perspective," *El Palacio* 93 (Summer/Fall 1987): 3-5.
[27] Ibid., 5.
[28] In this context, I define arts professionals as artists who both situate their practices as a main part of their lives and participate in exhibitionary complexes in various locales.

between Native women continues to expand arts and exhibition strategies in the twenty-first century. Moreover, I closely examine the ways that Native women artists of the twenty-first century build new, contemporary contexts for their art in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. As a kin-space-time constellation, these processes take form through the artist, artwork, and exhibition relationships within a dynamic of international communities. Further, as patterns of renewal, Native women working in the twenty-first century collaborate with Native women artists of generations past, present, and future. They do this through the living, interrelated entities of artworks, displays, publications, photographic imagery, and community knowledge.

Methodology

As the basis of this study, I closely examine the ways that three Native women expand upon contemporary contexts for their art in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex in the twenty-first century. In a trio of exhibitions of focus within three chapters, I discuss how these artists and their artworks convey patterns of renewal and build upon the work of their feminine forebears of the early tourism era. In doing so, I demonstrate how these women create kin-space-time constellations through critical collaborations with their female generational forebears, contemporaries, and descendants.

To make these assertions, I rely heavily on interviews with the featured artists to employ a first-person method of Native storytelling to this study. As such, this dialogical method of primary research grounds the context of my dissertation in these artists' lived experiences as well as their practices and legacies carried forward. Thus, the interview process took the form of Native storytelling with each artist participating in a 90 to 120 minute conversation. Moreover, the questions and responses focused on four main areas. These include their journeys of creating their artworks; the significance of their medium and techniques; their thoughts on Native

feminine legacies in arts and exhibition practices; and their participation in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its associated, international currents. Incorporating Native perspectives wherever possible, I supplemented these critical conversations with primary and secondary sources.

My research also draws upon pertinent materials from both institutional and personal archives. In response to travel limitations due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I altered my methodology to utilize a personal archive of photographs, notes, and exhibition texts as primary research for my case study discussions. Emerging from my scope of focus, I drew upon research and site visits that had resulted in a series of exhibition reviews that discussed Native women's artworks. These reviews were published between 2017 and 2019 in *First American Art Magazine*, a quarterly journal focused on art by Indigenous peoples of the Americas. As another testament to Native women artists' leadership in the Southwest, the journal was founded in 2013 by America Meredith (Cherokee Nation, b. 1972), an artist and scholar, while she was living in Santa Fe. Thus, the utilization of these reviews and their associated materials offers a unique opportunity to align my methodology with Native women's continued influence in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Incorporating this body of knowledge into my dissertation also allows me to transform the brevity of art criticism essays into in-depth, scholarly analyses.

In identifying the featured artists, artworks, and exhibitions, I incorporate a range of practices, media, cultures, and venues in this study. As such, the Native women artists I focus on make pottery, photographs, and paintings. Some of these media also overlap within their practices, and additional art forms are referenced in several ways. From a cultural standpoint, the artists' tribal affiliations include Indigenous nations located in varying regions in North America, thus giving way to these practitioners' differing perspectives and worldviews. Furthering this

diversity, the venues of focus in northern New Mexico include an art museum operated by a tribal college, a commercial art gallery, and an American art museum. This range in both the artists' practices and their cultures in addition to these types of exhibition spaces provides a multifaceted basis for this study. It also offers an alternative to arbitrary categorizations often employed in art and museal discourses.

Prioritizing Native perspectives, I apply a four-part method of analysis proposed by artist and scholar Jolene Rickard (Tuscarora, b. 1956) in *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists*, a catalogue for a namesake exhibition curated by Theresa Harlan (Kewa/Jemez Pueblos). Rickard's process is pertinent to this study. Moreover, it offers another opportunity to align my methodology with the contributions of Native women artists and curators, several of whom, like her, have participated in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Here, it is instructive to read Rickard's words in terms of beginnings and cultural exchange.

> The "structure" Indigenous people must select begins as an awareness of "original teachings." Since the emphasis has shifted to the "political," it is time to reconnect the inspiration or visionary moment, the formal analysis of form, what is learned by making the object, and its purpose in western and Indigenous cultures.[29]

In each chapter, I combine Rickard's process for Native art analysis with first-person accounts contributed to this study by the featured artists. In my interview process, I asked the artists a series of questions that address these facets of their artworks. These four aspects include the artworks' moment of inception and relation to Native knowledge systems; their materiality and techniques; their reciprocal journeys with the artist; and their movements in both the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its associated, international currents. Within these analyses, I discuss the ways Native women artists of the twenty-first century have

[29] Jolene Rickard, "Artist Essay: Frozen in the White Light," in *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists*, ed. Anne Gully (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1994), 18.

expanded upon arts and exhibition practices altered by their feminine forebears of the early tourism era. These practices include mentorship and education, local and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions.

To do this, I first outline an exhibition history of the late nineteenth through early twenty-first centuries, including artworks, images, and associated texts in the following chapter. Organized by epochs, this process traces Native women artists' roles in establishing relationships between the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its international currents. It locates the established legacies and expansions of these practices within the conditions of particular epochs during the past century. Following this discussion are a trio of in-depth analyses that comprise chapters three, four, and five—the core of my dissertation. These chapters focus on three Native North American women artists: Susan Folwell (Santa Clara Tewa), Cara Romero (Chemehuevi), and Athena LaTocha (Hunkpapa Lakota/Ojibwe). These case studies focus on their work in extending the legacies of Native feminine centrality in art and curatorial contexts. In particular, each chapter focuses on a specific body of work and associated exhibition in northern New Mexico that took place between 2017 and 2019.

To set the stage for these analyses, the remainder of this chapter positions my dissertation in the state of the field. I provide a literature review to further situate my dissertation in art historical and museological discourses by including a series of key publications on this topic. In this discussion, I note these authors' contributions as they assist my study in order to show how my dissertation intervenes this scholarship. I conclude this chapter with an introduction of the historical context, artists, artworks, and exhibitions featured in the following chapters.

Literature Review

There exists a robust scholarship on Southwestern Native arts and exhibitions of the early tourism period. Studies have focused on particular art forms and associated artists and patrons, with an overwhelming emphasis on potters and painters. However, existing studies have not traced a post-early tourism era history of Native women's leadership within the dual contexts of interdisciplinary art forms and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. Nor have they addressed the tethered relationships between Native women artists of the early tourism and post-2000 eras beyond familial ties. A fuller picture is thus needed. Intervening in this discourse, my dissertation analyzes the relationships, or patterns of renewal, between Native women's arts and exhibition practices established during the early tourism era and the extensive ways that Native women artists carry these acts of leadership forward in the twenty-first century. Below, I discuss key texts within art history and museum studies discourses that have shaped my stakes in this project and its scope of study. In doing so, I identify how these monographs and articles have facilitated a critical opportunity for me to contribute new scholarship to the field via this study.

With a focus on Native North America writ large, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists* (2019) challenged me to center my dissertation through the naming of Native North American women artists' leadership.[30] This exhibition and its associated catalogue directly shaped my argument that Native North American women of the early tourism period led with a driving force to define the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex that their female, generational descendants persist in expanding. Produced by Teri Greeves, Jill Ahlberg Yohe, and an advisory group of 21 Native and non-Native contributors, *Hearts of Our People* taught me

[30] Yohe and Greeves, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*.

that Native women artists' leadership carries on a time immemorial legacy present throughout Turtle Island, or Native America.

Through its collaborative process, featured artworks, and catalogue narratives, *Hearts of Our People* revealed to public audiences globally that Native women's leadership and influence in arts throughout the Americas has not been accounted for in scholarly and museal discourses. To begin to remedy this, it forefronts Native women's perspectives by way of numerous participants' stories of their experiences in first-person recordings and catalogue essays. Further, the catalogue facilitates a scholarly space for many women to convey their critical roles in nurturing both familial and tribal health through artistic leadership, integrity, and longevity. Supporting the catalogue's first-person histories, non-Native allies provided academic narratives that trace Native women's artistic ingenuity and dedication as a central beacon in the evolving contexts of Native arts, American arts, and transcontinental exchange. To this end, the project gives long overdue credit to Native women as both the foundational creators of artistic production in Turtle Island and the originators of abstract art in this continent. As a model in the field, the project inspired me to both reflect and draw upon my experiences of interacting with Native women's art in the context of northern New Mexico, a place I have experienced as both a resident and a visitor. This led to my consideration of these women's participation in the shared context of both place and history, particularly the generational legacy of Native, feminine leadership in the area's exhibitionary complex and artistic practices.

Three earlier publications that center Native women's leadership in the arts also greatly informed my dissertation by providing insights on the relationships between place, identity, and art in direct correlation with the locale of northern New Mexico. These include *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage* (1985), *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists* (1994), and

Art in Our Lives: Native Women Artists in Dialogue (2010). *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage* offers a visual record of the 25 artists that participated in one of the first exhibitions of all Native women's works produced in a variety of media during the late twentieth century.[31] With essays by curators Jaune Quick-to-See Smith and Harmony Hammond as well as guest contributor Lucy R. Lippard, the catalogue focuses on the innovations of Native women artists during this period as they build upon Native women artists' contributions of earlier generations. To note, the exhibition toured to Santa Fe, New Mexico and was held at the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian. This catalogue offered significant insights into the ways that Native women artists break boundaries with their art practices.

Along similar lines of thought, the catalogue for the exhibition, *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists*, focuses on the ways that Native women artists' knowledge becomes reflected in their art practices of the twentieth century.[32] With essays by curator Theresa Harlan and guest contributor Jolene Rickard, the catalogue provides insights on the direct correlation between Native women artists' observational practices and the ways they act upon these watchful understandings within their artworks. To note, a number of artists from northern New Mexico participated in this exhibition that took place at The Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. This catalogue offered significant insights into a methodology of analysis for this study. Adapted from Rickard's essay, this includes Native women's creative expressions that bring together the artworks' moment of inception and relation to Native knowledge systems; their materiality and techniques; their reciprocal journeys with the artist; and their movements in both the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its associated, international currents.

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[31] Harmony Hammond and Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, eds., *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage* (New York: Gallery of the American Indian House, 1985).
[32] Anne Gully, ed., *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1994).

A recent volume on this topic, *Art in Our Lives: Native Women Artists in Dialogue* chronicles the journey of eleven participants who shared the methodologies and inspirations of their practices with each other during a series of seminars at the School for Advanced Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico.[33] The catalogue includes essays by Cynthia Chavez Lamar, Gloria J. Emerson (Diné), Elysia Poon, Sherry Farrell Racette (Métis), and Lara Evans (Cherokee Nation). Their writings reflect on the relationships between art, gender, identity, place, academia, and history. Moreover, the book reveals the complexity of these interconnections and the ways that Native women artists fuse many aspects of their lives into their art making practices of the early twenty-first century. In its discussions, the gifts of Native women's legacies underpin the concepts of the artists featured in this project and catalogue that emerged within the locale of northern New Mexico. This monograph sheds light on the ways that Native women artists persist legacies of leadership in arts and exhibitions in this particular locale.

Taking a regional approach, several publications have offered histories of Native arts production in the Southwest within institutional contexts. One such text is a companion to a related Heard Museum exhibition—*The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (1996), edited by Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock.[34] It provides numerous essays on Southwest tourism and art production. In this volume, two contributions particularly inform my study. In "Cultural Changes: The Effect of Foreign Systems at Santa Clara Pueblo," Tessie Naranjo, a Santa Clara Pueblo scholar, discusses the societal shifts at her home village between the 1880s and 1920s and the ripples of these changes witnessed in the late

[33] Cynthia Chavez Lamar and Sherry Farrell Racette (Métis), eds., with Lara Evans (Cherokee Nation), *Art in Our Lives: Native Women Artists in Dialogue* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007).
[34] Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock, eds., *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996).

twentieth century.[35] Within a framework of Tewa ways of being and knowing, she notes a turn in gender roles, where Santa Clara Pueblo women supported their families through selling their pottery in the cash economy. Thinking dialectically, she expresses concern for the individualistic mindset that grew from this shift, as it conflicts with Tewa understandings of cooperative processes of creation.

In "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," Diana F. Pardue and Kathleen L. Howard describe the ways that Native women artists expanded their arts practices into national and international spheres in the early tourism period.[36] With a focus on individual accomplishments, this essay provides detailed histories of Elle of Ganado and Nampeyo's successful participation in the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway ventures by way of their weaving and pottery, respectively. As such, this text, coupled with Naranjo's contribution, offers a fuller picture of the ways that the early tourism period and its legacies are understood by future generations. With a focus on the 1880s to the 1920s, these essays reveal a need for further inquiry into the ways that Native women artists carry these foundational practices forward in the twenty-first century. During my research process, I turned to these women's perspectives as well as the volume's timeline of events and series of essays concerning promotion and collecting.

As a study of the relationships between Southwest Native women artists' identity construction and the effects of imagery, *"Our Indian Princess": Subverting the Stereotype* by Nancy Marie Mithlo (Chiricahua Apache) conveys Indigenous perspectives through both its

[35] Tessie Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo), "Cultural Changes: The Effect of Foreign Systems at Santa Clara Pueblo," in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, eds. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 187-195.
[36] Diana F. Pardue and Kathleen L. Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, eds. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 168-175.

narrative prose and interview texts.[37] Within the context of the School for Advanced Research's Global Indigenous Politics Series, this monograph critiques the contemporary institutional misuse of "iconic" representations of Pueblo women that the Harvey company and Santa Fe Railway popularized in the early 1900s. Through its centering of contemporary Native women artists' first-person accounts, this monograph humanizes the detrimental effects of romantic imagery that misconstrues the complexity of tribal communities and Native women's leadership within these nations. In doing so, Mithlo, as a cultural anthropologist, centers Native women artists' voices to tell their stories of their persistence as makers of their own representations and imagery designed for public reception. Moreover, Mithlo's facilitation of a multivocal dialogue surrounding cultural appropriation allows her to name Indigenous, communal knowledge as a creative source of resiliency. This publication provides critical perspectives that guided my study in an informed and respectful manner. It also calls for new scholarship on related topics, and as such, it engendered my dissertation's inquiry into transgenerational legacies in Native women's arts and exhibition practices in the Southwest.

With a related topic, Leah Dilworth's *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (1996) focuses on the ways that Native American peoples in the Southwest were marketed as "authentic ethnic attractions" to Anglo tourists between the 1880s and 1920s.[38] The book is situated within the field of American Studies and creates intersections between tourism, visual culture, art, and ethnography. Dilworth posits that Anglo writers of ethnographic, magazine, and railroad publications constructed an invented "Pueblo" culture and encouraged readers to learn from this "disappearing American heritage" of "primitive" peoples.

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[37] Nancy Marie Mithlo, *"Our Indian Princess": Subverting the Stereotype* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008).
[38] Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996).

Through case studies, the author shows how Anglo representations of Pueblo peoples—as part of the "American past"—legitimated the scientific collection and interpretation of Native material culture, the "Native attractions" of the ATSF railroad and Fred Harvey companies, and the Southwestern American modernists' art production that appropriated Native American aesthetics. A significant study, Dilworth's chapters include broader information about federal Indian policy while also providing details regarding the changes in American-produced visual and textual representations of Native American peoples in the Southwest over a 40-year period.

As well, Matthew J. Martinez (Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo) and Patricia C. Albers' essay, "Imaging and Imagining Pueblo People in Northern New Mexico Tourism" (2009) offers an analysis of the relationships between both the photography of Native peoples and the burgeoning tourism industry of the Southwest.[39] Using Anglo and Native-produced guidebooks as examples, the authors discuss how Pueblo-produced travel photographs disrupt the stereotypical conventions of mainstream guidebook photography. In their essay, they offer historical contexts of the ways that photographs of Pueblo peoples became marketed as "pristine" and of the "frontier" by the ATSF and Fred Harvey companies to travelers to the Southwest in the early tourism era through the mid-twentieth century. Martinez and Albers also show how contemporary Pueblo-produced tourism guidebooks create a continuum with historical imagery while reflecting Indigenous lived experiences of the present-day. This essay traces tourism image trends with the shift from railroad to car travel to the development of Pueblo-designed guidebooks. This chapter is very helpful in providing specific instances in which photography

[39] Matthew J. Martinez and Patricia C. Albers, "Imaging and Imagining Pueblo People in Northern New Mexico Tourism," in *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists and Photography*, eds. Mike Robinson and David Picard (London and New York: Ashgate Publishing, 2009, and Routledge, 2016), 39-62.

embodies practices of visual mythmaking, or manufactured storytelling, in the service of Southwest tourism.

As a history of a particular exhibit within northern New Mexico, Bruce Bernstein's *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace* (2012) offers a detailed account of the development and evolution of the Santa Fe Indian Market over a period of 90 years.[40] This monograph provides numerous photographs of the early tourism period and later decades to support the narrative described by Bernstein. These images reveal the changes in exhibition styles at the market as well as the positions of Native women's arts within the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Further, this text includes a number of accolades by Native women artists participating in the Santa Fe Indian Market during its different variations. The book contributed to my understanding of the exhibitionary history of northern New Mexico and Native women's leadership in this particular display context.

Another critical text for this study is *The Art of New Mexico: How the West Is One: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts* (2007) by Joseph Traugott, the museum's then-curator of twentieth century art.[41] Through a social history extending from the late nineteenth century to the early 2000s, this monograph highlights artworks from the museum's permanent collection that represent particular political and stylistic movements in New Mexico. In these discussions that center cultural exchange, Traugott gives close attention to overlapping local, national, and international currents that inform the artists' processes. His emphasis on Anglo artists with connections to Santa Fe, Taos, and Albuquerque reflects the need in the field for a focus on Native women artists' contributions to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

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[40] Bruce Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2012).
[41] Joseph Traugott, *The Art of New Mexico: How the West Is One: The Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2007).

Traugott's stylistic analyses greatly assisted my understanding of the conditions in which Native women's arts practices have taken place over the past century. In particular, his clear outlining of the ways the "red scare" of the 1910s and 1920s impacted then-museum director Hewett's practices is quite instructive. As such, this history sheds light on the political roles that Anglo academic painting, like the Taos Society of Artists' works, and Native pottery and painting, like Maria and Julian Martinez's "two blacks" vessels, played in exhibiting "American" art in figurative language, rather than "imported" abstraction, in northern New Mexico. With Traugott's guidance, one can read between the lines to interpret the museum's collection through a political lens. For instance, the Martinezes' "two blacks" vessels emerged as a visual negotiation between the Tewa patterns of San Ildefonso Pueblo, the modernist abstraction of local artists, and the museum's preference for figurative arts that represented "America." Overall, Traugott's analyses inform my understanding of the ways Native artists' works reflect passages of time, carry messages to the future, and converge visual languages.

A context for the School for Advanced Research's collection of Pueblo watercolor paintings, J.J. Brody's *Pueblo Indian Painting: Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930* (1997) chronicles the cultural exchange between Pueblo watercolor artists and their patrons in northern New Mexico.[42] He traces a history of watercolor instruction at the Pueblo day schools and Santa Fe Indian School in the 1900s and 1910s in tandem with the influence of Hewett's archaeological and museum work. This culminates in a discussion of the Pueblo watercolorists of the late 1910s and early 1920s that were sponsored by Hewett and the Museum of New Mexico. The practices of this first generation—Crescencio Martinez, Tonita Peña, Awa Tsireh, Fred Kabotie, Velino Shije Herrera, and Otis Polelonema—served as precedents for Dorothy Dunn's

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

Studio at the Santa Fe Indian School in the 1930s. Moreover, Brody provides useful details about Peña's groundbreaking work as a female Pueblo watercolorist who influenced future generations. However, he credits Anglo patrons with establishing a market for Native arts without ascribing Native women artists as key creators of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Four more publications offer insights into the early tourism era in northern New Mexico in terms of Native women's contributions in establishing the exhibitionary complex. These texts are Bruce Bernstein and Jackson Rushing's *Modern By Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (1995); Michelle McGeough's *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918-1945* (2009); Richard L. Spivey's *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez* (2003), and Barbara Kramer's *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (1996).[43] Bernstein and Rushing's *Modern By Tradition* offers a discussion of the lasting influence of Native artists, like Pablita Velarde (Santa Clara Pueblo), who participated in The Studio at the Santa Fe Indian School. While the monograph's focus is on the artists writ large, it offers insights on Native women's leadership in this curriculum, particularly in that of Geronima Cruz Montoya (Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo), who directed The Studio from 1937 to 1962, after Dorothy Dunn's five-year tenure, 1932 to 1937.

Written by McGeough (Métis), *Through Their Eyes* focuses on Native artists working in flat-style painting from 1918 to 1945 in Santa Fe. Her monograph features interviews performed with descendants of these painters and provides insights into the ways that Native peoples' carry on artistic legacies generationally. These first-person accounts also show how interviews serve as an insightful method to learn about one's relationships to people and places in ways not found in other sources.

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[43] Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995); Barbara Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Michelle McGeough (Métis), *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918-1945* (Santa Fe: Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2009).

Spivey's *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez* provides a history of Maria and Julian Martinez's work as ceramic artists during the shift to a cash economy in the Southwest. This book highlights the significant forces in the growth of the field of Pueblo pottery, noting the 1922 Indian Fair and the construction of a bridge and improved roads near San Ildefonso Pueblo in 1924 as further fueling the touristic exchange. The concept of legacy is addressed both as Maria's generosity of sharing her artistic knowledge with the San Ildefonso community and in pottery as a tradition that the Martinezes' descendants have persisted.

Last in this group, Kramer's *Nampeyo and Her Pottery* offers a detailed history of Nampeyo and her family's lasting contributions in establishing the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Using interviews as a basis, this biography charts the numerous relationships that Nampeyo forged with international patrons visiting the Hopi villages. Further, this monograph describes the formation of an exhibitionary complex at First Mesa at Hopi—Nampeyo's home. The narratives in each chapter show how visitors to the villages sought out the pottery of Nampeyo and her daughters, who carried on the legacy of their feminine predecessors of expanding the art form through cross-cultural exchange. Coupled with generous photography, this book offered a strong foundation to the early tourism history of the southwest region.

The final three sources that influenced my study include *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century* (1999) edited by Jackson Rushing, *Changing Hands: Art Without Reservation, 1—Contemporary Native American Art from the Southwest* (2002) edited by David Revere McFadden and Ellen Napiura Taubman, and *Native Art Now! Developments in Contemporary Native American Art Since 1992* (2017) edited by Veronica Passalacqua and Kate Morris.[44] Rushing's *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century* offers many essays from

[44] David Revere McFadden and Ellen Napiura Taubman, eds., *Changing Hands: Art Without Reservation, 1—Contemporary Native American Art from the Southwest* (London and New York: Merrell Publishers Limited and the

Native and non-Native writers on topics spanning from the 1890s to the late twentieth century. It provides an art historical overview of the period through particular emphases on artists, art forms, and artistic genres throughout various regions of the Western Hemisphere. Several of the volume's essays focus on exhibitions in the American Southwest and thus informed my study through an understanding of the history of the region from a broader perspective.

As a catalogue for the first of three exhibitions organized geographically by the American Craft Museum, *Changing Hands: Art Without Reservation, 1—Contemporary Native American Art from the Southwest* (2002) highlights numerous artists from the region working in a variety of media during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The artist pages, featuring brief biographical entries with brilliant artwork images, are interspersed with short essays that discuss local and global changes in the marketplace, collecting practices, and developments in art media. These concise essays provide valuable contexts for the emergence of the exhibiting artists, with historical information that bridges the late nineteenth century with the early 2000s.

Lastly, Passalacqua and Morris' *Native Art Now!* offers significant insights into the ways that Native artists of the twenty-first century work in a multitude of media. Numerous essays by Native and non-Native authors critically discuss the artists' influences and methodologies alongside their connections to ancestral practices. This compendium provides important case studies focused on the specificity of each artist's tribal heritage, exchange with the international art world, educational background, and relationship to Native teachings. This text offers a compilation of many Native American contemporary artists working to expand the field. A

American Craft Museum, 2002); Veronica Passalacqua and Kate Morris, eds. *Native Art Now! Developments in Contemporary Native American Art Since 1992* (Indianapolis: Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art, 2017); W. Jackson Rushing, ed. *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

significant contribution to the discourse, it particularly addresses the work of many Native American women who participate in the exhibitionary complex of northern New Mexico.

Chapter Structure

To demonstrate the ways that Native women artists expand upon the legacies of their predecessor's accolades, the next chapter offers historical context that highlights the evolution of Native women's contributions over the past century. In this discussion, I focus on the instrumental work of Native women artists in establishing and building upon the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex with area partners from the 1880s to the 2010s. I divide this chapter into epochs and note particular accomplishments of Native women artists contributed during each period. This historical context offers a critical foundation for understanding the strong platform in northern New Mexico in which Native women artists of the twenty-first century carry into the future through their arts and exhibition practices.

Following this background, the next three chapters offer case studies that focus on Native women artists' solo exhibitions in northern New Mexico. In particular, I look at the artworks' moment of inception and relation to Native knowledge systems; their materiality and techniques; their reciprocal journeys with the artist; and their movements in both the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its associated, international currents. Further, I analyze the ways that Native women artists of the twenty-first century have expanded upon arts and exhibition practices established by their feminine forebears of the early tourism era. These practices include mentorship and education, local and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions.

Chapter Three focuses on the ceramic narratives of Susan Folwell—a body of vessels entitled *Taos Light* (2016-present) that offer a figurative storytelling of cross-cultural dialogue

based on both Native women's lifeways and the paintings of the Taos Society of Artists (1915-1927). In this essay, I argue that Folwell's *Taos Light* series carries on the legacy of Native women artists' leadership in the Southwest region in both pottery-making and related exhibitions. Further, as a tether to the early tourism era, these vessel forms and imagery create new associations within both the kin-space-time constellation and cross-cultural relationality of Taos that continues today. In my discussion, I focus on her exhibition, *Through the Looking Glass* (2019-2020), at The Harwood Museum of Art in Taos.

Chapter Four examines Cara Romero's collaborative photography practice. Specifically, I look at the cooperatively-produced portraits of her *Native Woman* series (2014-present). In particular, I discuss the ways that these images reference Native women's art forms that offered sustenance through cross-cultural sales during the early tourism era in the Southwest region. Moreover, I argue that these artworks convey the ongoing history of Native women artists' leadership in northern New Mexico. Focusing on the photographs *Nikki, Kaa,* and *Ty*, I offer a critical analysis of the ways that these portraits show how Native women's pottery and weaving practices during the early tourism period continue to redefine Native women's arts and exhibitionary work in the area. For this analysis, I focus on the exhibition *Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes* (2018) held at Peters Projects gallery in Santa Fe.

Chapter Five looks at Athena LaTocha's painting practice and her art of perspective. I argue that LaTocha fuses clay, ink, paper, and found materials to paint landscape narratives through a process of both feeling the environment and experiencing it from a perspective of within. For this analysis, I focus on LaTocha's *Inside the Forces of Nature* exhibition (2017) at the Institute of American Indian Arts' Museum of Contemporary Native Arts in Santa Fe. This

body of work demonstrates how her practice builds upon foundations established by Native women painters and potters during the early tourism era in northern New Mexico.

In my conclusion, I situate the findings of this dissertation with future avenues of research and exhibition practices. I consider additional methods of inquiry as well as ways to expand this study. I propose that the work of Rose B. Simpson (Santa Clara Pueblo descent), Melissa Cody (Diné), Sonya Kelliher-Combs (Iñupiaq/Athabascan), and Maria Hupfield (Wasauksing First Nation) would successfully build upon this topic. In this discussion, I look at a selection of their artworks within particular exhibitions in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex that I have experienced over the past several years. I close with a reflection on Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha's insights on the way forward in the field and how Native women artists persist in widening the pathway of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex in the twenty-first century.

Native Women's Arts & Exhibitions in Northern New Mexico: Historical Contexts

Native women's art and display practices of the early tourism era served as major contributions to the emergence of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its persistence in the twenty-first century, as carried forward by Native women artists. As such, an historical context is needed in order to understand the conditions surrounding these developments. In this discussion of the emergence and continued changes in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, I trace Native women artists' accomplishments in terms of their mentorship and education, national and international dialogues, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions. To highlight the particulars of each era, I divide this narrative into four epochs: the 1880s to 1910s, 1920s to 1930s, 1940s to 1970s, and 1980s to 2010s. To ground each epoch in specificity, I incorporate primary sources, period photographs, direct quotes, and brief formal analyses.

The 1880s-1910s

The first epoch marks a significant moment of both increased travel within the formerly remote Southwest and a regional shift from a trade economy to a cash marketplace.[45] During this period, Native women forged new sites for interactions, demonstrations, and exhibitions while creating new styles of artworks for sale in these venues of exchange. In addition to their homes, new exhibition locales included national parks, international expositions, museums, arts fairs, and retail locations. During this epoch, much of the success of Native women's arts and display practices also depended on the vast circulation of photographs. To this end, postcards and publications propelled images of the artists, their artworks, and their participation in public

[45] For well-documented overviews of this period, see Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) and Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*.

events and exhibitions to audiences locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. Some of the change agents most influential for Native women's arts and display practices were the influx of people to the region and the movement of mass-made objects across the United States. This included new art materials brought to the region via railway.[46] From these shifts, the roots of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex took shape in northern Arizona and central New Mexico. As such, four Native artists—Nampeyo (Hopi-Tewa), Elle of Ganado (Diné [Navajo]), and wife-and-husband team, Maria and Julian Martinez (San Ildefonso Pueblo)—significantly laid the foundation for the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex that emerged in the 1910s. They forged relationships with key partners in the area's tourism arena, such as the Santa Fe Railway, the Fred Harvey company, and the Museum of New Mexico.

In the 1880s, Native women altered their artistic practices and related economies during a moment of cultural change in Indigenous villages in the Southwest. Tribes began incorporating mass-made goods into their daily lives, thus displacing a need for pottery in domestic use.[47] At this juncture, Native women saw an impetus to incorporate new functions in their ancestral art forms. Thus, they transformed extant art forms, like pottery, weaving, and basketry, into objects that could be sold to outsiders, that, in turn, would provide sustenance for their communities during the severe onset of poverty, drought, and epidemics during this period.

After the Santa Fe Railway extended into Arizona in 1880, the First Mesa villages at the Hopi homelands, in the northern part of the then-territory, became tourist attractions in the region. Travelogues, photographs, and anthropological texts all promoted the Hopi Snake Dance to visitors, for both leisure and social science research.[48] The Hopi Snake Dance occurs at the

[46] Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, xvii.
[47] See Naranjo, "Cultural Changes: The Effect of Foreign Systems at Santa Clara Pueblo," 187-195.
[48] See Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*.

First Mesa village of Walpi every other year, and, during this period, an influx of outsiders visited to witness it firsthand.[49] This ritual, as a key component of an exhibitionary complex enacted by Hopi peoples, drastically increased in popularity over the following decades, and, by the 1930s, tribal leaders instated a photography ban.[50]

During these years, Nampeyo, a woman from the Tewa village of Hano at First Mesa, became renowned for her pottery (Figs. 3-8). She had learned the art of pottery-making, as a matrilineal legacy, alongside her female relatives at First Mesa (Fig. 6). Once railway tourism took hold, travelers en route to see the Snake Dance at the neighboring village of Walpi purchased Nampeyo's wares from her home at Hano, the Tewa village they passed through on the way. Within this capacity, Nampeyo held meaningful interactions with visitors and added a significant component to a new, First Mesa exhibitionary complex that garnered international awareness. In two ways, Nampeyo's central participation in this burgeoning phenomenon paved the way for Native women's cross-cultural interactions through their arts and exhibition practices. First, she offered her friendship to travelers which inspired them to visit her again, as well as posed for their snapshots that commemorated these experiences. Second, she demonstrated that nurturing relationships through arts exchange held an important role in the mesa's exhibitionary complex. In these patterns of renewal, she positioned her art as both a sustaining life force and an international commerce.

By the 1880s, Nampeyo's amicable dialogues with travelers were a well-trodden practice. For many years, her brother, Tom Polacca (Hopi-Tewa, Corn Clan, ca. 1849-1911), had served

[49] See Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 82.
[50] Lomayumtewa C. Ishii (Hopi), "Hopi Culture and a Matter of Representation," *Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 49.

as a guide and interpreter, and thus, she had met many visitors.[51] In 1875, Tom hosted American photographer William Henry Jackson and the United States Geological Survey of the Territories team, and, during this visit, Jackson sought to take Nampeyo's photograph (Figs. 3-4).[52] The first of many widely-circulated images of her, this photo-portrait, captioned, "Num-pa-yu, a Moqui maiden of the Pueblo of Tewa," circulated amongst households internationally, and it was listed in Jackson's *Descriptive Catalogue of Photographs of North American Indians* in 1878 (Fig. 4).[53] In this image, Nampeyo sits in an adobe pueblo doorway, looking outward at the camera lens. Her manta, or Pueblo-style dress, butterfly whorl hairstyle, and nearby sifter basket serve as Hopi-Tewa cultural markers. In this photographic context, they also visually categorize "Moqui (Hopi) maidens" for viewers seeking to "recognize" the Southwest.[54] However, despite being publicly known as Hopi, Nampeyo held a distinct, primary association with the Tewa peoples of Hano, who migrated to the Hopilands from the northern New Mexico area around the early 1700s.[55] By way of her mother, White Corn (Tewa, Corn Clan, died ca. 1901-09), Nampeyo became a Corn clan mother and upheld her maternal responsibilities to her relatives.[56]

Within this scope, she produced varied pottery vessels to use at home, to barter for food, and to sell to outsiders.[57] Of the latter, Nampeyo began making her renowned Hopi Revival

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[51] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 39-40. Tom also traveled with a delegation to Washington D.C. to preserve the Hopilands of which the Diné people were appropriating.
[52] Ibid., 18-21.
[53] William Henry Jackson, *Time Exposure: The Autobiography of William Henry Jackson* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 240; Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 8. Nampeyo's Tewa name is Nung-beh-yong, meaning sand snake, and its spelling varies widely in the captions of the historical photographs of her. The photograph was taken during the 1875 United States Geological Survey of the Territories.
[54] See Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past*. This practice was continued by the Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey company to personify the "Southwest" to travelers according to recognizable characteristics. Moqui, or Moki, is a Spanish misnomer for Hopi that the United States government used to name the reservation.
[55] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 4.
[56] Yohe and Greeves, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, 86, 88; Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 14-15.
[57] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 19.

pottery during the 1880s, which was referred to as Hano Polychrome by the 1950s (Fig. 8).[58] In a practice spanning nearly 60 years, Nampeyo incorporated designs from ancestral pottery into her vocabulary of Southwest Native motifs. These visual forms came from vessels at Sikyatki, the ancestral village near Hano that was abandoned in the sixteenth century.[59] This pottery featured figurative, bird, and plant designs painted in red slip and black bee-weed on clay fired to a gold-orange hue. Very similar in aesthetic and process, Nampeyo's Hopi Revival pottery included dance personage imagery that was popular with tourists and suggestive of the renewal of rain in the arid desert.[60] Recorded in photographs of the period, she collaborated with her daughters, like Annie Healing (Hopi-Tewa, ca. 1884-1968), who painted her own adaptations of Sikyatki designs on these vessels. According to Nampeyo's great-great granddaughter, Rachel Sahmie (Hopi-Tewa, b. 1956), who continues the Hopi Revival pottery legacy, the Hano potters made their own judgments in adopting Sikyatki designs, as the ancestral purposes for the motifs were unknown.[61]

The success of Nampeyo's Hopi Revival wares both fueled an increase in women potters in the 1880s and 1890s at the Hopi mesas and facilitated her entry into the Fred Harvey company-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex.[62] By 1901, the Fred Harvey company purchased Nampeyo's wares for their new Indian Department in Albuquerque, in anticipation of opening The Alvarado hotel and its Indian and Mexican Building at the city's Santa Fe Railway stop.[63] Upon its opening in 1902, The Alvarado showcased Native women's arts of the

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[58] Ibid., 143, 160.
[59] "Nampeyo Showcase," Arizona State Museum, accessed December 14, 2020, https://statemuseum.arizona.edu/online-exhibit/nampeyo-showcase.
[60] The term, dance personage, references the arrangements of motifs that Nampeyo and other potters incorporated into their designs that visually recall an array of participants in Hopi social and ceremonial dances.
[61] "The Road to Indian Market 2010: The Nampeyo Legacy with the Sahmie Sisters of Hopi," YouTube, August 25, 2010, accessed December 14, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S9MfjTtnKjM.
[62] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 34.
[63] Martin Sullivan and Diana Pardue, "Introducing America to Americans," *Native Peoples* (Fall/Winter 1995): 63.

Southwest, such as pottery, basketry, and weaving. Promoted in publications and events, these art forms embodied the forefront of the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex.

As such, the Harvey company marketed Nampeyo's pottery through publications for Santa Fe Railway travelers, like *Indians of the Southwest* (1903), by George A. Dorsey, curator of anthropology at the Field Columbian Museum.[64] Nampeyo's likeness was featured three times, and Dorsey devoted five of thirteen chapters to Hopi culture to persuade tourists to visit First Mesa. Nampeyo's likeness appears in an Edward S. Curtis image while painting a Hopi Revival vessel, in Adam Clark Vroman's image while seated and surrounded by Hopi Revival vessels, and in a drawing modeled after Jackson's photograph of her seated in a doorway (Figs. 4, 5, 7). These enlivened portraits, amongst many more images in this volume, starkly contrast Dorsey's overall denigrating prose of the future of Native peoples and, instead, convey Native peoples as pursuing life-sustaining practices.

In the same year Dorsey's text was published, Nampeyo forged a friendship with painter E.I. Couse (American, 1866-1936) who purchased her pottery while making paintings at Hopi during an extended stay.[65] These studies became renowned narrative scenes—one of many painted by the Taos Society of Artists (1915-1927) of which Couse was a founding member[66]—that the Santa Fe Railway reproduced in promotional calendars.[67] During this time, Nampeyo

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[64] George Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest* (Chicago: Passenger Department, Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railiway System, 1903).
[65] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 83. Couse purchased Nampeyo's pottery during a six-week stay with his family at the Hopi mesas with his family.
[66] "About the Taos Society of Artists," Couse-Sharp Historic Site, accessed December 15, 2020, http://couse-sharp.org/about-taos-society-of-artists. As quoted from the website, "By 1915, six professional artists from the East had made Taos a focus of their work. In that year they formed the Taos Society of Artists, sending circuit exhibitions of their paintings across the country and exposing audiences to new cultures, new visions, and a new landscape….The Society lasted until 1927, by which time there were 12 active members which included: Bert Phillips, Ernest Blumenschein, Irving Couse, Henry Sharp, Oscar Berninghaus, Herbert Dunton, Julius Rolshoven, Walter Ufer, Victor Higgins, Martin Hennings, Kenneth Adams, and Catharine Critcher."
[67] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 82-83; Virginia Couse Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2019), 203. Leavitt, Couse's

persisted in her success in her pottery business, and by 1904, one of her Hopi Revival bowls appeared akin to a company logo in some of Harvey's mass-produced publications.[68]

Upon the opening of The Alvarado in 1902, Elle of Ganado, a Diné weaver named Asdzaa Lichii'/Red Woman (ca.1853-1924), began prominently anchoring the Indian and Mexican Building, thus garnering the Harvey company its widespread success (Figs. 9-13).[69] From around 1903 to around 1923, she participated in on-site demonstrations, photography sessions, expositions, and world's fairs (Figs. 12-13).[70] Promoted heavily as the "best blanket weaver among the Navajos," the Harvey company circulated Elle's image in its brochures, illustrative playing cards, and postcards (Fig. 11).[71] Many of these photo-portraits visually convey her relationships with both weaving and The Alvarado hotel. While Elle did not have children of her own, a number of these images communicated ideas of family and renewal through group portraits that included Diné women, men, and children. For instance, many images of Elle featured her posed at the hotel's front façade and surrounded by a group of Native people, including her husband and co-worker, Tom.[72] Through her arts and exhibition practices,

granddaughter quotes Couse as saying, "To see the Indian when he is of real value, pictorially, means to journey a hundred miles across the desert, as I did, to reach Walpi, Arizona…"

[68] Ibid., 108-09. These included one catalogue for the Indian and Mexican Building at The Alvarado and one that advertised Christmas gifts. The Fred Harvey company's lead designer, Mary Colter, purchased Nampeyo's bowl with the design used. The Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff also used one of Nampeyo's Hopi Revival designs as inspiration for its logo upon its opening in 1928.

[69] Kathleen Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," *New Mexico Historical Review* 74, no. 2 (1999): 127-153; Laura Jane Moore, "Elle Meets the President: Weaving Navajo Culture and Commerce in the Southwest Tourist Industry," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 22, no. 1 (2001): 22.

[70] Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, 168; Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, with a foreword by Martin Sullivan, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art* (Flagstaff and Phoenix: Northland Publishing and the Heard Museum, 1996), 58.

[71] Peter Hiller, Ann Lane Hedlund, and Ramona Sakiestewa (Hopi), *Native Weavers of the American Southwest* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2018), 35; Pardue and Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," 169.

[72] Tom of Ganado was multilingual and interacted with visitors in the Indian and Mexican Building's retail showroom.

Elle, with Tom's support, enacted international diplomacy that was succeeded in the work of Native women artists of the following generations.

In so doing, Elle made commissioned artworks visible on the world stage. Through her association with the Harvey company, she wove a blanket for Albuquerque's Commercial Club to commemorate President Theodore Roosevelt's honorary membership in 1903.[73] This opportunity allowed her to meet the president at The Alvarado during his visit to receive this gift.[74] With a large diamond in red and two white stars at its center, the blanket featured a blue background with white diamond forms holding space at all four corners. As an emblem of patriotism, the blanket negotiated a space for Elle of Ganado to present her Indigenous art practice to public audiences in high value terms, as deemed by the President of the United States. Moreover, Elle's blend of text and geometric shapes reflected a turn to the pictorial in Diné weaving, that had emerged in the 1880s from new interactions with reservation traders who supplied materials and sold Native artworks to institutions, like the Fred Harvey company.[75]

Demonstrating her weaving practice as a pattern of renewal, a photograph of Elle and Tom next to the president's blanket was circulated widely in commemoration of the occasion, and newspapers in Albuquerque, St. Louis, Denver, and Chicago reported on the event.[76] A decade later, Elle completed another commissioned blanket—this time for President William Howard Taft.[77] As such, by the 1910s, she had garnered international renown through many photographs in news stories and postcards. In this imagery, Elle would pose with recent weavings, be shown working in front of an upright loom, or be in a seated position while

[73] Pardue and Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," 168-169.
[74] Moore, "Elle Meets the President," 21.
[75] Ibid., 26-27.
[76] Pardue and Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," 169.
[77] Ibid., 169.

carding, or cleaning and processing, wool. She also appeared in a cameo in *The Tourists* (1912)—a film with scenes that took place at The Alvarado and the adjacent Santa Fe Railway stop that showed Native women selling their artworks. In the film, Elle carded wool adjacent to a young girl weaving at a loom—a pairing reminiscent of postcards of the period that suggest intergenerational legacy.[78] Over the years, Elle posed in photographs with celebrities at the hotel's façade that influenced its fame, like a group portrait with actress Mary Pickford that graced the cover of *The Santa Fe Magazine* in 1917 (Fig. 12).[79]

Through Elle of Ganado and Nampeyo's leadership, the Harvey company's southwest ventures found much success and popularity with travelers. In 1905, the company hired both women to sell and demonstrate their arts during the opening of Hopi House, Harvey's Native arts museum and showroom at the Grand Canyon, near El Tovar, the new Harvey hotel.[80] Then, in 1910, Nampeyo and Elle traveled to Chicago to participate in a land and cattle show on behalf of the Harvey company and the Santa Fe Railway.[81] There, Nampeyo and Elle provided art demonstrations amidst a facsimile of "southwestern" architecture.[82] These exhibitions created new and contemporary contexts between the artists, their works, and the territorial governance's pursuit of New Mexico and Arizona statehood—a status that would be officiated in 1912.

In the new context of the Southwest as part of the American union, Native women promoted their arts in two expositions within the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex in 1915. Promoting American nationalism during World War I, these displays reached

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[78] "The Tourists," IMDb, accessed July 25, 2021, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0002533/. See Mack Sennett, dir., *The Tourists* (New York City: Biograph Company, 1912).
[79] Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 66; Pardue and Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," 169.
[80] See Weigle and Babcock, *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*.
[81] Pardue and Howard, "Making Art, Making Money: The Fred Harvey Company and the Indian Artisan," 170-71.
[82] Ibid.

millions of visitors, and they commemorated the opening of the Panama Canal.[83] Elle performed weaving demonstrations at "The Grand Cañon of Arizona," a five-acre exhibit at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco (Fig. 13).[84] In a prominent position within the display, she worked adjacent to a sign celebrating her accomplishments of weaving blankets for Presidents Taft and Roosevelt.[85] A photograph reveals that she was weaving an eyedazzler, or serrated diamond, textile—a blanket and rug design carried on by many Diné weavers today (Fig. 14).[86]

The same year, Nampeyo, as well as Maria and Julian Martinez (Fig. 15, 18, 22-24), a Tewa couple of San Ildefonso Pueblo, demonstrated their pottery in the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibit at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego (Fig. 16).[87] These displays were overseen by Edgar Lee Hewett, founding director of the School of American Archaeology, and its affiliate, the Museum of New Mexico, in Santa Fe.[88] The demonstrations took place within an adobe village modelled after both the mission church at Acoma Pueblo and the multistory dwellings at Taos Pueblo.[89] Hewett applied the architectural style used in the exposition to his founding and refacing of the Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe in 1917.[90]

Julian, who painted Maria's pottery vessels, contributed his efforts to the architectural construction.[91] In his drawings that were both an art form in and of themselves and studies for

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[83] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visons of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 209.
[84] Howard, "Weaving a Legend: Elle of Ganado Promotes the Indian Southwest," 134; Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 72.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid., 147.
[87] Spivey, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez,* 167.
[88] El Palacio, "Museum and School Share in San Diego's Triumph," *El Palacio* 2, no. 2 (November 1914): 2. For a history of Hewett's influence in the visual culture of Santa Fe and an analysis of the 1915 expositions, see Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997).
[89] Ibid.; Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 41.
[90] See Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition*.
[91] Ibid.; Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 41.

pottery design, he portrayed semi-realist and abstract imagery on paper, always with a balance in pattern, color, symmetry, and overall visual weight.[92] As such, a Santa Fe Railway promotional photograph of Maria holding a polychrome olla, or water jar painted with multiple colors, conveys both her and Julian's collaboration and the emergence of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex (Fig. 17).[93] Still made by Native women and their families today, Pueblo ollas served as a visual indicator for the "Southwest" through their wide promotion in Harvey-Santa Fe Railway images and publications. In another olla made by the Martinezes during this period, an upper band with terrace, or stepped, designs suggests both Tewa creation and the people's invocation of sustaining rainfall.[94] As repeating pairs of motifs, these designs recall the dual moiety system at San Ildefonso Pueblo and other Tewa villages in New Mexico.[95] Thus, while being promoted commercially, the Martinezes' ollas simultaneously showcased symbols of Indigenous worldviews and social organizations.

During the late 1910s, Maria and Julian became well-known within the Santa Fe circuit, through their collaborations with Hewett and their pottery demonstrations for the Museum of New Mexico, located at the Palace of the Governors.[96] This was especially important to the Santa Fe colony artists, many of whom had taken up partial residences, in areas like Canyon Road, to paint and promote Native lifeways, like the Pueblo ritual dances, for east coast exhibitions.[97] To this end, the Martinezes were lauded as exceptional artists, especially by the School of American

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[92] For images of Julian Martinez's paintings, see McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918-1945*, 192-193.
[93] The image was made in 1905 and used by the Santa Fe Railway. See Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 74.
[94] Ibid. An image of the vessel mentioned above is on this page.
[95] For a discussion of Tewa moieties, see Aaron Fry (Cherokee/Chickasaw), "Local Knowledge & Art Historical Methodology: A New Perspective on Awa Tsireh & the San Ildefonso Painting Movement, *Hemisphere* 1 (Spring 2008): 46-61.
[96] See Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*.
[97] See Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*; "The History of Canyon Road," Canyon Road Arts, accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.canyonroadarts.com/the-history-of-canyon-road/.

Archaeology and Museum of New Mexico's publication, *El Palacio*, through Hewett's support. Both the Anglo arts patrons and Native artists, like the Martinezes, needed this kind of campaign to withstand the loss of many of their friends and families to two major illnesses—tuberculosis and the 1918-19 flu epidemic. As such, collaborations through art and museum practices became a field of shared interest to survive during a highly unstable period. Moreover, the Santa Fe art colony, the Taos Society of Artists, and Hewett, as champions of the area's cultural heritage, projected both the past and the future of American art in Native American arts production.

To this end, in 1914, an *El Palacio* column stated, "Among other things, the startling and welcome statement occurs that "Navaho blanket-weaving is not 'a lost art;' nor are the weavers a vanishing race…as good blankets are being woven today by the Navahos as were ever fashioned in their history…"[98] Then, in 1917, "San Ildefonso pottery makers under the influence of the Museum [of New Mexico] staff, are now successfully reviving the ancient symbolic ornamentation…that give the old Ildefonso ware distinction and distinctiveness."[99] And in 1918, "Maria [Martinez] is without a doubt the foremost living Indian artist and her husband, Julian, has few if any equals as a pottery decorator."[100] The next year, the journal published a full-page image of Maria with the caption, "the Most Talented Among the Tewa Pottery Makers Whose Productions are Truly Works of Art…" (Fig 19).[101]

These efforts culminated and were documented in print by 1920. That year, *El Palacio* announced, "Mr. Hartley pays an unqualified tribute to the red man as the one true esthete of our country," in reference to the American painter Marsden Hartley's article in *Current Opinion*, a

[98] El Palacio, "Indian Blankets," *El Palacio* 2, no. 2 (November 1914): 3.
[99] El Palacio, "Museum Notes," *El Palacio* 4, no. 1 (January 1917): 101.
[100] El Palacio, "Crescencio Martinez—Artist," *El Palacio* 5, no. 5 (August 3, 1918): 67.
[101] El Palacio, "Poh-We-Ka (Little Blue Corn Flower)," *El Palacio* 6, no. 7 (March 22, 1919): 98.

national periodical.[102] Moreover, the journal announced the museum's collection of 17 of the Martinezes' "most artistic" vessels on view at the new art galleries building.[103] Thus, Native women's arts were now shown in art venues in northern New Mexico's exhibitionary complex, under the auspices of American art.

The 1920s-1930s

The Martinezes' pottery exhibited in the Museum of New Mexico's art galleries included works in their new, "two blacks" style, or matte black designs on a shiny black surface (Figs. 20-22).[104] These vessels expanded upon their knowledge, gleaned from their feminine forebears, of the local clays and slips and the continued changes in the area due to increased travel. Building upon the blackware vessels made at several Pueblos, Maria used thinner walls and burnished these surfaces to a high-gloss shine. As such, their function was to be looked at and held, not to store food or water. Creating a new design repertoire for the "two blacks" vessels, Julian, also a janitor for the Museum of New Mexico, adapted patterns from motifs seen in the institution's ancestral Mimbres pottery collection, and he colored sketches of these designs on paper.[105] He

[102] El Palacio, "America's Supreme Artist," *El Palacio* 8, nos. 3-4 (March-April 1920): 86-87. *El Palacio* reprinted commentary from the American news journal, *Current Opinion*, entitled "An American Plea for American Esthetics," by modernist painter Marsden Hartley. *El Palacio* reports, "Mr. Hartley pays an unqualified tribute to the red man as the one true esthete of our country." The article quotes Hartley at length. Some of his words include, "it is an imperative…for everyone loving the name America to cherish him while he remains among us as the only esthetic representative of our great country up until the present hour…As Americans, we should accept the one American genius we possess, with genuine alacrity…The red man is poet and artist of the very first order among the geniuses of time. We have nothing more native at our disposal than the beautiful creations of his people."
[103] El Palacio, "Fine Exhibit of Pottery," *El Palacio* VIII, nos. 7-8 (July 1920): 217.
[104] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 42-43.
[105] Bruce Bernstein, "The Marketing of Culture: Pottery and Santa Fe's Indian Market" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1993), 106-07. Dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Mimbres wares typically feature a pair of figurative, plant, or feathered designs in a mirrored position at a vessel's interior center. These designs were usually painted in brown or black on a white background and were framed by an abstract band of patterns that extend around the full circumference of a vessel's upper edge.

also drew ideas from rock art seen during his time as an excavation laborer working for Hewett.[106]

In their "two blacks" wares, Maria and Julian opened new pathways for pottery to be categorized as art, and they showed how paintings on paper, a new medium for Native peoples in the region, could be incorporated as studies. Creating a parallel with Nampeyo's work, they drew upon ancestral knowledge to create pottery for a particular time. In a close look at a large, "two blacks" jar made circa 1940, a central band of abstract motifs evokes birds, migration, and Pueblo life, all relative to water as sustenance.[107] Passed between generations, these designs persist in the pottery of numerous Martinez descendants making "two blacks" vessels today.

In 1922, Maria and Julian won the Grand Prize for one of several "two blacks" wares exhibited alongside an array of Native arts, like paintings on paper as well as weavings silverwork, and basketry at the first annual Southwest Indian Fair and Arts and Crafts Exhibition in Santa Fe.[108] The inclusion of paintings on paper differentiated this exhibition from The Alvarado displays that strategically carried only ancestral media, like pottery and basketry, to further promote values of "American antiquity." In Santa Fe, Hewett had been supporting a group of Pueblo artists who painted scenes of Tewa dances in a flat-style, with figures formed by outline contours filled evenly with watercolor on plain paper without any sketching in the background.[109] While overlapping in subject, the style and medium differentiated the "Pueblo"

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[106] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 38-39.
[107] For an image of this vessel, see Yohe and Greeves, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, 90.
[108] El Palacio, "The Southwest Indian Fair," *El Palacio* 13, no. 8 (October 16, 1922): 93-97. For a history of this exposition, see Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, and in particular, chapters 6, 7, and 8. These events were Native North American arts expositions that were then-sponsored by the Museum of New Mexico, School for American Research, local philanthropists, and the federal government. Beyond the scope of this study, the fair underwent many changes over the decades, was renamed the Santa Fe Indian Market in 1962, and now facilitates direct sales between Native artists and scores of international collectors. It continues to sustain many Native families as a substantial part of their annual incomes.
[109] Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 83, 85, 104, 109. From 1920 to 1924, Hewett supplied paper and paint to artists from whom he commissioned drawings, like Tonita Peña/Quah Ah (San

paintings, often referred to as drawings, from the naturalistic paintings in oil on canvas by the Santa Fe art colony and the Taos Society of Artists. As such, these styles and media served to denote "Indian" and "Anglo" perspectives during this period. However, it is important to note that both sets of paintings functioned as successful visual protests against the 1921 Bursum Bill that sought to appropriate Native land and outlaw Native rituals.[110]

Thus, in its promotion of "Indian arts and crafts" as American culture, the Southwest Indian Fair was sponsored by the School of American Research (formerly the School of American Archaeology) and the Museum of New Mexico. In its exhibitions, Native artworks from throughout North America were organized by media and tribe as well as awarded monetary prizes by a mainly Anglo jury. In a photograph of the exhibition, numerous watercolor paintings are placed in between adjacent sections of basketry, beadwork, and displays of Diné weavings on both the walls and the ceiling space.[111] Suggesting an interdependency between the artworks, a concept with cultural relevancy to both Native and non-Native peoples albeit in different ways, the arrangement demonstrates to attendees that these art forms easily co-exist in interior spaces, like homes.[112]

Despite an immense amount of awareness garnered for these art forms, Native artists themselves did not represent their artworks unless it was in the demonstration areas. But amidst this paternalism, Native artists made important strides during these events. In so doing, many Native women's arts were entered into varied categories, representing an increase in Native arts

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Ildefonso/Cochiti Pueblos, 1893-1949), Alfonso Roybal/Awa Tsireh, (San Ildefonso Pueblo, 1898-1955), Fred Kabotie (Hopi, ca. 1900-1986), and Velino Shije Herrera/Ma Pe Wi (Hopi, 1902-1973).

[110] Ibid., 113, 120. This legislation proposed the federal government's forcible abolishment of Native rituals and a seizing of Pueblo lands that would be reassigned to Anglo "ownership."

[111] For a reproduction of this photograph, see Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 121.

[112] For a discussion of Native concepts of interdependency, see Gregory Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo), with a foreword by Leroy Little Bear (Blackfoot), J.D., *Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 2000).

made for sale in the 1920s. As such, the prize listings from the exposition's first few iterations reveal several important factors. For instance, Native women won awards for artworks in multiple media during particular fairs, like Julia Nepah, who garnered prizes for her Diné silver jewelry and weavings in 1922.[113] Moreover, some of the awards record Native women making art in media historically used by Native men, like silverwork, as with Nepah, as well as of pictorial imagery in watercolor on paper. While organized by medium, the award listings document the interdisciplinarity of Native women's arts within an intergenerational dialogue.

To this end, the fair's drawing and painting category was sub-divided by an adult designation and an Indian boarding and day school listing—the latter as a collective representation of students' works. In 1924, Tonita Peña/Quah Ah (San Ildefonso/Cochiti Pueblos, 1893-1949), Maria Martinez's first cousin, won an award in the adult division of the drawing and painting category.[114] Peña's paintings often depicted Pueblo leadership enacted by women in participating in Native dances, making pottery, and baking bread (Fig. 25). As the first female Pueblo painter to work professionally in the then-new media of paper and watercolor, Peña was one of three Native women who received prizes in this category, and, like Maria and Julian Martinez, she also made pottery.[115] One of many awards to come, Peña won this accolade alongside Alfonso Roybal/Awa Tsireh (San Ildefonso Pueblo, 1898-1955), one of her male contemporaries who also garnered a successful career.[116]

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[113] El Palacio, "The Southwest Indian Fair," 95.
[114] For several images of Peña's paintings, see W. Jackson Rushing III, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera* (Norman: Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art, University of Oklahoma, 2018).
[115] El Palacio, "The 1924 Santa Fe Fiesta," *El Palacio* 17, nos. 6-7 (September 30, 1924): 168; Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 113, 115. Brody states that Peña made pottery in the styles of both San Ildefonso and Cochiti Pueblos.
[116] El Palacio, "The 1924 Santa Fe Fiesta," 168; Tryntje Van Ness Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1988), 149.

As peers in drawing classes with Esther Hoyt at the San Ildefonso Day School, by 1920, Peña and Roybal were part of a group of Pueblo watercolorists whose works were collected by Hewett for the School of American Research.[117] Reflecting the interests of local supporters lobbying to protect the Pueblo lands, dances, and rituals, this zeitgeist for Pueblo watercolors was particularly demonstrated in the Museum of New Mexico's 1919 exhibition of works by Pueblo men that resulted in the purchase of their paintings by philanthropist Mabel Dodge Luhan (American, 1879-1962) of Taos.[118] Moreover, Hewett both sold and re-sold some paintings to private collectors and also "helped stock Elizabeth White's New York Indian art gallery for its opening in 1922."[119] White, a New York collector who took up partial residence in Santa Fe the next year, organized exhibitions for Native American arts between 1922 and 1931.[120] These locales included New York City and Brooklyn, New York; Seville, Spain; and Paris, France.[121] Through the international currents of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, Pueblo painters, like Peña, increased their artworks' reach.

While advancing her career as a painter, Peña, as a Pueblo woman, navigated professional limitations that her male contemporaries did not experience. For instance, Hewett provided studio space to the group's male artists at the Palace of the Governors, the museum's

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[117] Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 110; McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918-1945*, 23, 83, 85, 120.
[118] Ibid., 83, 113, 120.
[119] Ibid., 110; David W. Penney and Lisa Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists: Encounters on the Borderlands," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 32-33; "History of SAR," School for Advanced Research, accessed December 10, 2020, https://sarweb.org/about/history-of-sar/. Amelia Elizabeth White and her sister, Martha Root White, also owned a property in Santa Fe and split their time between there and New York. Known as "El Delirio," this has been the current campus of the School for Advanced Research since 1972. To note, the School for American Archaeology changed its name to School of American Research in 1917. In 2007, the institution renamed itself again as the School for Advanced Research. For a full history of the institution, see Nancy Owen Lewis and Kay Leigh Hagan, *A Peculiar Alchemy: A Centennial History of SAR 1907-2007* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2007).
[120] Penney and Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists: Encounters on the Borderlands," 32-33.
[121] Ibid. See this essay for a detailed listing of these exhibitions.

ethnology division, but made no offer of this convenience to Peña, who repeatedly inquired.[122] Despite this exclusion, Peña led a successful career as a mother working from her home at Cochiti Pueblo, where she sold paintings to Hewett through written correspondence.[123] In negotiating her social position at Cochiti Pueblo, she hired community members as models for her paintings—a contingency put forth by the village governor's sanction of her occupation as an artist.[124] In a mentorship role, Peña inspired the people of Cochiti Pueblo to purchase her paintings, and, in some cases, take up painting themselves.[125]

In the mid-1920s, northern New Mexico underwent substantial changes that contributed significantly to its exhibitionary complex. While Native American peoples were given American citizenship status in 1924, and some earlier via military service or land grants, they could not vote in New Mexico until 1948.[126] During this time, the Harvey company and the Santa Fe Railway, after success with The Alvarado hotel, expanded their presence with both their La Fonda hotel in Santa Fe and their "Indian Detours" of the Southwest region in 1926.[127] These ventures facilitated new avenues for Native artists to offer demonstrations as well as exhibit and

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[122] Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 110, 118; Marilee Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña (Quah Ah), Pueblo Painter: Asserting Identity Through Continuity and Change," *American Indian Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (Summer 1994): 369-382. Jantzer-White notes this condition in endnote 14. She cites her source as Peña's letter to Hewett on September 19, 1921. This correspondence is included in the Hewett Papers at the Library of the Museum of New Mexico.

[123] Jantzer-White, "Tonita Peña (Quah Ah), Pueblo Painter: Asserting Identity Through Continuity and Change," 369-382.

[124] Ibid.; Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 118.

[125] Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 118.

[126] Russell Contreras, "AP Explains: Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo Remains Hot Topic," *Associated Press*, July 20, 2018, accessed December 15, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/3857dbac00a4401194c44ce2050c577d; Andrew Oxford, "It's Been 70 Years Since Court Ruled Native Americans Could Vote in New Mexico," *Santa Fe New* Mexican, August 2, 2018, accessed December 15, 2020, https://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/it-s-been-70-years-since-court-ruled-native-americans-could-vote-in-new-mexico/article_d0544a48-ef37-56ef-958f-eb81dcf01344.html; Steven L. Pevar, with an introduction by John Echohawk (Pawnee), *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 10.

[127] Marta Weigle, "'Insisted on authenticity': Harveycar Indian Detours, 1925-1931," in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railway*, eds. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1996), 47.

sell their artworks. Of the former, Peña sold her watercolor paintings to Colter, still a lead designer for Harvey, who installed them in La Fonda's hotel rooms, where guests experienced close, private viewings of these artworks.[128] Of the latter, scholar Tessie Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo) writes of the late 1920s moment, "…Santa Clara Pueblo women became wage-earners since they were the primary makers and sellers of pottery. In many cases, women were the sole supporters of households…"[129] Thus, through the influence of Nampeyo and the Martinezes, Native women and their families now sold pottery in both customary and new forms to visiting tourists.[130] By 1930, the Indian Detours also still promoted the Hopi Snake Dance.[131] This marked more than four decades of place-based interactions between Southwest Native peoples and the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex.

In the years leading up to the war, Peña continued to accomplish new strides in her career as an important contributor in establishing the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. In 1932, her paintings were exhibited in the U.S. Pavilion at the Venice Biennale. They showed in galleries featuring watercolors by her Pueblo male contemporaries, pottery by Maria and Julian Martinez and Southwest Native artists, as well as Diné weavings and Southwest Native silverwork.[132] As documented in a period photograph, Diné textiles had been installed high on the walls near Peña's watercolors and a case of pottery.[133] The arrangement recalls that of the 1922 Southwest Indian Fair, with Native women's arts anchoring the exhibition spaces.[134] In surrounding galleries in the pavilion, "Indian Picture" paintings by the Taos Society of Artists

[128] Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 146.
[129] Naranjo, "Cultural Changes: The Effect of Foreign Systems at Santa Clara Pueblo," 194.
[130] Ibid.; Weigle, "'Insisted on authenticity': Harveycar Indian Detours, 1925-1931," 51-53.
[131] Ibid., 55.
[132] Jessica L. Horton, "A Cloudburst in Venice: Fred Kabotie and the U.S. Pavilion of 1932," *American Art* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 56-57, 76. See endnote 7.
[133] Ibid., 57.
[134] A reproduction of this image is published in Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 121.

and those of the Santa Fe colony were also exhibited.[135] As such, the exhibition spaces evoked the longstanding relationships between Southwestern artists and the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex, while differentiating between Native and non-Native spaces.

The reach of Peña's work in the 1932 Venice Biennale, on view concurrent with the tour of *The Exposition of Tribal Arts* (1931-33) in the United States, continued to expand her renown to larger audiences.[136] In 1932, both the Whitney Museum of American Art and the Saint Louis Art Museum bought Peña's paintings.[137] The following year, a solo exhibition of Peña's paintings toured the United States in showings organized by John Sloan and Amelia Elizabeth White—both of whom directed *The Exposition of Tribal Arts*.[138] Over the course of two years, Peña's watercolors were seen by audiences in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, and New York.[139] Moreover, Peña's exhibition flyer is reminiscent of Maria Martinez's publicity in *El Palacio*. A photo-portrait of her shows her looking out at viewers.[140] In this image, she wears Diné jewelry and a striped blanket as visual indicators of her Native identity.

At this point in her career, Peña fused her leadership in mentorship and education, interdisciplinary practices, place-specific interactions, and national and international dialogues of Native arts. As such, in the early to mid-1930s, she made large oil paintings on canvas as a

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[135] Ibid., 54, 57. "Indian Pictures" reference a genre of paintings that focused on scenes of Native lifeways.
[136] Janet Catherine Berlo, "The Art of Indigenous Americans and American Art History: A Century of Exhibitions," *Perspective* 2 (2015): 2; Rushing, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera*, 8. In 1931, *The Exposition of Tribal Arts*, organized by John Sloan and Amelia Elizabeth White, provided immense exposure for Southwest Native artists, particularly for Pueblo and Hopi watercolorists. In 1932, the exposition traveled to 15 cities in the United States. See W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995) for an account of evolving modernisms during the early twentieth century that emerged from the relationships between New York artists, with connections to Santa Fe, and Southwestern Native artists.
[137] "Horton, "A Cloudburst in Venice: Fred Kabotie and the U.S. Pavilion of 1932," 75; Jessica L. Horton and Janet Catherine Berlo, "Pueblo Painting in 1932: Folding Narratives of Native Art into American Art History," in *A Companion to American Art*, eds. John Davis, Jennifer A. Greenhill, and Jason D. LaFountain (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 270.
[138] Rushing, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera*, 8.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., 9. The exhibition poster is reproduced on this page.

visiting artist at The Studio at the Santa Fe Indian School, as one of several Native contributors creating works for a mural project.[141] This took place during the New Deal and Indian New Deal era, where non-Native and Native artists were hired to complete public artworks. As such, programs, like those of The Studio, emerged out of the reforms promoted by John Collier (American, 1884-1968), Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Further, Collier led the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), that repealed land allotment and created new tribal government that would be led by Native men—another monumental change in Native societies.[142] Thus, the act imposed both power structures and dramatic alterations in gender dynamics for tribes, especially the matrilineal nations. Another imposition was Collier's advocacy for the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, a government agency established in 1935 that regulated Native arts production through preservation and promotion, as well as commercialization.[143] The Studio enacted these values of formalizing both the production and sale of Native-made arts according to Anglo systems.

From 1932 to 1962, The Studio classes facilitated training to Native North American students in flat-style painting, the style Hewett had championed, and it became a hub for Native arts education within the federal boarding school system. Dorothy Dunn (American, 1903-1992), who founded and led the program until 1937, drew upon paintings by Peña and her contemporaries, as well as Southwest Native pottery and textile designs, as guides for the flat-style works on paper.[144] She also organized national and international exhibitions, to such places

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[141] Ibid., 10.
[142] Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 8, 10-11. The Indian Reorganization Act ceased the General Allotment Act of 1887, which broke up collectively-held Native lands into specified parcels for individual stewardship. Surplus lands were then sold for white settlement. However, this did not impact the Pueblo, as they had undergone land grant assignments from the Spanish that were carried over into Mexican, and then American rule, by way of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
[143] Anya Montiel (Tohono O'odham descent), "Intertwined Intermediaries: Fundamental Issues in Twentieth-Century Native American Art" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2018), 57, 104.
[144] Bruce Bernstein, "Art for the Sake of Life," in *Modern By Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*, eds. Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 21; Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 182.

as Denver, San Francisco, and Paris, for the students' paintings made at The Studio.[145] Within this educational arm of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, the program fostered mentorships—particularly one between Peña and student-artist, Pablita Velarde/Tse Tsan (Santa Clara Pueblo, 1918-2006).[146]

A prolific artist, Velarde, a painter of the generation after Peña, broadened the area's Native, feminine legacies. While taking classes with Dunn at The Studio, she learned how to create flat-style paintings on paper both in watercolor and in hand-ground minerals, or earth colors (Figs. 26-27).[147] Her abstract paintings in earth pigments evoked the lustrous energy of the natural world, through symbol and iridescence, where her figurative paintings in tempera and casein often recalled Pueblo women's lifeways and the people's relations to each other.[148] From the late 1930s through the 1990s, she worked in an interdisciplinary practice that was specific to northern New Mexico, in both opportunity and medium. According to Velarde,

> I ground the different earth colors with the *mano* and *metate* like the ancient Indians had once ground corn for tortillas. After I left school, I continued to develop my unique earth-painting technique. It helped me find recognition in the world of art. I still paint with several mediums…I dig the dirt in secret places…I feel at peace with my soul when I am working with the Earth.[149]

Like Peña and other Pueblo painters, Velarde also featured imagery of textiles and pottery in her narrative scenes that emphasized Native women's experiences in both interior and exterior spaces. In the years following The Studio's traveling exhibitions, Velarde painted a mural at

[145] Bernstein, "Art for the Sake of Life," 12.
[146] Rushing, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera*, 16-17.
[147] Marcella J. Ruch, with an introduction by Joyce M. Szabo, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Magazine, 2001), 44.
[148] For many reproductions of Velarde's paintings, see Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*.
[149] Ibid., 44.

Bandelier National Monument in northern New Mexico, recalling Elle of Ganado and Nampeyo's work in the Harvey-Santa Fe Railway exhibitionary complex at the Grand Canyon.[150]

In 1937, The Studio became an Indigenous-led program, when Geronima Cruz Montoya (Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo, 1915-2015) began directing its classes upon Dunn's resignation and recommendation of Montoya, as her assistant, for the position.[151] Montoya held this role for twenty-five years, and she sought to guide The Studio students in their painting practices so their concepts emerged from their own inspirations.[152] In her words, "The main thing was to encourage the Indian students to carry on their traditions…To know what is the beauty in the Indian world and to bring it out in painting."[153]

An alumna of The Studio and also a potter, Montoya used earth pigments and casein paint in her paintings, like Velarde. She reserved the mineral earth tones for animal scenes and the bright casein for home scenes.[154] Often employing gestural designs, her narratives of Pueblo life included moments of women washing wheat or picking chile, as well as collaborative activities between women and men, like braiding corn.[155] In becoming a mentor for The Studio's students, Montoya put other artists first.[156] For instance, around 1940, she turned down an invitation to paint a mural at Maisel's trading post in Albuquerque with a group of Studio-affiliated artists and Alfonso Roybal, one of the program's painting heroes and a contemporary

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[150] Ibid., 73; Rushing, *Generations in Modern Pueblo Painting: The Art of Tonita Peña and Joe Herrera*, 17. This project was funded by the Civilian Conservation Corps.
[151] W. Jackson Rushing, "Modern by Tradition," in *Modern By Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*, eds. Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 21; Brody, *Tradition and Modernism in New Mexico, 1900-1930*, 44-45; Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 160.
[152] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 160. Also see Jeanne Shutes and Jill Mellick, *The Worlds of Pó-tsúnú: Geronima Cruz Montoya of San Juan Pueblo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996).
[153] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 160.
[154] Ibid., 161.
[155] For images of Montoya's paintings focused on these narratives, see McGeough, *Through Their Eyes: Indian Painting in Santa Fe, 1918-1945*, 146-147.
[156] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 160-61.

of Peña.[157] Velarde and Pop Chalee/Merina Lujan (Taos Pueblo, 1906-1993) were among the mural contributors.[158]

By the late 1930s, Pop Chalee, an alumna of The Studio, kept her own studio space in Santa Fe and had garnered national recognition for her paintings.[159] She had grown up at Taos Pueblo and learned about painting during both her visits to the Taos Society of Artists' studios and her relation to painter Albert Looking Elk (Taos Pueblo, 1888-1940), her uncle.[160] Benefitting from the influence of her aunt, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Chalee had attended The Studio as both an adult student and alumna of the school with intentions of becoming an art instructor.[161] Like Montoya, she served as an assistant to Dunn, but, in a different turn of events, she abandoned her sights on teaching, per Dunn's advice, and took up an occupation as a full-time artist, like Peña and Velarde.[162] Pop Chalee's landscape paintings conveyed the vivacity of the ecology of the natural world, with radiating brushstrokes emphasizing plant life and evoking an immense energy in their glow (Fig. 28).[163] As printed in a *Los Angeles Times* article, by 1939, the Stanford University Museum of Fine Art had collected her work, and her paintings were shown in the Golden Gate Exposition of Art and the Southwest Museum during the same year.[164]

Moreover, Walt Disney had visited Pop Chalee's studio in Santa Fe, bought her work, and adapted one of her deer figures into the "Bambi" character of his films.[165] Lending

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[157] Ibid., 161.
[158] Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 319; Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*, 73.
[159] Los Angeles Times, "City Paid Visit by Indian Artist," *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1939, 6.
[160] Theresa Harlan (Kewa/Jemez Pueblos), "Foreword," in *The World of Flower Blue: Pop Chalee: An Artistic Biography*, ed. Margaret Cesa (Santa Fe: Red Crane Books, 1997), x; Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 165.
[161] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 166. Pop Chalee had attended the Santa Fe Indian School as a child.
[162] Ibid.
[163] For a reproduction of one such painting, see Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland, eds., *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1991), 36.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 166.

themselves to animation, Pop Chalee's paintings featured delicate brushwork in outdoor animal scenes inspired by Taos Pueblo stories told by her grandfather.[166] Then, in 1950, Chalee traveled with the *Annie Get Your Gun* film promotional tour.[167] However, by the 1970s, artists of The Studio were being criticized as "non-intellectual."[168] Of this response, Theresa Harlan writes:

> Pop Chalee took an initial curiosity and intuition of her artistic ability and cultivated herself to become one of the most eminent Native women artists of the twentieth century…Thinking Native is ultimately Native survival…Native survival is not solely that which we resist. It is also what we cultivate to live.[169]

Thus, Harlan's words and Pop Chalee's accomplishments shed light on the career of artist, Eva Mirabal/Eah-Ha-Wa (Taos Pueblo, 1920-1968). After attending The Studio program in the late 1930s, Mirabal put her art to work in the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in the 1940s. As adaptions of her flat-style paintings of Native peoples' experiences (Figs. 29-30), she developed illustrations for United States War Bonds advertisements and the *G.I. Gertie* cartoon strip.[170] Of the latter, these narratives offered comic relief from a Native woman's perspective during a time of transition and trauma for Native tribes—a constituency who contributed more service during World War II than any other American population.[171] Mirabal was also featured in *Mademoiselle* magazine in 1944.[172] Both Eva Mirabal and Pop Chalee were honored in dedicated exhibitions at The Harwood Museum of Art in Taos in 2013 and 2019, respectively.[173]

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[166] Ibid.
[167] Michele Powers Glaze, "Art Gallery: Pop Chalee," *Cowboys & Indians*, December 18, 2018, accessed August 26, 2021, https://www.cowboysindians.com/2018/12/art-gallery-pop-chalee/.
[168] Harlan, "Foreword," xi.
[169] Ibid., x, xii. Some of these statements were reprinted in Harlan's essay in Gully, *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists*. This text is the catalogue accompaniment to a namesake exhibition of which Harlan curated and included Pop Chalee's paintings.
[170] Pamela D. Bennett, "Sometimes Freedom Wears a Woman's Face: American Indian Women Veterans of World War II," (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2012), 99. The comic strip was printed in *The Air WAC*.
[171] Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, 21-22.
[172] Lois P. Rudnick with Johnathan Warm Day Coming (Taos Pueblo), *Eva Mirabal: Three Generations of Tradition and Modernity at Taos Pueblo* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2021), 69.
[173] "Eah-Ha-Wa (Eva Mirabal) and Jonathan Warm Day Coming," The Harwood Museum of Art, accessed December 12, 2020, https://harwoodmuseum.org/; "Pop Chalee: Blue Flower Rooted," The Harwood Museum of Art, accessed December 12, 2020, https://harwoodmuseum.org/.

The 1940s-1970s

Artists like Maria Martinez, Tonita Peña, Pablita Velarde, Geronima Cruz Montoya, Pop Chalee, and Eva Mirabal continued their professional work throughout the 1940s. However, the pre- and post-war periods each manifested a different ethos in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. The Southwest Indian Fair had seen many changes from a large-scale, annual exposition in 1922, to smaller events at the Pueblos and day schools in 1931, to Saturday markets in 1936, and to markets held in tandem with the Santa Fe Fiesta events in the 1940s and 1950s.[174] The latter two iterations saw a significant shift in structure where Native artists, like Maria and Julian Martinez, sold their artworks directly to collectors who visited the portal of the Palace of the Governors.[175] These place-based interactions, yielding both increased income as well as national and international reach, recall the experiences of Nampeyo, Elle of Ganado, and Pop Chalee, as mentioned above.

In an extension of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, Native arts, with an emphasis on the Southwest, filled the entire Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) building in New York City in the *Indian Arts of the United States* exhibition of 1941.[176] The exhibition's highlighting of Native arts throughout the country represented a transitional moment and last vestige in the nationalistic rhetoric that claimed Indigenous arts as both "prehistory" and "living traditions" in American culture.[177] Akin to the Indian Fairs in Santa Fe, it also promoted contemporary home décor in its "Indian Art for Modern Living" section and juxtaposed Pueblo

[174] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 85, 92.
[175] Ibid., 97-98.
[176] Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, 16; "Indian Art of the United States," Museum of Modern Art, accessed December 12, 2020, https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2998. Also, see W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995) for a fuller account of this landmark exhibition.
[177] These phrases are in quotes, because they are featured as section names in the exhibition.

pottery with Diné blankets, alongside flat-style paintings incorporated as large-scale wall hangings. These "modern" displays intersected with the now-international rhetoric heralded by a new school of European and American painters in New York in the mid-1940s, who drew upon Indigenous arts for inspiration.[178] Supplanting earlier generations of European and American artists who had ties to northern New Mexico, they sought an international, instead of national status, for their art that embodied both the "universal" and the "individual"—values also communicated by the MOMA exhibition.[179] These post-war values of modernism reshaped art exhibitions and Indian arts education. Further fueling the rhetoric of individualism, the United States government enacted assimilative termination policies that dissolved tribal relationships with the federal government, forcing Native people to relocate to metropolitan cities.[180]

By 1946, flat-style painting represented the pre-war "past" and was characterized as "traditional," by institutions like the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa, who held juried "Annuals" for Native paintings and sculptures that were collected by the museum.[181] A prolific artist, Pablita Velarde garnered awards for her "traditional" paintings in 1949 and 1953, with the latter being a "Grand Purchase Award," which no other woman had won prior.[182] To note, Velarde, like many other Native artists of the pre- and post-war periods, painted in both abstract and semi-realist modes with varying media. As such, her stylistic fluidity withstood the post-war ethos of "individualism" prescribed to "advance" Native peoples and their arts.[183] A leader in the field,

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[178] Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, 171.
[179] Ibid; Margaret Archuleta (Tewa) and Rennard Strickland, "The Way People Were Meant to Live: The Shared Visions of Twentieth Century Native American Painters and Sculptures," in *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1991), 9.
[180] Ibid., 25-28.
[181] Ibid., 142.
[182] Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*, 72.
[183] Joy L. Gritton, "The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies," in *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Margaret Archuleta and Rennard Strickland (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 1991), 26, 28.

she participated in the "Directions in Indian Art" conference (1959), a gathering of Native and non-Native arts educators that was funded by the Rockefeller Foundation.[184] There, she proposed the creation of a center for Indian artists' training, operated at a state or federal level.[185]

Following the conference, the foundation funded the Southwest Indian Art Project (1960 to 1962) at the University of Arizona, where Native and non-Native educators taught both multidisciplinary arts and world art history to Native students.[186] From here, the Institute for American Indian Arts (IAIA) opened in 1962 on the grounds of the Santa Fe Indian School and its Studio—both of which ceased operation.[187] Thus, a revised paradigm in Indian education took form in the blending of art forms with individual marketability—one in which Native women artists since the early tourism era had paved the way. As Lloyd Kiva New (Cherokee, 1916-2002), IAIA director, stated, "Indian art can be projected into the future by a willingness to consider the evolution of new forms, the adoption of new technological methods…"[188] Through mentorship and place-based interactions, the IAIA offered an incubator for Native students to contribute to both the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its international currents.

While Montoya, who succeeded Dunn as director of The Studio, was not invited to teach at IAIA, she, like Velarde, withstood the post-war and Vietnam eras.[189] Montoya transitioned from The Studio to teaching in an adult education program at her home village, Ohkay Owingeh—a pueblo in northern New Mexico.[190] This led to her co-founding of the O'ke

[184] Joy L. Gritton, with a foreword by Gregory Cajete, *The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 34-35.
[185] Ibid., 35.
[186] Ibid., 49. These summer programs also resulted in accompanying exhibitions.
[187] Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960*, 172-78.
[188] Ibid., 179.
[189] Seymour, *When the Rainbow Touches Down*, 161.
[190] Ibid.

Oweenge Crafts Cooperative in 1968.[191] Further, these years coincided with continued changes at the Southwest Indian Fair, which shifted into its final and still-extant form as the Santa Fe Indian Market. Reflecting post-war values of individualism, participating artists in the 1960s shifted from assigned spaces at the Palace of the Governors' portal to separate booths that surrounded the Palace Avenue plaza.[192] As such, Native artists' collectives, like that of the O'ke Oweenge Crafts Cooperative, tailored their artwork for both exhibition and sale in the market. Moreover, depending on media and style, Native artists affiliated with IAIA could showcase their works, if they met the market's limited policy of handmade technologies. Despite the post-war rhetoric, IAIA students still created handmade jewelry and flat-style paintings in their classes and studios.[193]

Begun as a boarding school with high school and postsecondary programs, IAIA's key instructors included Otellie Loloma (Hopi, 1921-1993), a clay artist who led the school's ceramics department, and her then-husband, Charles Loloma (Hopi, 1921-1991), an influential jeweler who later directed the school's plastic arts program.[194] Having served an instructor in the Southwest Indian Art Project, Otellie began working at IAIA upon its opening in 1962 and taught there until 1988.[195] Reflecting on this time, she stated:

> …there were very few women working in the arts at all…there were just a handful of us, and I was the only one teaching at the school…I think I was the first one to start using shells, corals, and turquoise on my pieces of clay. I was encouraged by the staff to go ahead and do my work, and that's what I did.[196]

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[191] Ibid.; Steve Terrell, "Ohkay Owingeh Artist Inspired Hundreds Through Teaching Programs," *The Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 3, 2015, accessed August 26, 2021, https://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/ohkay-owingeh-artist-inspired-hundreds-through-teaching-programs/article_6fc6fe39-090c-5bd0-94e9-8f5869c9aa66.html.
[192] Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 108, 110, 115.
[193] Gritton, "The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies," 26.
[194] Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*, 5.
[195] Anya Montiel, "The Indian Arts & Crafts Board: Otellie Loloma," National Museum of the American Indian Blog, accessed December 13, 2020. https://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2015/11/iacb-8-otellie-loloma.html.
[196] Ibid.

As a mentor, she demonstrated an interdisciplinary practice in her sculptural works that included combining wheel-thrown and hand-built ceramic techniques. This diverged from the coil-and-scrape methods used at Hopi, but her work incorporated visual interpretations of the tribe's motifs. She also created figurative sculptures in bronze that allowed her to reflect on Hopi ways of life through an art form and medium not typically utilized by Southwest Native women.[197]

Some of IAIA's first students were Karita Coffey (Comanche, b. 1947) and Linda Lomahaftewa (Hopi/Choctaw, b. 1947). Coffey, a ceramicist who attended during high school, went on to earn a bachelor of fine arts and master's degree in education at the University of Oklahoma.[198] Named *Tsat-Tah Mo-oh Kahn*, or Good-Handed, Coffey's work in the early 1980s utilized clay in figural form, such as sculptures of faces that evoke the personified essence of the earth, and thus, the clay.[199] She taught at IAIA from 1990 to 2015.[200] Coffey recalls:

> Exciting things were happening in contemporary Indian art…The civil rights movement was happening and Indians were part of it…organizations like the National Indian Youth Council came into being. AIM [American Indian Movement] was founded six years later…There was a real climate for self expression…It was *all* Indian! But no one started to make a living from their art until the early '70s. With the men there was Viet Nam.[201]

As such, the school was a precursor to two political reforms: the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo people in 1970 and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975.[202] Moreover, during its early years, IAIA hosted many State Department visitors and

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[197] Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*, 5.
[198] Ibid., 6.
[199] See the image plates in Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*; Chee Brossy, "Karita Coffey Retires after 25 Years," *The Comanche Nation News* 6, no. 11 (October 2015): 1, accessed December 13, 2020, https://issuu.com/comanchenation/docs/october_2015_tcnn.
[200] Brossy, "Karita Coffey Retires after 25 Years," 1.
[201] Ibid., 6.
[202] Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes*, 13; "Taos Blue Lake," Sacred Land Film Project, accessed December 15, 2020, https://sacredland.org/taos-blue-lake-united-states/.

traveled exhibitions of students' artworks to international locales such as Edinburgh, Berlin, and Mexico City.[203] Many students also contributed to the institute's campus exhibitions.

Lomahaftewa, a painter, printmaker, and mixed media artist, earned her high school degree at IAIA after attending the Phoenix Indian School.[204] Lomahaftewa recalls being trained in commercial arts at IAIA, and, through her own volition, taking up painting during her senior year there.[205] She also recollects the instruction being rooted in students' inspirations from their Native heritage to generate artworks in media and styles of their own choosing.[206] Lomahaftewa states:

> It was kind of a "do your own thing" philosophy, but it really emphasized your particular tribal background. Lloyd Kiva New…was one of my teachers; so were Jim McGrath and Fritz Scholder. There was a real creative atmosphere. Some of my classmates were…Earl Biss, T.C. Cannon, Karita Coffey, Alfred Young Man. There were a bunch of us.[207]

After her IAIA training, Lomahaftewa further explored abstracting Hopi symbols and pop culture motifs in intense color palettes in the bachelor and master of fine arts programs at the San Francisco Art Institute (Fig. 31).[208] There, she developed her signature style—vivid monotypes and paintings that incorporate figures and symbols conveyed in a variety of processes that evoke her and her ancestors' layered identities (Fig. 32).[209] She also began to make paintings that express a technicolor take on geometric designs, recalling abstract pottery motifs usually painted by men.[210] Choosing a profession of arts educator, Lomahaftewa returned to IAIA as an

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[203] Gritton, "The Institute of American Indian Arts: A Convergence of Ideologies," 26, 28.
[204] Lawrence Abbott, ed., *I Stand in the Center of Good: Interviews with Contemporary Native American Artists* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1994), 152.
[205] Ibid., 150-151.
[206] Ibid., 152.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid., 151.
[209] Ibid., 155, 158.
[210] Archuleta and Strickland, *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, 56.

instructor, working as a professor there from 1976 to 2017.[211] In her and Coffey's patterns of renewal, they participated in a kin-space-time constellation at IAIA.

In 1975, IAIA changed its curriculum to a two-year college degree.[212] The following year, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (Salish/Métis/Cree/Shoshone, b. 1940), of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation in Montana, relocated from Boston to Albuquerque to attend the University of New Mexico (UNM), with intentions to teach at IAIA.[213] At UNM, Smith met other Native artists, like Emmi Whitehorse (Diné, b. 1957), who, like herself, painted mixed-media landscapes, and they became lifelong friends.[214] Working in an interdisciplinary practice, Smith's paintings layer imagery that overlaps past, present, and future temporalities, or interlocking conditions of both time and place (Fig. 33). In her *Trade Canoe* series, as works focused on inequity, she blends two- and three-dimensional forms like painted symbols and newspaper texts with industrial-made objects to convey concepts of eroding longevity.[215] In a more abstract mode, Whitehorse portrays the ecology of her homelands in ethereal landscapes evoking the hózhó, or health, harmony, and beauty, of both Diné weaving and layered lifeways (Fig. 34).[216]

In the late 1970s, Smith co-founded Grey Canyon, a collective of Native North American artists in New Mexico, to forge connections in regional and national art circles through group

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[211] Ibid., 150.
[212] Helen Hu, "The Institute of American Indian Arts Celebrates Its 50th Anniversary," *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, December 14, 2012, accessed December 13, 2020, https://diverseeducation.com/article/50126/.
[213] Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*, 9.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Rebecca Head Trautmann,"Adrift, but Not Without Hope," Smithsonian: Because of Her Story, accessed December 14, 2020, https://womenshistory.si.edu/herstory/object/adrift-not-without-hope. Smith began this series in 1992, upon the quincentennial of the so-called "discovery of the New World" by Christopher Columbus (Italian, 1451-1506) in 1492.
[216] Michelle Kahn-John (Diné), "Living in Health, Harmony, and Beauty: The Diné (Navajo) Hózhó Wellness Philosophy," *Global Advances in Health and Medicine* 4, no. 3 (May 2015): 24-30. In her abstract, Kahn-John writes, "Hózhó is the complex wellness philosophy and belief system of the Diné (Navajo) people, comprised of principles that guide one's thoughts, actions, behaviors, and speech."

exhibitions of their art.[217] In 1978, she exhibited her work in Santa Fe in a solo show at the Clarke Benton Gallery and in group shows at both the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian and the New Mexico Museum of Fine Arts.[218] She recalls that Native women artists were excluded from Santa Fe galleries in the 1970s, and she pushed back against such limitations.[219] Smith's work with Grey Canyon led to two projects that were the first of their kind—a traveling exhibition of art by Native women and a group exhibition of Native photography.[220]

The 1980s to 2010s

By 1980, Smith had earned her master's degree at UNM, and in the following years, she showed her work in Santa Fe; New York City; Scottsdale, Arizona; Venice, Italy; and Berlin, Germany.[221] In 1985, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*, an exhibition with works by more than 25 Native women artists, opened at the American Indian Community House in New York City.[222] Co-curated by Smith and Harmony Hammond (American, b. 1944), the show featured several artists from northern New Mexico, and it toured to the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian in Santa Fe. The project's curatorial concept focused on Native women's art that transgresses boundaries through gendered practices and use of media.[223] Here, it is

[217] Ibid., 9-10; "Jaune Quick-to-See Smith," Garth Greenan Gallery, accessed December 13, 2020, https://www.garthgreenan.com/artists/jaune-quick-to-see-smith/full-bio. The group showed their work in New Mexico, California, Arizona, and Oregon.
[218] "Jaune Quick-to-See Smith," Garth Greenan Gallery.
[219] "Kay WalkingStick and Jaune Quick-to-See Smith in Conversation," National Museum of the American Indian, December 3, 2020, accessed December 3, 2020, https://nmai.brand.live/c/kaywalkingstickandjaunequick-to-seesmith.
[220] Ibid. These projects were *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage* at the American Indian Community House in New York City and *Our Land/Ourselves* at the University Art Gallery at Albany State University, New York. Both catalogues include essays by critic Lucy Lippard (American, b. 1937). See Paul Brach, Richard W. Hill Sr., Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, Lucy R. Lippard, *Our Land/Ourselves: American Indian Contemporary Artists* (Albany: University Art Gallery, State University of New New York at Albany, 1991).
[221] "Jaune Quick-to-See Smith," Garth Greenan Gallery.
[222] See Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*.
[223] Ibid., 1.

significant that the curators necessitated that the project contribute to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex to expand the ways that viewers perceived Native women's arts.

The catalogue reads, "In opening up new territories, these women become role models for other Indian women, and place work by Indian women in the mainstream history of American art."[224] Embodying Native women's leadership, the catalogue cover features one of Otellie Loloma's figurative clay sculptures—a woman dressed in feathers who gazes to the side while her body faces forward.[225] The exhibition also included works by Smith, Whitehorse, Coffey, Lomahaftewa, as well as two other artists in northern New Mexico, Helen Hardin (Santa Clara Pueblo, 1943-1984) and Jody Folwell (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1942). It also featured two artists from New York, Kay WalkingStick (Cherokee Nation, b. 1935), and Jolene Rickard, who have contributed to the expansion of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Hardin, as Velarde's daughter, also experimented with figurative portraits that convey an air of movement, community, and multiple perspectives in abstract, geometric forms in warm-colored palettes. She worked in an interdisciplinary practice with media such as acrylic on Masonite as well as printed etchings.[226] As another artist from northern New Mexico, Folwell, the daughter of potter Rose Naranjo (Santa Clara Pueblo, 1917-2004), enacts social critique in images and text on clay vessels. She makes these vessels in the ancestral coil-and-scrape method with asymmetrical necks, a body design unique to her practice. In 1984, Folwell broke boundaries by winning the Santa Fe Indian Market's "Best of Show" award for a clay vessel she collaborated on with Bob Haozous (Chiricahua Apache, b. 1943). Entitled *Cowboys and Indians*,

[224] Ibid.
[225] The artwork referenced is *Bird Woman*, 1962, stoneware, 31 ¼ x 9 ½ x 6 3/8 inches, Collection of the Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe.
[226] See Archuleta and Strickland, *Shared Visions: Native American Painters and Sculptors in the Twentieth Century*, 53, and the plate images in Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*.

the jar, with Folwell's signature asymmetrical neck, featured a green slip with sgrafitto, or etched, designs of humans and horses in chaotic motion that appear to both fall and ride down the pot's surface.[227] The bright color palette and charged narrative, of triumphing Indians in conflict with Anglos, expanded the potential for future artists, particularly Native women artists.

From New York, WalkingStick's paintings evoke a traversing of time in their dense surfaces of wax and acrylic applied to canvas. She has become known for her diptych paintings of particular places as represented by an abstract panel connected to a semi-realist panel. WalkingStick comes from a family of artists and began showing in New York galleries early in her career. She has since expanded her diptychs to semi-realist landscapes with geometric patterns, like her desert landscape of northern New Mexico overlaid with an adaptation of a Diné weaving motif.[228]

In addition to her scholarship on Indigenous arts, Rickard's photography-based practice visually conveys Native legacies and the promises of the future from her perspective as a Tuscarora woman based near her homelands in what is also known as New York. As reproduced in the *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage* catalogue, her black-and-white image featuring a Native child, entitled *Our Medicine*, honors intergenerational knowledge transfer and Indigenous leadership. Rickard states,

> Like any art form, photography is my looking glass to examine ideas of Native people and also act as a conduit of collective thought…I ask the viewer to see my work from my point of view…an examination of spatiotemporal images that make up our lives as Native

[227] Susan Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations* (New York and Washington, D.C.: Abbeville Press and The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1997), 175-177. For a reproduction of *Cowboys and Indians*, see Bernstein, *Santa Fe Indian Market: A History of Native Arts and the Marketplace*, 130.
[228] See Kathleen Ash-Milby (Diné) and David W. Penney, *Kay WalkingStick: An American Artist* (Washington D.C. and New York: National Museum of the American Indian and Smithsonian Institution, 2015), 164-65; "Kay WalkingStick and Jaune Quick-to-See Smith in Conversation," National Museum of the American Indian. The book accompanies WalkingStick's traveling retrospective that originated at the National Museum of the American Indian in 2015.

> people…Photography has the potential to create a visual bridge from one generation to the next.[229]

As such, Rickard's lens-based portrait conveys a current reality that closely looks at the present, in connection to the past and future.

During the 1990s, significant exchanges in Native women's arts and museological practices took form, thus expanding the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex even further. The year 1992 marked a productive time during the post-traumatic moment of the Columbus quincentennial. That year, the IAIA Museum moved from the school's campus to Santa Fe's downtown, within a short walk to both the Museum of Fine Arts and the Palace of the Governors. On the occasion of IAIA's thirtieth anniversary, this change took place under a Native woman's leadership, then-IAIA president, Kathryn Harris Tijerina (Comanche). She writes, "…we celebrate the role of the arts in liberating the Indian spirit and in bringing forth a vision that can drive future generations of Indians."[230] Looking towards its future, the IAIA administration was already planning for a new campus to be built in south Santa Fe, which opened in Fall 2000.[231] Further, the museum was later renamed the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts—a critical move in explicitly stating its mission to exhibit and collect arts of present eras. The institution stewards the National Collection of Contemporary Native American Art—a unique, distinguished position in the international art world.[232]

As another major event in 1992, Smith curated *The Submuloc Show/Columbus Wohs* from her home near Albuquerque. The exhibition's format was an invitational. It featured

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[229] See Rickard's image plate and artist statement in Hammond and Smith, *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*.
[230] Rick Hill (Tuscarora), ed., *Creativity is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art* (Santa Fe: Institute of American Indian and Alaska Native Culture and Arts Development, 1992), vii.
[231] Ibid., 134; "Mission and History," Institute of American Indian Arts, accessed July 21, 2021, https://iaia.edu/about/mission/.
[232] "Mission and History," Institute of American Indian Arts.

contemporary Native art, and traveled to 12 venues throughout the United States. Although no stops took place in northern New Mexico, the show must be understood as an extension of this exhibitionary complex, as it originated in the area and featured artists, like Rickard and WalkingStick, who repeatedly contributed to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. In Smith's curatorial statement, she writes, "In response to the celebration of the holocaust of the Americas, Indian people have once again come forth with artworks of beauty and humor constructed from found materials."[233] By this time, Smith, as both a mentor and leader of her generation, had established herself as a driving force in expanding the possibilities of exhibiting contemporary Native North American arts while also advocating for emerging Native artists. She went on to organize numerous group exhibitions and still persists today in inspiring artists, curators, and professors to expand the field for contemporary Native arts.

During this time, Native women of New Mexico continued their arts and museum practices in leading new forms of exhibition projects. In 1994, Theresa Harlan curated *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists* for The Heard Museum in Phoenix. Building on *Women of Sweetgrass, Cedar and Sage*, the exhibition, according to its press release, "features nearly 60 works by 20th century Native American women from throughout the country whose ideas are inspired by their heritage and from women of an earlier time."[234] It also poignantly quotes Harlan, who said, "'Watchful Eyes' presents Native women as 'thinkers, doers, creators, and builders.'" A number of intergenerational artists participated, including several women mentioned above, such as Peña, Montoya, Chalee, Loloma, Rickard, as well as Hardin, and her mother, Velarde. Nora Naranjo-Morse (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1953) and her niece, Roxanne

[233] Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, ed., *The Submuloc Show/Columbus Wohs: A Visual Commentary on the Columbus Quincentennial from the Perspective of America's First People* (Phoenix: Atlatl Inc., 1992), iii.
[234] Juliet Martin, "The Heard Museum's 'Watchful Eyes' Exhibit Celebrates, Honors, Native American Women Artists," media release, 1994. See Gully, *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists*.

Swentzell, both from northern New Mexico, also participated, whose practices I will discuss below. As mentioned earlier, this exhibition's methodology and its catalogue also inspired the methodology for my dissertation.

Naranjo-Morse is known for her clay installations in interior and exterior spaces that speak to the Tewa peoples' deep relationships with the lands that are now known as northern New Mexico. In the early 2000s, she created *Numbe Whageh*, a Tewa phrase meaning "our center place," as part of a monument outside of the Albuquerque Museum that commemorates New Mexico's history.[235] Installed after years of community controversy, this spiral earthwork forms a path with rocks and Native foliage descending into water to symbolize an Indigenous womb and honored source of both creation and patterns of renewal. It stands adjacent to Reynaldo "Sonny" Rivera and Betty Sabo's *La Jornada*—an installation of sixteen bronze figures that celebrates the Spanish Camino Real contributions to New Mexico during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[236] Overall, the site adds cross-cultural dialogue of the early twenty-first century to ongoing conflicts and co-habitation surrounding New Mexico's past and present politics.

In 2008, Naranjo-Morse created a site-specific work with her daughter, Eliza Naranjo-Morse (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1980), and grand-niece, Rose B. Simpson (Santa Clara Pueblo descent, b. 1983). This contribution was a commission for the *Lucky Number Seven* biennial at SITE Santa Fe, a non-collecting art center that opened in Santa Fe's railyard area in 1995 to host

[235] "Numbe Whageh 2005," Nora Naranjo-Morse, accessed January 11, 2021, http://noranaranjomorse.squarespace.com/numbe-whageh-2005.
[236] See Alison Fields, "New Mexico's Cuarto Centenario: History in Visual Dialogue," *The Public Historian* 33, no. 1 (Winter 2011): 44-72. This refers to the Spanish "real road" that functioned as the major throughway for the flow of goods from the Americas, Europe, and Near East between Mexico City and Santa Fe.

international biennials of contemporary art.[237] This iteration of the biennial exclusively featured new installations that would exist only through the duration of the exhibition.[238] Using a wave pattern, the trio created a clay installation, *Story Line*, as a thick coil that wove inside and outside SITE Santa Fe's building and reached several nearby locations.[239]

Blended with mixed media materials, it crawled both through and between other installations at the venue while also establishing community connections in its presence at other locales in Santa Fe. The project represented a departure for Nora, who usually works abstractly but in single-site locations, as well as for Eliza and Rose, who make figurative clay drawings and figurative clay sculptures, respectively. Their project statement reads:

> Our cultural perspective is heavily influenced by the land. We are a people who have cultivated the earth, made our homes from mud, and our vessels from clay. So, it seemed obvious to us to work with clay. Our installation *Story Line* begins at a very simple place, emerges from the land, and moves outward. Unusual items like rice, nylon, batting, thread, and waddle are used to create textures, add weight, and give basic form to the piece. We became wide-ranging cultural scavengers, culling our materials from the aisles of a local Wal-Mart to gathering roadside erosion blockers. In keeping with the idea of community, the clay thread interacts with other installations, weaving in and out of this community of artists who have also come to this land to create.[240]

In doing so, their clay sculpture embodied the general model principle of lifegiving patterns and contributed to a kin-space-time envelope—local to the land that supports the exhibition venue and the Santa Fe community. Moreover, these women evoked the reproducibility of life through

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[237] "History," SITE Santa Fe, accessed December 15, 2020, https://sitesantafe.org/history/. SITE Santa Fe expanded their programming to exhibitions in the 1990s, and to date, it has maintained a combination of temporary exhibitions and biennial expositions that address both international and place-based topics.
[238] "SITE Santa Fe Biennial 2009," Nora Naranjo-Morse, accessed January 11, 2021, http://noranaranjomorse.squarespace.com/site-santa-fe-biennial-2009.
[239] Sarah S. King, ed., *Lucky Number Seven: SITE Santa Fe's Seventh International Biennial, Vol. 2* (Santa Fe: SITE Santa Fe, 2008), 95-99; "Talk as Talk Can: A Conversation with Luchezar Boyadjiev, Eliza Naranjo Morse, Nora Naranjo Morse, and Rose B. Simpson," SITE Santa Fe, accessed December 14, 2020, https://sitesantafe.org/event/talk-as-talk-can-a-conversation-with-luchezar-boyadjiev-eliza-naranjo-morse-nora-naranjo-morse-and-rose-b-simpson/. The exhibition ran from June 22, 2008 through January 4, 2009.
[240] King, *Lucky Number Seven: SITE Santa Fe's Seventh International Biennial, Vol. 2*, 95.

clay—both a generational and familial legacy as well as a foundational art form to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Another of Nora Naranjo-Morse's clay installations, entitled *Always Becoming* (2007-present), stands outside of the National Museum of the American Indian. As vertical markers arranged in a community grouping, the installation resides in an area adjacent to a number of plant species and in a direct sight line to the nation's capital.[241] Evoking processes of strength through becoming, it enacts a site of international relations that bridges northern New Mexico to Washington D.C. while reflecting ongoing change through each visitor's interaction. Different from the SITE Santa Fe installation, this sculpture stands in this space permanently, and Naranjo-Morse maintains it over the years. In her projects, she generates layered conversations through shifting orientations and collaborations with places and associated beings, as demonstrated in clay forms.

Naranjo-Morse's niece and Simpson's mother, Roxanne Swentzell, founded her own exhibition space, Tower Gallery, in 2006 at Pojoaque Pueblo, just north of Santa Fe.[242] As her studio and curatorial space, the gallery resides in a tall, rounded building made of adobe, near the Poeh Museum, an arts and education center operated by Pojoaque Pueblo. In her childhood, Swentzell had a speech impediment, and thus she began making figurative clay sculptures as visual devices to convey her emotions to her mother.[243] In the late 1970s and early 1980s, she attended IAIA in Santa Fe and the Portland Museum Art School in Oregon. During these years, she held artist residencies at several Pueblo-run schools in northern New Mexico and fulfilled a

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[241] "Always Becoming: Nora Naranjo-Morse's Vision of Change and Renewal," National Museum of the American Indian, National Museum of the American Indian Blog, September 28, 2015, accessed December 14, 2020, https://blog.nmai.si.edu/main/2015/09/always-becoming-phase-2.html.
[242] "Tower Gallery," Roxanne Swentzell, accessed December 14, 2020, https://www.roxanneswentzell.net/towergallery_bronzes.htm.
[243] Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations*, 195.

mentorship role. In expanding the national and international reach of her art, she won a number of awards at the Santa Fe Indian Market from the mid-1980s to the late 1990s. To date, she also works in bronze, extending her sculptural practice into an interdisciplinary realm (Fig. 35).

Often nearing three or four feet in height, Swentzell's clay figures require the application of ancestral coil-building processes in red earthenware that she purchases from a supplier.[244] Swentzell usually fires her works in electric kilns, rather than in outdoor pits. Expressing intense feelings in expression and pose, her sculptures often embody self-portraits, like *Broken Hearts, Broken Bowls, Now What?* (1996).[245] This narrative sculpture features a nude, seated woman experiencing grief, and she holds two halves of a clay bowl in her hands, evoking both a separation and a place-based tether to Tewa lands. The color of the clay bowl is the same color as an area over her heart. In her sculptures, Swentzell's sculptures reflect the power of Native women's leadership in carrying on patterns of renewal and sustainable lifeways in their arts and curatorial practices, forever re-shaping the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.[246]

At either side of the threshold of the 2010s, two projects led by Native women artists must be noted to conclude this discussion. In 2007, the School for Advanced Research (formerly School of American Research) hosted a series of "Art, Gender, and Community" seminars focused on contemporary Native women artists' practices.[247] Eleven artists participated, including three interdisciplinary artists from northern New Mexico—Eliza Naranjo-Morse, Diane Reyna (Taos/Ohkay Owingeh Pueblos, b. 1953), and TahNibaa Aglohiigiih Naataanii

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[244] Ibid., 197.
[245] For an image reproduction of this sculpture, see Peterson, *Pottery by American Indian Women: The Legacy of Generations*, 201.
[246] "Flowering Tree Permaculture Institute," Roxanne Swentzell, accessed December 14, 2020, https://www.roxanneswentzell.net/roxanne_swentzell_permaculture.htm. Swentzell co-founded the Flowering Tree Permaculture Institute in 1989. According to her website: "its purpose is to do research and education on all topics that pertain to the ideas of permaculture…permanent culture."
[247] Lamar and Racette, with Evans, *Art in Our Lives: Native Women Artists in Dialogue*, 1. The seminars resulted in this book that documents the project's development, activities, as well as the participants' reflections.

(Diné, b. 1967). An arts educator, Reyna makes video documentaries as well as drawings and paintings on paper. Her film, *Surviving Columbus* (1993) provides Pueblo perspectives on Native resilience and the effects of colonization.[248] Naataanii's names, TahNibaa Aglohiigiih, mean "TahNibaa the weaver," and she sees cultural activities, like making tortillas and creating textiles, as interlaced arts.[249] She reflects the dynamism of Diné culture in her geometric patterning and pictorial narratives that also strengthen her connections to her feminine forebears.[250] In sum, this place-based project at SAR resulted in heartfelt discussions of artists' processes and realities, thus providing a space of intergenerational mentorship. The project's creative activities for the public included both an exhibition and an associated book.[251]

In 2013, the seeds for another project focused on Native women's arts began their journey by way of conversations between Teri Greeves, a Kiowa artist based in northern New Mexico, and Jill Ahlberg Yohe, associate curator of Native American art at the Minneapolis Institute of Art.[252] This dialogue grew into *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*—a major exhibition that the two women curated. It featured more than 100 artworks made over the past millennium by Native women in North America. *Hearts of Our People* set a critical dialogue in motion through its collaborative curation with a team of Native culture bearers and multicultural practitioners in all aspects of the project. From 2019 to 2021, the exhibition showed at the Minneapolis Institute of Art (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Smithsonian American Art Museum (Washington D.C.), Frist Art Museum (Nashville, Tennessee) and Philbrook Museum

[248] Ibid., 115.
[249] Ibid, 7, 111.
[250] Ibid., 111.
[251] The exhibition is titled, "Playing, Remembering, Making: Art in Native Women's Lives." It took place at the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture in Santa Fe.
[252] Yohe and Greeves, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, 15. See this publication for numerous essays on Native women's arts, with many written by both Native artists and advisors who participated in the exhibition.

of Art (Tulsa, Oklahoma). Its organizing concepts—legacy, relationships, and power—reflect the expansive reach of Native women's artworks made in numerous media. Through these themes, the interdependency of Native women's arts to both Indigenous renewal and American arts fused as the core of the project's curatorial methodology. Several Native women artists from northern New Mexico participated, and, thus, their artworks forged a tether between their home and the places in which the exhibition traveled.

In this chapter, I outlined an exhibition history extending from the late nineteenth through early twenty-first centuries, including artworks, images, and associated texts. Organized by epochs, this process traced Native women artists' roles in establishing relationships between the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and its international currents. It also grounded the established legacies and expansions of these practices within the conditions of particular periods during the past century. In the following chapters, I discuss the work of Susan Folwell, Cara Romero, and Athena LaTocha. Respectively, their ceramics, photographs, and paintings layer narratives of past, present, and future epochs and exchanges. Their practices demonstrate the ongoing influence of Native women's arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico.

Susan Folwell: Taos Light

"It's the movement and it's the fluidity, it's the liquidity of how we get through life… it's a simple concept that the only consistency in the world is change."[253]

Susan Folwell (Santa Clara Tewa, b. 1970), clay artist, northern New Mexico

Clay offers another constant that accompanies ongoing change for the Tewa village of Santa Clara Pueblo in northern New Mexico. Its use in art gives form to an ongoing pattern of renewal, or constant set of practices that centers Pueblo people. Susan Folwell refers to the clay as Mother Earth—the provider for all beings.[254] The artist participates in the thousands-year-old practice of transforming Tewa clay into painted pottery—a matrilineal legacy within the tribe. These vessels convey Tewa reflections of their place of home and interactions of a particular time through relations between people. As a pattern of renewal, Folwell's clay vessels often portray figurative narratives of cross-cultural dialogue within a certain place, thus expressing a kin-space-time constellation, or continued epistemologies and ontologies of Pueblo communities. These artworks create connections to the Tewa people's ongoing history of exchange. These contexts include those with other tribes, a time immemorial occurrence, and with people from other continents, like the Spanish and Anglo cultures, who began occupying the region in the late sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, respectively.

In Folwell's *Taos Light* series (2016-present) (Figs. 35-51), she comments on the complexity of the intercultural perceptions of the early twentieth century. She specifically references the interactions between the Taos Society of Artists (TSA)—a group of Euro-

[253] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[254] Ibid. Susan Folwell studied art at the Idyllwild School in California, and she focused on photography and design at the College for Creative Studies in Detroit. Her work is in many collections, including the Fred Jones Jr. Museum of Art at the University of Oklahoma, the Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art in Indianapolis, and the Minneapolis Institute of Art in Minnesota.

American painters who focused on Native American portraits between 1915 and 1927—and the Taos Pueblo people who collaborated with them as models. In working with the medium of clay, she also grounds Native women's leadership in pottery-making as a constant in this series. Through dialogue surrounding the intertwined relationships of Taos Pueblo and the TSA, this body of work builds upon earlier conversations and considers how these impressions shape cross-cultural interactions in the area today and in the future. I argue that Folwell's *Taos Light* series carries on the legacy of Native women artists' leadership in the Southwest region in both pottery-making and related exhibitions. Further, as a tether to the early tourism era, these vessel forms and imagery create new associations within both the kin-space-time constellation and cross-cultural relationality of Taos that continues today. In this essay, I analyze the multi-play, or strategically-layered, visual devices that Folwell employs in this series. I also consider the ways these meanings shift in two venues—the Couse-Sharp Historic Site and The Harwood Museum of Art.

Beginnings

While the *Taos Light* series takes a local focus, its international implications offer a layer of reciprocity that propel its themes in outward and inward directions at once. In terms of its inception, Folwell began the first work in this oeuvre in Taos, after she moved there in 2015 after living in Tucson, Arizona for several years. She drew inspiration from time spent with the art collections at the Couse-Sharp Historic Site, where her husband, Davison Packard Koenig, was hired as a consultant and now serves as its director and curator. Drawing upon the site's pottery collection, Folwell, Koenig, and Folwell's mother, Jody, curated an exhibition where twelve Pueblo ceramicists paired new or existing works with the some of the vessels—a historic

collection of Southwest Native pottery brought together by E.I. Couse for use in his paintings. As one of the featured artists, Susan Folwell created *The Artist* (2016), a site-specific vessel (Figs. 35-36), for *Visionaries in Clay: Pueblo Pottery Past and Present*, the trio's community-driven exhibition on view from June through October 2016 in the site's Luna Chapel—J.H. Sharp's first studio. This marked the beginning of Susan Folwell's *Taos Light*—a body of work still in motion five years later, in 2021. To date, it is the longest amount of time the artist has pursued both a particular series and subject matter.

Further, the exhibition's curatorial statement provides an important context. It offers an insight on the conditions that gave way to the advent of Folwell's *Taos Light* series.

> In the Luna Chapel, the exhibition *Visionaries in Clay: Pueblo Potters, Past and Present* presents highlights of Native artists, both historic and contemporary, who have helped define our understandings of Native identity and cultural expression through their bold work. The exhibition draws from the strong historic pottery collection of E.I. Couse and from contemporary Native artists in northern New Mexico. The historic potters were visionary for their experimentation in form and designs imbued with symbolic meaning. The contemporary potters are visionary for their continued experimentation that challenges stereotypes of "Indian" and force us to confront our own biases and perceptions.[255]

With particular attention given to the concluding sentence of the statement, it becomes clear that Folwell created *The Artist*, a narrative clay vessel, within a framework forged through critical commentary within the larger scope of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Folwell grew up with artists all around her at Santa Clara Pueblo, and she comes from a family of ceramicists. With pottery-making being a family affair, she regularly sifted clay for coiling and gathered manure for firing in her younger years. Susan's mother, Jody Folwell, learned the tradition of making pottery from her mother, Rose Naranjo. Rose had learned this

[255] "Exhibitions: Visionaries in Clay: Pueblo Potters, Past and Present," Couse-Sharp Historic Site, accessed May 17, 2021, https://couse-sharp.org/exhibitions/detail/100005.

practice from her grandmother, who raised her upon her mother's passing when she was just three years old.[256] Remembering gathering with her family to make pottery, Folwell states,

> …I was so lucky to be immersed in so much mentorship. It was such a daily part of life with memories of it's late night, it's summer, it's right before Indian Market and your grandmother's there, your aunts are there, cousins are all gathered around a table. Some may be polishing pottery, some may still be sanding their pottery. Some may still be trying to get air bubbles out. But you're having community conversation and when one person's done with the project they were doing, and it's like, okay, now all my five pots are sanded, give me yours…or if they're done polishing, and they're like, here, give me your sanded pots…just this really beautiful, interwoven community that can happen. And that still happens quite a bit around clay.[257]

Susan's sister, Polly Rose Folwell; her aunts, Tessie Naranjo, Rina Swentzell, Dolly Naranjo-Neikrug, and Nora Naranjo Morse; her cousins, Roxanne Swentzell and Jody Naranjo; and her nieces, Rose Simpson and Kaa Folwell all have worked in clay styles that reflect their own perspectives and connections to the medium and its history.

For more than 40 years, Susan Folwell has observed her mother, Jody, making clay vessels in a range of styles. As such, Folwell witnessed, and continues to witness, her mother exploring an interdisciplinary blending of art forms within pottery. These variations extend from sgraffito, or etched, bird designs on a sienna ground to social commentary narratives in polychrome of her perceptions of both national politics and being a Native artist in the Southwest art world. Folwell has also witnessed her mother exploring new aesthetics for her vessels. These techniques include combining an asymmetrical neck and an unpolished lip with a brown-toned surface as a new take on the familial practices of gathering, processing, and aging Native clay as well as building artworks coil by coil.

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[256] Tessie Naranjo, "Those Naranjo Women: Daughters of the Earth," in *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, eds. Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Seattle: Minneapolis Institute of Art in association with University of Washington Press, 2019), 76.

[257] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021. Indian Market references the annual Santa Fe Indian Market that takes place every August, usually in outdoor booths throughout downtown Santa Fe, New Mexico.

In the 1970s and 1980s, Jody was one of the first Pueblo ceramicists of her generation to show experimental work in fine art venues, particularly at Gallery 10, a commercial space owned by Lee Cohen in Scottsdale, Arizona.[258] This took place at a time when most galleries were not willing to take a chance on this kind of innovative pottery—somewhat of an irony considering that Maria and Julian Martinezes' black-on-black vessels offered a new take on Pueblo pottery. However, Jody pushed her designs in a different direction by incorporating social justice narratives based on her lived experiences into her artworks. While technologically savvy and aesthetically appealing, her thematic content offered the potential to repel buyers from her vessels. As such, Cohen's gallery representation gave Jody a break into the arts world, which led to The Heard Museum's purchase of her work in 1979 and "Best of Show" award in 1985 at the Santa Fe Indian Market.[259] This partnership also gave way to the opening of an important avenue for Pueblo potters wanting to explore the potential of clay vessels in terms of both narrative themes and vivid color palettes. Jody's legacy lives on in Susan's vessels that both convey compelling stories and take chances in their reflections on current moments in time. Thus, both women carry legacies of leadership forward in arts and exhibition practices. They persist in contributing to the ongoing history of Native women creating new art forms for audiences in both the Southwest region and the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Susan's first connections to Taos came from her mother. Jody had lived in Taos Pueblo with her family during middle and high school due to her father's work as a Baptist minister—the impetus for their relocation there from Santa Clara Pueblo.[260] Further, Jody met Susan's father, Henry Folwell, at the Taos Plaza, while she and her sister, Tessie, were eating ice

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[258] Ibid.
[259] Adele Cohen, "Jody Folwell," in *The Art of Clay: Timeless Pottery of the Southwest,* ed. Lee M. Cohen with a foreword by Roger G. Kennedy (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1993), 75.
[260] Ibid., 74.

cream.[261] Henry, an artist from Denver, Colorado, made paintings of the Taos Pueblo community.[262] After earning a degree from the College of Santa Fe in history and political science, Jody returned to Santa Clara Pueblo to raise her children with Henry Folwell, who inspired her to be a full-time artist.[263] Of her father's influence, Susan recalls, "I've always been much more two-dimensional. With my father being a painter, I just felt I had inherited that…I've found a way to actually be a two-dimensional person on a three-dimensional object, which is always a challenge. In many ways, I've come to realize the plain fact that clay's a canvas for me."[264] As such, her father's history as a painter and mother's work as a clay artist offers a backdrop to Susan's fascination with her retellings of the TSA paintings in her *Taos Light* series.

Folwell studied photography and design at the College for Creative Studies in Detroit and blended certain aspects of these media with Native clay to arrive at her ceramic vessels painted with poignant narratives. From this style, she has produced work shaped by comic books, tattoo imagery, political controversy, and Tewa pottery history. Such work includes her *Cry Baby* series, brought to fruition by her empathy and reinterpretation of a Roy Lichtenstein painting, *Drowning Girl* (1963).[265] In *Love Gun* (2013), Folwell reframed the painting as a tearful self-portrait reflecting the pressures of both working tirelessly to meet exhibition deadlines and navigating her identity as a female pottery artist from Santa Clara Pueblo.[266] As a large seed jar, the vessel features a square neck anchored by a large painted image of a woman crying, while a

[261] "Medicine Man Gallery – Santa Clara Master Potter Susan Folwell – Epi. 117 Host Dr. Mark Sublette," YouTube, accessed May 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ga-kukEXqx4.
[262] Cohen, "Jody Folwell," 74.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[265] Beth Duckett, "Peering Through Taos Light," Images Arizona, accessed May 17, 2021, https://imagesarizona.com/peering-through-taos-light/.
[266] Patricia Lenihan, "Regarding Patterns: Susan Folwell," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* August 18, 2017, accessed May 17, 2021, https://www.santafenewmexican.com/pasatiempo/art/regarding-patterns-susan-folwell/article_3decb32d-59d2-52d6-a434-52e08be0b31b.html.

handgun adorned with roses points at her head—symbols that evoke both a hold-up and an essence of beauty. Folwell painted the face in comic-like colors, while the vessel's body features Pueblo designs in a palette of earth tones.

Other works take on the politics of Southwest tourism through humor. With a canteen body in red, *There Goes the Neighborhood* (2011) bears the iconic imagery from the Fred Harvey's advertisements for their "Indian Detours." The composition features a Native woman, seated next to a painted pottery vessel and ladder, looking down at the Harveycar outside of the Pueblo's dwellings. Folwell revised the headline as, "Take the Indian-detour Santa Fe in a genuine Harveycar!," with a quote below that reads, "There goes the neighborhood," that emerges from the woman's unseen mouth. Complete with the Santa Fe Railway logo and the Harvey thunderbird logo, the vessel demonstrates Folwell's attunement to what she refers to as, "a play on play on play."[267] It also satirically criticizes the tidal wave of tourism built during the early twentieth century—a platform that still supports Native artists, like herself, today. Offering more jests regarding this phenomenon, Folwell added streaks of white slip to the front and back of the vessel, suggesting vandalization. She replicated a tin Calumet Baking Powder seal on the verso side, alluding to the dietary changes that resulted from the influx of industrially-made goods by way of the close proximity of the railroad to the Pueblos. This commercialization of Indian identity also points to frybread—which requires baking powder to make—a staple food in many Native communities in North America that emerged from forced living on both reservations and government annuities. Following in her mother's footsteps, Folwell's *There Goes the Neighborhood* won a first-place award at the Santa Fe Indian Market.[268]

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[267] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[268] "Susan Folwell," Folwell.Koenig, accessed May 17, 2021, http://www.folwellkoenig.com/susan.html.

Visionaries in Clay: Pueblo Pottery Past and Present

From this prismatic world of inspiration, layered approach, and sharp wit, Folwell's *Taos Light* series emerged in both experimental form and bright hues. *The Artist*, as the first work in this theme, reflected imagery of the work of her Pueblo contemporaries and the historic pottery collection featured in the *Visionaries in Clay* exhibition. A water jar with a black square neck, this vessel reinterprets *An Indian Artist* (ca. 1920), E.I. Couse's sketch of a seated Taos Pueblo man painting a pastoral mural on an adobe wall near pottery vessels that are now in the Couse-Sharp Historic Site's collection.[269] Reproduced posthumously in the 1938 American Lithographic Company's calendar, Couse's composition offers Folwell both a complicated history and a wealth of content for a "play on play on play" in her site-specific, painted vessel, *The Artist*.

As Virginia Couse Leavitt, Couse's granddaughter has identified, E. Martin Hennings (American, 1886-1956), Couse's fellow TSA member, adapted this sketch into the chromolithograph featured in the calendar.[270] Upon the American Lithographic Company's request for another artist to take on the job, Couse's son, Kibbey, insisted that Hennings create the painting in order to maintain the high level of quality that Couse was known for in his works.[271] In this process, the company sent a series of revisions to Hennings that included a widening of color palette and a "more rugged-feature type" akin to Couse's figurative style.[272] As such, the final version of the painting used for the chromolithograph plate resulted from the artistry of two sets of hands and several compositional edits from the calendar's committee members. Moreover, Couse had also been involved in this kind of process for some of his

[269] Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936*, 274-275, 277.
[270] Ibid., 277.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.

paintings-turned-chromolithographs commissioned by the American Lithographic Company and the Santa Fe Railway, both of whom featured his works from the mid-1910s into the 1930s.[273]

In addition to becoming a household name through the calendar prints, Couse garnered national and international recognition in the fine arts circuit, from participation in domestic exhibitions on both coasts coupled with contributions to expositions. His promotion to a full academician in the National Academy of Design and training at the Académie Julian in Paris further solidified this status. However, Couse made his paintings from his own gridded photographs—a preparatory practice hidden from the public during this time to conceal the realism of his process and uphold an air of the artist's mystique. Further, Couse was not painting ethnographic imagery, as art critics of the day sometimes interpreted.[274] Albeit portrayed in realism, his paintings reflected his work with models in an ethos of pictorialism.[275] As such, he reimagined the academic genre of history paintings into the context of Taos Pueblo Indians and invented mythic and aesthetically-pleasing scenes designed to invoke empathy for Native American peoples. Another irony emerges here, when one considers the recontextualization of many of Couse's paintings that promoted sales of Native pottery through train travel—the mass transit that drastically changed tribal communities and catapulted a cash economy for Native arts.

As such, Folwell's *The Artist* (Figs. 35-36) embeds several cross-cultural narratives into a visual storyline. First, her practice of using Native clay as a canvas imbues Tewa history into the vessel, through its coils and circular base, and establishes the artist as a narrator from a particular place. Second, drawing inspiration from historic ceramics in the site's collection—a San Ildefonso polychrome water jar and one of Nampeyo's seed bowls with Sikyatki designs—

[273] Ibid., 257, 260.
[274] Ibid., 220.
[275] Ibid. Pictorialism refers to staged and edited photography of the late 1800s to the early twentieth century that largely focused on themes of myth, archetype, and legend. These images were made using glass plate technologies.

contributes to a legacy of Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. Third, Folwell creates an intersection between different time periods—past, present, and future—through reinterpreting Couse's *An Indian Artist* to feature her contemporaries and their selections of the site's pottery collection. Lastly, this approach creates layers of new relations between extant artworks, participating artists, and audiences bearing witness to this vessel both in person and in digital imagery. In sum, Folwell's process for *The Artist* gives way to a kin-space-time envelope by creating connections between the art media and people of a particular place. Further, this work honors the locale's circular reflections that embody the kin-space-time constellation both in motion and evolving in context for more than a century.

A central tenet of the TSA's painting and exhibition practices served an educational function, specifically "to preserve and promote the native art [*sic*]."[276] In *The Artist*, Folwell's site-specific tactic twists this principle to emerge from a Santa Clara Pueblo artist's hand in the form of both painting and etching on pottery. Her selections of historic pottery create connections with two leading families in the history of Tewa pottery production. The references made are to Nampeyo at the Hopi-Tewa village of Hano, a friend of Couse and his family, and to pottery-makers at San Ildefonso Pueblo, the home of Maria and Julian Martinez. Through his cross-cultural relationships in the region, Couse collected Pueblo pottery for specific use in his paintings—a concept Folwell reflects back to audiences within the exhibition's context.

A case in point, Folwell features Nampeyo's jar in two places in *The Artist*, in the narrative band next to the Taos Pueblo model and as a band of sgraffito, or etched, patterns in a lower register. The up-close and distant views of this vessel represent a multiplicity of

[276] Ibid., 234.

perspectives and create connections between several related contexts. First, Couse included Nampeyo's vessel in his painting, *The Flute Player* (ca. 1903), featuring a Native man seated and playing the flute while a Native boy, in the role of a son, looks intently and listens, while he sits adjacent to the disc-shaped jar. Couse had exhibited this painting that celebrates Taos Pueblo flute-playing at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, and it was reproduced in the 1933 ATSF calendar promoting "Indian-detours."[277] These display contexts bear significance in terms of multiple representations of Southwest Native cultures through figurative and artistic representations. Adding another layer, the Martinezes had also demonstrated their art to international audiences at the 1904 exposition, further positioning Native pottery as both a representation and an attraction, or desirable point of interest, in the Southwest region.[278]

On the ways that the theme of cross-cultural exchange grounds the *Taos Light* series, Folwell commented, "…you are literally interpreting someone else's work that has come before you…it's an interesting circle because, of course, them [the TSA] studying Native people themselves…you can kind of feel the circle of them looking at you looking at your people, you're looking at them, you're all just interpreting. Even though it's a hundred years later. It's all still kind of relevant."[279] Adding to Folwell's assessment, this dynamic also enacts Tony Bennett's concept of an exhibitionary complex, as "a self-monitoring system of looks in which the subject and object positions can be exchanged."[280] In the case of *The Artist*, which features a series of bands, Folwell steps into the position of "self" in her visual play of role-swapping indicated in the vessel's painted narratives.

[277] Ibid., 190.
[278] Spivey, *The Legacy of Maria Poveka Martinez,* 167.
[279] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[280] Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 82.

In the upper and largest band, she depicts a scene of Native community through the group of clay artworks contributed and selected by the Pueblo artists featured in *Visionaries in Clay*. The Taos Pueblo male model carries the largest position at the center of this narrative, and it appears that he is in the process of coiling a round clay vessel. This reinterpretation of this figure as a pottery artist—a departure from Couse's portrayal of him as a mural painter—emphasizes the central position of clay to Pueblo peoples, the impetus of the exhibition. It also visually recognizes the role of Pueblo pottery makers as one that extends across gender. This strategy throws into question the binary expectations possibly held by visitors because of a century's worth of marketing Pueblo women as the ceramicists of their villages.

Furthermore, Folwell's positioning of Diego Romero's *No Pictures Please* (ca. 2015), a bowl made in a brown-and-cream, Mimbres-style palette with a checkerboard rim behind the Taos Pueblo model accentuates the role of male potters by example. In his signature style, Romero (Cochiti Pueblo) etched a graphic in the bowl's center of a group of Pueblo women and men dressed in their feast-day regalia that pose for a "selfie," or self-portrait on a cellular phone camera, taken by one of the women. This irony creates more instances of reflecting back through various positions of "self," both in the context of Couse's use of photographs for his paintings and in the Pueblos' enforcement of "no photography" for tourists visiting on feast days open to the public. It also reflects "staging," both in the Taos Pueblo model wearing mix-and-match Native apparel from Couse's studio collection and that of the selfie image taken by Pueblo people on their own terms and with their facial expressions reflecting mixed enthusiasm.

Folwell and Romero's portrayal of Native artists' figurative representation dispels another stereotype of Pueblo pottery shying away from realist forms. This point becomes underlined through both Folwell's role as a narrative storyteller and Romero's feast day "selfie"

scene. It is also emphasized by Folwell's representation of a figurative clay sculpture by her niece, Rose Simpson. This work features a seated figure whose hands and arms held upwards frame its face that is painted in white. This sculpture reflects Simpson's interpretations of the constant presence and influence of her Tewa ancestors, as it conveys a pattern of renewal particular to pottery-making. This meaning emerges from the artwork's position between two more figurative sculptures: a standing sculpture that is Simpson's self-portrait and a seated self-portrait contributed by her mother, Roxanne Swentzell. The theme of legacy forms the central thread of this exhibition through all of the pairings and the strategic installation style.

Furthering matriarchal legacy in *The Artist*, Folwell also includes two bands of abstract motifs borrowed from both Nampeyo and the San Ildefonso potters, each holding space in its own register and making connections between the past, present, and future of Tewa peoples and their pottery. In the middle band, Folwell reinterprets Nampeyo's Sikyatki designs from its original red and black palette over a white ground, to an etched area of cream and sienna. The brown tone of this band links the piece to her mother Jody's work and their family's renowned sgraffito designs. This matrilineal connection becomes further pronounced in the vessel's interior rim. There, Folwell painted a series of orange "x" forms—a family symbol that Jody also uses as an oblique and sideways-turned reference to the mission church at Santa Clara Pueblo. Just above the vessel's red base, Folwell painted a band of alternating white circles and vertical lines—a visual reference to the pattern borrowed from the San Ildefonso Pueblo water jar.

Taken together, *The Artist* evokes intersecting patterns of renewal with a site-specific context. Its narrative references several facets of cross-cultural relationships, reflected in the borrowed imagery throughout this vessel. These include the supportive community upheld by contemporary Pueblo potters as well as the influence and growth of Pueblo pottery through the

TSA painters' promotion of Native arts. Further, the sustenance of Tewa pottery put into place by matriarchs like those at Santa Clara and San Ildefonso Pueblos carry these legacies of cross-cultural exchange into ever-expanding contexts, as exemplified by Folwell's *Taos Light* series.

Through the Looking Glass: The Harwood Museum of Art

From a single vessel made in 2016, Folwell's *Taos Light* series grew into a body of work that served as the basis for her exhibition, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, on view from July 2019 through January 2020 at The Harwood Museum of Art in Taos, New Mexico (Figs. 35-51). As the exhibition's curator, Folwell juxtaposed her vessels with paintings by the TSA in order to call attention to the shared history of Taos as depicted through an exchange of cross-cultural perspectives between the early twentieth century and the early twenty-first century.[281] This combination reveals the ways that Southwest Native pottery and the TSA paintings created a dialogue between one another during the early tourism period. Taken together, these art forms worked in collaboration to promote Native life and arts of the Southwest. Further, this dynamic co-established a strong platform for Native art sales and representation in northern New Mexico during the early twentieth century that persists today. In a strategy of meeting the audience and offering period specificity, the exhibition title's reference to Lewis Carroll's 1871 novel, *Through the Looking-Glass*, offers a cross-cultural context of the period still familiar to today's audiences. Thus, in a "play on play on play," Folwell steps into two roles simultaneously—those of the author, like Carroll, and the protagonist, like Alice (in Wonderland). A quote from this book offers insights into the orientation of Folwell's exhibition. "Why, it's a Looking-glass book, of course! And if I hold it up to a glass, the words will all go

[281] Michelle J. Lanteri, "Review: Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass, Harwood Museum of Art," *First American Art Magazine* 24 (Fall 2019): 77.

the right way again…"[282] As I discuss below, Folwell applies this methodology in many aspects in her curation of this exhibition.

One instance of this approach offers Folwell's pottery a moment to bridge the time period of the TSA paintings with the current moment of the exhibition. To this end, the majority of the TSA paintings displayed include portraits, landscapes, and those of still-life, but they do not feature pottery, despite its strong presence in many of Couse and the group's works. As such, Folwell's vessels step into the role held by Native women potters of the early tourism era, thus building upon their legacy of leadership in artistic and display practices. Folwell's contributions of Native dialogue via her exhibition contributes to the ongoing kin-space-time constellation within both the specific locale and cross-cultural relationality of Taos. Her foregrounding of her vessels places a Native interpretation of the moment of Taos' history at the center of a conversation that simultaneously functions in tandem with the TSA paintings to connect the early tourism era with current history being made. In her position as a clay artist from Santa Clara Pueblo, Folwell also holds lifelong connections to Taos, her current home, through her grandmother and parents, as mentioned earlier. Thus, her *Taos Light* series offers a foundation for and homage to her very existence, with her father painting imagery of Taos Pueblo and her mother making pottery with social commentary narratives. These familial traditions merge the legacies of both Pueblo clay artists and those of the TSA painters—the next generation of which takes form in Folwell's *Taos Light* series and *Through the Looking Glass* exhibition.

With this in mind, Folwell's process of curation also offers viewers an opportunity to consider women and men's roles as complementary in Pueblo communities. She does this by

[282] Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass, And What Alice Found There* (Project Gutenberg: republished 1991, first published in print in 1871), accessed May 17, 2021, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12/12-h/12-h.htm.

bringing together embodiments of women's work and accomplishments, like baking bread and producing pottery, and men's responsibilities and achievements, like serving as religious leaders and engaging in a successful hunt. All of these activities support the health of Pueblo communities, and the commonality in this exhibition locates itself in both women and men being models hired by the TSA for paintings that took place in the northern New Mexico area. Both Folwell and the TSA's artworks underscore Pueblo beliefs throughout—that Mother Earth supports all life. In Tewa worldviews, Mother Earth does this through the movement of the wind and water as well as the gift of clay that fuels the life cycle of adobe homes, animals and plants of the land and streams, and people living on earth who become clouds upon passing.[283]

As an adobe building complex in the Pueblo Revival style, the exhibition site at The Harwood Museum of Art offers significance as the first space in Taos where local artists, since around 1924, displayed their work for audiences locally and those internationally.[284] These included works by a range of emerging and established artists, including paintings by members of the TSA and figurative wood carvings by Patrociño Barela (Hispanic-American, 1902-1964).[285] The displays also featured collections of Hispanic textiles and retablos, or devotional paintings on wood panels, as well as Native-made artworks, such as pottery.[286] At the time of writing, the museum's mission reads as the following. "The mission of The Harwood Museum of Art of the University of New Mexico is to collect, preserve, exhibit, and interpret the arts, especially those created in, inspired by, or relevant to northern New Mexico. The Museum

[283] "New Mexico PBS - COLORES | Rina Swentzell : An Understated Sacredness | New Mexico," YouTube, accessed May 17, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8zHAiOKN6Vo&t=14s.
[284] Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936*, 301; The Harwood Foundation, *Harwood Museum Collection Handbook* (Tucson: City Press, 1997), 6.
[285] Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936*, 301-02; The Harwood Foundation, *Harwood Museum Museum Collection Handbook*, 6.
[286] The Harwood Foundation, *Harwood Museum Museum Collection Handbook*, 6.

advances the University's mission and engages diverse audiences by stimulating learning, creativity, and research through exhibitions, programs, and publications."[287] The museum currently features permanent galleries devoted to the TSA, Taos modernist artists of the mid-twentieth century, Hispanic artists of the region, and contemporary artists from a variety of cultures. To note, Folwell's exhibition was in the TSA area—named the Dorothy and Jack Brandenburg Gallery after the daughter and son-in-law of TSA member, Oscar Berninghaus and his wife, Emelia.[288]

The museum began as the Harwood Foundation in 1923, established by Elizabeth "Lucy" Harwood, whose late husband, Burt Harwood, was a painter of Southwest portraits and scenes, but was not accepted for membership into the TSA.[289] The pueblo-style complex was formerly the Harwoods' home, which they had renovated to run on its own electrical generator—the first residence in Taos to do so.[290] Also serving as the town's only library, with Lucy as community librarian, the educational exchange in this space also grounds its history as a place of international dialogue and learning.[291] This coincided with the international reach of the TSA's exhibition circuit that brought artists and visitors to the area.[292] In 1935, the Harwood Foundation became part of the University of New Mexico, a status that continues today, and its role as a library ceased in the early 1980s.[293] On the national historic register since 1976, the museum buildings received significant renovations and expansions in 1937 and again in 1997.[294]

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[287] "Vision," The Harwood Museum of Art, accessed May 17, 2021, https://harwoodmuseum.org/.
[288] Carole Gregory, "Dorothy Berninghaus Brandenberg," Remarkable Women of Taos / Profiles: Legends, accessed May 17, 2021, http://womenoftaos.org/women/profiles-legends?/item/130/Dorothy-Berninghaus-Brandenburg.
[289] Ibid.
[290] The Harwood Foundation, *Harwood Museum Museum Collection Handbook*, 5.
[291] Ibid., 6.
[292] Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936*, 302.
[293] The Harwood Foundation, *Harwood Museum Museum Collection Handbook*, 6-7.
[294] Ibid., 7.

Through an international exhibitionary complex, the TSA's paintings conveyed imagery of Taos Pueblo—the original inhabitants of the area—that presented them as an artistic people in order to invoke empathy from viewers between the approximate years of 1915 through 1927. From the TSA paintings and ATSF calendars that reached both elite and mass audiences, depictions of the people of Taos Pueblo and their dances, arts, music, and adobe dwellings transformed audiences into visitors who sought out this locale across long distances. This timing holds significance as 1915 marked nine years since President Theodore Roosevelt seized the Taos Pueblo people's sacred site, Blue Lake, within the jurisdiction of the United States Forest Service, specifically the Taos Forest Reserve and the Carson National Forest.[295] The area included 30,000 acres, and under federal regulations, the Taos Pueblo community could not freely engage in their religious practices at Blue Lake, with the exception of three days each August with advance notice.[296] Further, in the early twentieth century, the federal government opened the land to ranchers for cattle and sheep grazing by permit as well as for recreational purposes including fishing and camping.[297] After 64 years of federal litigation, President Richard Nixon signed the Harris-Griffin Bill that returned the stewardship of Blue Lake and the surrounding lands to Taos Pueblo.[298] The Harwood Museum holds the Taos Pueblo community's historical documents of this struggle in an archive accessed only with the pueblo's permission.

Thus, this site-specific history grounds a subtext in Folwell's exhibition, *Through the Looking Glass*—her curatorial project created for The Harwood Museum. She draws upon the complexity of this interdependence in her *Taos Light* series. As a pattern of renewal, she carries

[295] Joe S. Sando with a foreword by Regis Pecos, *Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian History* (Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers, 1992), 98.
[296] Ibid., 98, 100.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid., 100-101.

this conversation into a twenty-first context that allows viewers to consider the long-term effects of the early tourism era and its current dynamic particular to Taos. To do this, she paired more than nine of her *Taos Light* vessels, with several on loan from private collectors, with 19 paintings by the TSA, of which several were on loan from northern New Mexico institutions.[299] Of the latter, these included the Couse-Sharp Historic Site, the Taos Art Museum at Fechin House, and the New Mexico Museum of Art. The exhibition also included a bronze sculpture by Ed Smida named *The Goose Hunter* (2016). Based in northern New Mexico, Smida, an Anglo artist, portrayed a Native man using a walking stick and carrying a bird attached to his back. The man is in the process of journeying home. Smida's sculpture is based on Couse's painting, *The White Goose* (1911). As such, through this variety of artwork loans, the exhibition emerged from many layers of collaboration and cross-cultural dialogues.

On a backdrop of walls painted green, pine vigas above, and wooden floors below, *Through the Looking Glass* conveys a more mature moment in Folwell's "play on play on play" strategy in her *Taos Light* body of work that builds on its beginnings in *The Artist* (Figs. 35-36, 41). The exhibition hinges on stories of place through Folwell's retelling of them as a collective of painted narratives on clay vessels. Taking the form of a reinterpretation, this retelling occurs through Folwell's appropriation and subsequent reworking of a group of TSA painting compositions. As a visual device, she recontextualizes these paintings through a turn in perspective from her position as a Tewa pottery artist. In this process, she created reflections of a specific moment in time and brought these views together in the Brandenburg Gallery at The Harwood Museum to intermesh a mirror of the past with a mirror from the present.

[299] Due to loaning constraints, Folwell removed and replaced some of her vessels during the run of the exhibition.

In *Through the Looking Glass*, Folwell situates the gallery as the midpoint of a two-sided mirror, where the TSA's Anglo paintings of Pueblo life ground one edge while her portrayals of Pueblo life on painted clay vessels anchor the opposite edge. As a Pueblo female artist and the exhibition's curator, Folwell conjoins these cross-cultural narratives to shape the gallery as a space of many mirrors that invites viewers to participate in a carousel of visual negotiation. She strategically includes an artwork that references her Native name and functions like an origin story and a self-portrait at once.

This vessel is named *Blue Mountain* (2019) (Fig. 42). It is a shallow bowl with a dark rim surrounding an adobe-colored interior scene of a bear in a desert landscape. It conveys a culture hero story of a bear leading the Santa Clara Pueblo people to water, thus offering a continued source of nourishment. Sikyatki style designs, reminiscent of Nampeyo, surround the vignette of the bear. As such, this act of collaboration allows Folwell to tell this story and those of her own existence in relation to the TSA in the *Through the Looking Glass* context. Placed between two of W. Herbert "Buck" Dunton's paintings, *Portrait of John Reyna* (n.d.) at left and *Ginger* (ca. 1932) at right (Fig. 43), *Blue Mountain* situates Folwell as the narrator of the exhibition's series of visual exchanges in the gallery. Further, Reyna, representing a man from Taos Pueblo, and Ginger, portrayed by an Anglo model, suggests the interwoven dialogues between cultures in Taos. This juxtaposition even alludes to Folwell's bicultural heritage and intercultural marriage. Her depth of a "play on play on play" comes through at both personal and community levels, while speaking to parallel dynamics taking place on a global stage.

This strategy enacts a gesture of reciprocity, or process of giving and receiving in equal value. As a "play on play on play," Folwell's curation allows her to marry the TSA imagery of Pueblo peoples and their arts with her retelling of this imagery as a Pueblo female artist and

curator. In doing so, she carries on Native women artists' leadership in northern New Mexico. As I discuss below through both visual and contextual analysis, several pairings reveal the centrality of mentorship and education, local and international reach, interdisciplinary forms, and place-specific interactions as the ongoing basis of this feminine legacy rooted in collaboration.

Adding another layer of meaning to its form, Folwell paired *The Artist* (2016) with *The Cacique* (1932) (Fig. 41), an oil on canvas painting measuring 35 x 46 inches. To note, this is the only painting by E.I. Couse in The Harwood Museum's collection. It fills an important role institutionally as a tether between the museum and an artist so instrumental in promoting Taos to national and international audiences.[300] Folwell's pairing of *The Artist* and *The Cacique* also bears another singular claim. This is the only TSA painting included in the exhibition that features pottery in its composition, and, as such, it becomes a testament to Native women and their leadership in arts practices in northern New Mexico. With vessels placed adjacent to the cacique who overlooks Taos Pueblo, this painting blends both female and male presence to create balance in terms of leadership, gender, and responsibilities within the community. Seated on a pueblo rooftop, the cacique is the largest and uppermost figure in the painting. His position alludes to a connection to his ancestors who embody the clouds overhead, while also creating another layer of meaning with the return of Blue Lake and its surrounding lands to Taos Pueblo.

As a material provided by mother earth, the clay vessels shown also create feminine associations between the pueblo architecture and the adjacent horno, or clay oven. At this hearth, a woman is shown in the process of baking bread, while another figure and two children stand nearby. These depictions of community sustenance provide visual examples of the collaboration that works as a supportive foundation for the cacique to act as one of Taos Pueblo's primary

[300] Leavitt, *Eanger Irving Couse: The Life and Times of an American Artist, 1866-1936*, 334-35.

leaders. This context carries forward in Folwell's narrative conveyed in *The Artist*, where the clay artworks of her Pueblo contemporaries remain supported by the pottery vessels of Native female ceramicists of earlier generations shown in the narrative band. By implication, this reference also includes more familial and maternal contexts. Further, the large pictorial band of *The Artist* functions akin to the compositional space of the painting where a window into a constructed world evokes intergenerational relationships that ground the continuance of the Pueblos. In her contributions to these relations, Folwell's interdisciplinary practice of using clay as a canvas emerges as portal between time periods in the northern New Mexico area.

The elements of this painting all allude to aspects of local and international reach. The clay vessels suggest the ancestral practice of pottery-making at the Pueblos that began in domestic and trade contexts and expanded to an art and commerce function during the early tourism period. Providing dwellings and protection for the people, the pueblo architecture references the combined support of mother earth and the community's women to nurture these structures. Historically, the women plastered the adobe walls, and still do this work, with the practice now including men—akin to the way that pottery-making extends across gender while referencing Native women's legacies and leadership.[301]

Moreover, the horno builds on this context while also communicating the Pueblo peoples' integration of Spanish technology—bricks and mortar covered with adobe. This beehive-shaped oven still plays a central role for women baking bread for the community. This is especially emphasized during annual feast days, when the Pueblos open their villages to the

[301] Orlando Romero and David Larkin, *Adobe: Building and Living with Earth* (Boston and New York: A David Larkin Book in association with Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994), 44; Anita Rodriguez and Katherine Pettus, "The Importance of Vernacular Traditions," *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preserving Technology* 22, no. 3 (1990): 3.

public, who often partake in a meal including oven bread. Taken together, the pottery, architecture, and horno all create visual associations with Native women's leadership in arts and community building in northern New Mexico. Further, this imagery traveled in international currents through photography and paintings that promoted Southwest tourism in exhibitions, calendars, and publications. Moreover, the pairing of *The Artist* and *The Cacique* convey the interdependence of the creative production of pottery-making with community leadership—both endeavors that stand in direct relation to the lands of northern New Mexico.

Another pairing expands upon the connections described above in terms of Native women's mentorship and education, local and international reach, interdisciplinary forms, and place-specific interactions within the northern New Mexico area. Folwell's *Baking Bread* (2018) (Figs. 44-46) shows four vignettes of Pueblo women baking bread in hornos. To the left of this artwork, *Winter in New Mexico* (ca. 1930) (Fig. 46) by Walter Ufer (American, 1876-1936), depicts two Pueblo women walking through a mountain pass. Taken together, both artworks create an association of women supporting women within Pueblo communities while also offering a social commentary on popular imagery marketed as a kind of Southwest mythology to tourists during the early twentieth century. Of this context, Matthew J. Martinez (Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo) and Patricia C. Albers have contributed a productive analysis of these categories of images within the scope of twentieth century photography. They write:

> …the mythical "look" of the Pueblo Southwest was sustained by a narrow range of pictorial subjects and styles, endlessly replicated in the work of different photographers. One apt example is the image of women baking bread in the beehive-shaped ovens the northern Pueblos call a *horno* [Spanish] or *panteh* [Tewa]. Whether pictures of this activity come from Isleta and Cochiti in 1910 or Taos and Tesuque in 1940, they follow nearly identical stylistic conventions. All of them depict their subjects wearing a traditional *manta* [dress] and shawl. Staged or taken from "real life," this sort of stock

> image represents a classical embodiment of the prelapsarian [a kind of Eden-like] imagining of the Southwest.[302]

Thus, in her reproduction of an iconic image of Pueblo women baking bread, Folwell turns the perspective from that of one looking inwards to a dialogue of one who looks both outwards and inwards. This strategy accounts for her lived experience as well as that of her ancestors and their collaborative participation in this activity and the making of both pottery and staged imagery.

Through this multiplicity of stance, Folwell's vessel offers a reinterpretation of Ufer's painting, *The Bakers* (1917), a work not on view, and a connection between complementary gender roles becomes revealed with one of E. Martin Hennings' paintings that bookends her artwork. At the vessel's right, Hennings' *Discussing the Crops* (ca. 1930) (Fig. 46), an oil on board sketch of small scale, depicts three Pueblo men standing together in a field with clouds overhead and mountains in the background. This suggests their responsibility for a healthy growing season, the prayers they put forth to appeal for this sustenance, and the wheat that the women winnow to make bread. In her reflections on her *Baking Bread* vessel, Folwell closely considered Ufer's painting style as a point of impetus for this piece that portrays Pueblo community life. She stated,

> What I love about the Baking Bread piece is I've always thought of Walter Ufer as…no matter what his subject is, there always just seems to be this momentum. You can almost feel the wind. His clouds are very specific to his sky, very specific, even though he might be doing a portrait of farmhands. You're still feeling the atmosphere that they're in. I'm really proud of the Baking Bread piece because I feel like there's movement…you can just kind of feel the momentum. Not only just the women working, but it's just kind of in everything else. I think there's an atmosphere that's around it.

As such, Folwell's pairing of *Baking Bread* with *Winter in New Mexico* creates a relationship of absence, presence, reproduction, and allusion.

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[302] Martinez and Albers, "Imaging and Imagining Pueblo People in Northern New Mexico Tourism," 45.

Looking at this artwork in more detail, Folwell's vessel, in a terracotta color with an oval base, depicts five Pueblo women in the process of baking bread at two hornos, depicted in mirror image on the two wider sides of the vessel. In the background, the pueblo architecture holds the waistline of the vessel while white clouds mark the shoulder area. The narrower sides each show a pair of women removing baked bread from the horno. The overall shape of the vessel reads similarly to the beehive form of the oven, save for the four bands of rope-like texture Folwell placed at the vessel's neck. The terracotta background also holds an atmospheric effect of lighter washes of terracotta brushed in wide strokes in the sky portion of the landscape. Like all of Folwell's *Taos Light* vessels, *Baking Bread* also bears a matte finish.

On the form of this vessel, Folwell reflected upon it in the following way.

> I also feel like the rope, the shape, the body of the piece is good and solid, but the rope kind of lends to that, visually understanding that the rope is just spinning around the pot. I think that helps with the movement of it. That [the rope] was not my choice. You know the shape of the piece started to make itself. It was another one of those…what is this? How do I finish it? It's getting interesting. It's very oval. It's got these shoulders but it doesn't. When you look at the top of the piece, it's very oval. It's almost vaginal in a way…how do I finish that? What is that looking like? So, I think that's why I ended up just making a long coil…my very last coil…then just accenting the idea of it still just being a coil and breaking it off into a rope, or a texture like rope.[303]

Folwell's sentiments echo those of her grandmother, Rose Naranjo, who described the importance of being "one with the clay," since "The clay says, 'I want to be this, not what you want me to be.'"[304] As such, Folwell's vessel form creates an association to an earlier generation of Pueblo women potters. Further, the rope alludes to the way that Native women strung this material through the lugs of large pottery canteens they made for carrying water to their homes at the Pueblos and also at the Hopi-Tewa village of Hano. Thus, the rope texture combined with the

[303] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[304] Stephen Trimble, *Talking with the Clay: The Art of Pueblo Pottery in the 21st Century*, 20th anniversary revised ed. (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research, 2007), 15.

narrative scene of baking bread on Folwell's painted vessel attests to Native women's leadership in acts of community care by way of the use of clay in both hornos and pottery-making, and, since the early tourism era, in art for sale to foreign visitors.

In Ufer's *The Bakers*, the composition reads similarly and offers more focus on the women and their work of baking bread through a composition that ends on either side of the pair of hornos. In contrast, Folwell's reinterpretation opens the scene to a much larger landscape and roots it locally—as painted on the pottery vessel made of Santa Clara Pueblo clay. Further, Folwell portrays four groups of women baking bread in total, thus suggesting the passing on of intergenerational knowledge. However, without Ufer's painting on view in the exhibition, these associations can only be made from knowledge and research beyond the display. Instead, audiences of *Through the Looking Glass* create new associations between Folwell's version of *Baking Bread* with Ufer's *Winter in New Mexico*. This offers an expansive view to those familiar with Ufer's oeuvre, as one can link relationships between his different compositions. In *Winter in New Mexico*, two Pueblo women wearing long shawls over their heads and dresses walk through a mountain pass, one in front of another. Here, Ufer offers viewers a large sky that is filled with white, folding clouds that provide an upper frame to the rock buttes on the other side of the women. Ufer also created tracks in the snow that are placed ahead of the women. Taken together, the tracks communicate a sense of legacy that these women follow, like their forebears and descendants have done and will do.

Across from these artworks, Folwell devotes an entire wall to full-length portraits of Native women of the Southwest region (Fig. 51). This curatorial strategy calls attention to the fact that the TSA also collaborated with female models, even though the group's portraits and narrative scenes of Native men are more widely circulated. Two pairings emphasize both the

centrality and multiple positions of feminine leadership in Southwest Native communities. Here, a visualization of the multiple roles of Pueblo women emerges in a group of five artworks. Audiences walk into an opportunity to consider Pueblo women as both pottery makers and portrait sitters at once, through the two portraits on view by Folwell and the three by Victor Higgins (American, 1884-1949). Taken together, these portraits of Native women evoke complex narratives that unite representation with abstraction and result in a collective grouping of Anglo and Pueblo perspectives on the same subject.

Higgins' *Sleeping Model* (n.d.) (Fig. 48) is an oil on canvas painting on loan from the New Mexico Museum of Art. It portrays a composition of a Native woman seated in a chair and wearing a floral-patterned dress in orange and white with a red cape and white moccasins with matching leggings wrapped around her calves. Her hair is pulled back and gathered at the base of her neck, and her head tilts downwards, while her hands rest in her lap. She is surrounded by an adobe-colored wall and ground, and her legs are crossed, with her feet resting on a striped rectangular form that implies it is a rug. Near the right edge of the composition, a dark shadow surrounds the red cape and suggests a light source shining diagonally from the opposite side. Here, another quote from Carroll's novel offers insights into both Higgins' depiction of the model and Folwell's retelling of this portrait. "So I wasn't dreaming, after all," she [Alice] said to herself, "unless—unless we're all part of the same dream…"[305]

As such, Higgins' painting focuses its attention on the adobe-colored wall and ground that supports the woman. She becomes identifiable as Pueblo by this allusion to adobe architecture coupled with her moccasins, floral dress, and hairstyle. The painting, as both Folwell and the TSA's works do, conveys the strength of Native women through the combination of

[305] Carroll, *Through the Looking-Glass, And What Alice Found There*.

adobe, an embodiment of Mother Earth, and the female models shown at work, even while they are asleep. Folwell's reinterpretation of this narrative portrait transposes the area of abstraction from the ground plane to the skyscape (Figs. 47-48). On this clay vessel, she visually describes Pueblo worldviews of cyclical life through the filter of Higgins' composition. She replaces the allusion to the striped rug with a sewer grate, indicating the changes in technology at the Pueblos. Depicted in the same pose as the Higgins' painting, the female figure suggests a woman of a later generation than the one portrayed during the early twentieth century.

Yet they remain connected through the legacy of Pueblo values, and this connection holds visual form in the billowing clouds. These clouds suggest the presence of Pueblo ancestors, who become clouds through the life cycle of po-wa-ha, the breath that gives life's expressions.[306] This spiraling movement, as a pattern of renewal, echoes through the coils of Folwell's vessel. From this creative expression, Folwell demonstrates Native women's leadership—a legacy carried in tandem with Mother Earth, whose body, the clay, offers Pueblo peoples spaces of dwelling and pottery vessels that support life. At the top of Folwell's vessel, an adobe-colored rim visualizes the foundation that Mother Earth provides to Pueblo people. When considered together, Higgins' painting and Folwell's vessel convey the Pueblo worldview that all beings connect without separation and that the sacred locates itself in the everyday.[307]

These themes continue in the section of the wall to the right of this pairing. Here, Victor Higgins' *Nude Study* (n.d.), a watercolor on paper on loan from the New Mexico Museum of Art, and his *Indian Nude* (n.d.), an oil on canvas painting borrowed from the Taos Art Museum at Fechin House, create a backdrop for Folwell's *Higgins "Open Bowl"* (2017) (Figs. 49-51). When looking at these three versions together, the concept of "the sketch" emerges as a key

[306] "New Mexico PBS - COLORES | Rina Swentzell : An Understated Sacredness | New Mexico," YouTube.
[307] Ibid.

element for the TSA painting practices, which followed European academic standards of preparing studies to use as studio references for final works. Folwell's "play on play on play" retells this narrative as Mother Earth, in the form of a clay bowl, both holding and supporting the nude model whose back faces the viewer. Her composition echoes Higgins' *Nude Study* by including abstracted blankets offering a backdrop to the woman, while it also offers new insights into nude portraiture. On this topic, Nancy Marie Mithlo (Chiricahua Apache) writes, "Depictions of nudity in Indigenous creative endeavors do not simply mimic…but often work in ways that say something altogether different—sending a message of self-empowerment and resiliency."[308] In a visual demonstration of this concept, Folwell's orientation of her portrait of this Pueblo woman as encompassed by a round, clay bowl directly references Tewa worldviews. Specifically, it creates references to the existence of beings of the current world living through po-wa-ha, or breath, in the middle place, or earth, with a clay bowl supporting from below and a wicker basket offering protection from above.[309]

The crackled edge of the cream-colored bowl references one of Folwell's signature elements of her style that she borrows from her mother, Jody. Adding another layer to her mother's visual legacy, Susan added gold acrylic paint on this edge, which alludes to various forms of value, like the sun, or also gold as a precious metal, that the settlers of New Spain sought to both find and commoditize in New Mexico. As the Spanish did not find gold, herein lies another moment of Folwell's humor and "play on play on play," as Mother Earth offers the Pueblo people the precious value of life itself. This Pueblo concept of being reveals itself further

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[308] Nancy Marie Mithlo, "The Gaze in Indigenous Art: Depictions of The Body and Nudity," in *Making History: IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo with a foreword by Robert Martin (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), 42.
[309] Brody and Swentzell, *To Touch the Past: The Painted Pottery of the Mimbres People,* 20. The clay, as the lower half of the spherical Tewa world where all beings live, embodies Mother Earth and femininity, while the basket signifies the upper half of the Tewa cosmos and is understood as male.

in the aspect of protection with the model's body facing downward into the clay. This juxtaposition leads to the Pueblo understanding that people are both made of Mother Earth and supported by her, in a process of taking form through her body and returning to her as clay, through the life cycle. This cycle of becoming and returning also speaks to Pueblo creation stories of their arrival into the current world, or era, by way of an emergence, or upward movement, through the clay, or Mother Earth's body.[310]

As such, Folwell and Higgins' works seen in Folwell's curated pairings reveal that they show many sides of a cross-cultural narrative. As a case in point, Higgins' *Indian Nude* offers audiences a frontal view of a female Pueblo model, as a counterpoint to his *Nude Study* and Folwell's *Higgins "Open Bowl"* (Figs. 50-51). In *Indian Nude*, the woman appears to be asleep and in a similar seated pose as that of *Sleeping Model*. As such, Folwell's organization of this wall exemplifies the concept of the exhibition's title, *Through the Looking Glass*. In this area of the exhibition, she leads audiences through multiple sides of a mirror, reflecting attention at the intersections of these perspectives, from her view as a Pueblo woman and artist to that of Higgins, an Anglo man and artist. This process reflects concepts of the looking glass in relationship to traditions of illusionism in painting, and, as Yvonne Yiu writes, "the mirror can serve the painter as a tool."[311] In her turning of the mirror, Folwell, as curator, turns the looking glass into a prism, refracting aspects of light in different directions in order to show both commonalities and cultural intersections at once.

Throughout *Through the Looking Glass*, Mother Earth, seen in the clay and adobe, supports these acts of looking and cross-cultural exchange. She maintains the foundation of the

[310] "New Mexico PBS - COLORES | Rina Swentzell : An Understated Sacredness | New Mexico," YouTube.
[311] Yvonne Yiu, "The Mirror and the Painting in Early Renaissance Texts," *Early Science and Medicine* 10, no. 2 (2005): 189.

place and the people, as Folwell portrays in her cyclical vessels. Thus, Folwell conveys women's leadership in her *Taos Light* series through women's roles in Pueblo communities as creative contributors in balance with Pueblo men's roles in the villages. She bridges her personal history and connections with Taos Pueblo and Santa Clara Pueblo to the experiences of both the TSA and the Pueblo models who collaborated with them. As seen in the visual narratives of this exhibition, these partnerships offer glimpses of relatability to viewers who have become familiar with the TSA paintings over the decades. In nurturing this tether to the early tourism era, Folwell builds upon Native women's leadership in the northern New Mexico area by putting forth a pottery series and exhibition that calls for empathy from audiences. In her role as an artist, narrator, and curator, Folwell demonstrates the prismatic quality of identity and the open-ended possibilities of holding multiple social positions at once. To conclude this discussion, I turn to Folwell's reflections upon this fluidity in the current moment.

> …the TSA helped introduce Native culture, Native life…it's a living legacy today…all of it has this third eye that kind of swirls around you, and it comes together for a reason that way…clay is a living thing…it's a platform for what you need to say. It really doesn't have to strictly be beautiful. I think, particularly for Native females, and the world is changing quite a bit… Native people will always be community people, but it's nice that you're seeing a lot more individual voice, and I think that's part of the feminism, part of the power…you're just another fish in that stream, moving forward… the only constant in the world is change…It's the movement, and it's the fluidity. It's the liquidity of how we get through life.[312]

[312] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.

Cara Romero: Everywhen—Indigenous Photoscapes

"…the content that I pull from my reservation background or my Native community really has to do with communicating our humanity…themes that will connect globally just based on our universal humanness…content that will resonate with people visually around the world."[313]

Cara Romero (Chemehuevi, b. 1977), fine art photographer, northern New Mexico

With her studio based in Santa Fe and her home in Cochiti Pueblo, Cara Romero sustains her photographic practice through collaborations with friends and family that she co-produces in northern New Mexico.[314] She contributes to the kin-space-time constellation of the area—layering Native epistemologies and ontologies in her creative practice rooted within a specific place. As a pattern of renewal, collaborative photography enacts a space of collective storytelling in visual form. Through these partnerships, Romero co-creates narrative, or story-driven, imagery in digital photographs. From the Chemehuevi Indian Tribe of the Mohave Desert in southern California, Romero, a mixed race artist whose father is Chemehuevi and mother is of German-Irish heritage, brings her own history of learning from Indigenous women leaders in the spheres of both tribal government and artistic practices. These experiences include Romero witnessing her grandmother's leadership in the role of tribal chairwoman. Further, the artist also learned her tribe's basket weaving techniques from maternal family members of older generations. From these interactions, she began to understand the power of visual storytelling through art at an early age, and, in her twenties, she applied this knowledge to photographic

[313] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[314] Cara Romero earned a bachelor of arts degree in liberal arts at the University of Houston, an associate of fine arts degree from the Institute of American Indian Arts, and an associate of applied science degree in photography technology at Oklahoma State University. Her work is in the collections of the Autry Museum in Los Angeles, the Crocker Museum of Art in Sacramento, the Denver Art Museum, the Nevada Museum in Reno, the Bristol Museum in England, and the New Mexico Museum of Art and the Ralph Coe Foundation in Santa Fe, among other institutions.

expressions that fuse concepts of Native identity and pop culture. On the maternal foundation of her art practice in lens-based portraits, Romero writes:

> In Chemehuevi…our Creator is a female deity. Her name is Great Ocean Woman (Hutsipamamau'u) and she created all the land and people from her body with the help (and sometimes mischief) of Wolf, Coyote, and Mountain Lion. There are several other female familiars during our early dawn stories. All of the females have great strength and diversity, they range from old to young, sometimes they are desirable, provocative, and dangerous - sometimes they are nurturers and healers with the most powerful medicine. From a very young age, Chemehuevi women are taught that their innate strength as a woman and life giver is all-powerful, maybe sometimes even supernatural, and we are respected as equals in Chemehuevi society. We hold power in government and historically in battle. This unique perspective shows up throughout my art. It is always my intention to visualize this inherent Chemehuevi belief in the all-powerful, supernatural strength of women. It is a gentle but powerful shift to see Native women portrayed in this way from an indigenous female perspective.[315]

In doing so, Romero grounds her work in Native, matrilineal legacies as conveyed by herself and her collaborators in portraits that visually evoke strength, resiliency, and leadership in relationship to place, community, and creative expression.

Born in Inglewood, California, Romero is a contemporary fine art photographer who creates digital photographs that focus on the overlapping spheres of Native identity and pop culture.[316] In addition to her work as an artist, Romero currently serves as the Director of the Indigenous Knowledge Program for Bioneers, a nonprofit organization devoted to finding solutions for environmental and social issues.[317] In terms of formal education, Romero earned a bachelor of arts degree in liberal arts at the University of Houston, an associate of fine arts degree from the Institute of American Indian Arts, and an associate of applied science degree in photography technology at Oklahoma State University. This combination of educational

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[315] Cara Romero, *Cara Romero Photography: Editions* (Santa Fe: Cara Romero Photography, 2021).
[316] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[317] "What is Bioneers?," Bioneers, accessed July 31, 2021, https://bioneers.org/about/purpose/; "Cara Romero: Contemporary Native American Artist Photographer," Sand to Stone, accessed June 19, 2021, http://sandtostone.org/artist-cara-romero.htm.

background, which included studies in anthropology, fine arts, and photographic processes, continues to inform her narrative-based portraiture today.

At the University of Houston, Romero's training in using photographs to tell both particular and politicized stories came from Bill Thomas, a professor known for his journalist images of protest demonstrations.[318] Coupled with both her studies in anthropology of the Americas and practices in studio art, Romero developed and now works in a visual language of activism as the basis of her fine art portraiture. With two decades of making photographs informing her images, she uses her current practice to convey the complexity of Indigenous identities, with a main focus on Native women as powerful, feminine beings. As the subject of this chapter, these images both "reclaim sexuality and bodies" and persist legacies of Native women of the Americas as "strong, archetype, Earth goddesses."[319] Of the latter, Romero's connections to the feminine, Indigenous strength of her ancestors reflects her multifaceted approach to visually expressing the factors that shape Indigenous women's identities and their corresponding representations in photographs. She also finds inspiration in the photographs of Annie Leibovitz (American, b. 1949), known for her candid portraits of both her family and celebrities, as well as Laura Gilpin (American, 1891-1979), known for her black-and-white photographs of Navajo landscapes and Diné people of the early-to-mid twentieth century.

Demonstrating an Indigenous and feminine approach, Romero's *Native Woman* (2014-ongoing) works center the power of Native women's leadership (Figs. 52-54). In these photo-portraits, Native North American women pose in ways that exude their visual expressions of both Indigenous and feminine confidence in the twenty-first century. In some images, the women

[318] Ginger Dunnill, "Episode 33. Interview with Cara Romero," *Broken Boxes Podcast*, August 11, 2015, accessed February 18, 2018, http://www.brokenboxespodcast.com/podcast/2015/8/11/episode-33-interview-with-cara-romero.
[319] Ibid.

in focus hold a steady, upright stance with their eyes closed, or they gaze directly at the camera in front of meaningful backdrops. Several of these compositions directly reference Native women's art forms that offered sustenance through cross-cultural sales during the early tourism era in the Southwest region. Pertinent to this study, in the early twentieth century in northern New Mexico, the art forms of pottery and weaving offered Native families a critical stability that future generations carry on as a legacy in their own practices in the twenty-first century. In particular, three photo-portraits—*Nikki, Kaa,* and *Ty* (Figs. 52-54)—offer homage to the sustaining power of Southwest Native pottery and weaving and contribute to the kin-space-time constellation of northern New Mexico's exhibitionary complex. As such, this trio of collaborative photo-portraits grounds my discussion below.

In this essay, I argue that Romero's *Native Woman* series creates patterns of renewal that exemplify Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. As collaborative photo-portraits, these artworks convey this leadership by showing how the persistence of Native women's pottery and weaving practices during the early tourism era continues to redefine Native women's arts and exhibitionary work in northern New Mexico in the twenty-first century. Below, I offer a critical analysis of *Nikki, Kaa,* and *Ty*—photo-portraits from Romero's *Native Woman* series that I experienced at *Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes* (June-August 2018) (Figs. 55-60). Bearing significance, this was the artist's first solo exhibition, and it took place at the Peters Projects gallery in Santa Fe. Further, I draw out the new connections Romero and her collaborators create between the media of photography, pottery, and weavings—a visual dialogue and maternal, artistic exchange that overlaps time between the early tourism era and the twenty-first century. Moreover, I highlight the ways that the juxtaposition of figurative portraiture with visual patterns of pottery and

weaving carries on the legacies of Native women's critical roles during the early tourism era in establishing and shaping the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. To do this, I discuss how mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions both become visualized and hold a central position in Romero's artworks that honor Native women artists of past, present, and future generations.

Everywhen, Photography, and Native Women Artists in Northern New Mexico

As a Native female photographer, Romero approaches her collaborative image-making process from a position of matrilineal strength that allows her to tell powerful narratives of women's accomplishments in her lens-based artworks. Coupled with her studio being located in Santa Fe, her artistic and exhibitionary practices both intersect with and expand upon the ways that Native women became known for their art forms of pottery and weaving in northern New Mexico through photography, beginning in the early tourism era. As I discussed earlier, these lens-based images were initially circulated to public audiences in the late nineteenth century and flourished with much proliferation between the 1900s and 1920s.

Many Anglo photographers produced these images that moved between the media of stereographs, postcards, newspapers, and, eventually, magazines. Further, numerous photographs of Native women potters and weavers made between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continue to be widely circulated today. The majority of these images were made as travel photographs, or lens-based images designed to entice viewers to visit destinations away from their homes, and they largely resulted in transforming photo-portraits of Native women potters and weavers into mythical, or fabled and idealized, icons. As Matthew J. Martinez and Patricia C. Albers write, "Photography is especially well suited to shaping images into myths

because its products are long-lived…This self-evident aspect of their material existence had important consequences for perpetuating ahistorical notions about Pueblo life. From 1920 until 1950, for example, the travel media in the Southwest recycled many photographs taken at the turn of the century."[320]

Well aware of this context as one of many historical backdrops to her work, Romero's collaborative photo-portraits convey notions of Indigenous time in a concept named "everywhen" that she borrows from Aboriginal Australian people. Everywhen "emphasizes time as a unity: the present moment inseparable from the deep past of ancestral beings. For Indigenous Australians, past, present, and future overlap and influence one another in ways that defy Western notions as a forward-flying arrow. Ceremonial performances and art making not only recall, but also participate in, the Ancestors' heroic and generative acts."[321] As such, this methodology, as one of Romero's worldviews for her photographic practice, interweaves the accomplishments of Native women artists of past, present, and future generations. It also allows Romero and her collaborators to Indigenize, or reclaim and reshape, historical imagery as holding continued relevance, honor, and legacy to the present and future moments.

This process yields collaborative and creative actions that forge new relationships between Native women artists of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico as portrayed in iconic imagery with Native women artists and their practices in the twenty-first century. From this juxtaposition, Romero and her collaborators offer Indigenous meanings through a reclamation of the "ahistorical myths" conveyed through historical travel photographs. They fold these images into their stories told through the photographs they produce in a proclamation of

[320] Martinez and Albers, "Imaging and Imagining Pueblo People in Northern New Mexico Tourism," 45.
[321] Stephen Gilchrist, ed., *Everywhen: The Eternal Present in Indigenous Art from Australia* (Cambridge, New Haven, London: Harvard Art Museums in association with Yale University Press, 2016), 9.

everywhen. In this line of thought, the Native women artists of the early tourism era who demonstrated their resilience in posing for travel images that promoted their pottery and weaving exist in the same moment as Romero and her collaborators. In this shared space, Native women artists of both the early tourism era and the twenty-first centuries in northern New Mexico redefine and expand the area's exhibitionary complex at once. They do this through the active and ongoing legacy of both the kin-space-time constellation and patterns of renewal rooted in this particular locale.

Thus, *Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes* (Figs. 55-60), Romero's first solo show of her career held at Peters Projects gallery in Santa Fe, bears particular significance in the context of this study. Romero curated this exhibition and, in doing so, she demonstrated the tribal, regional, national, and international currents that move between her artworks and layer particular moments of time in the same moment. In her artist and curatorial statement for the exhibition, Romero writes:

> "Everywhen" is an indigenous concept of time. It is non-linear. It is cyclical. It is "everything, all the time, always." It is a different way to exist, and it describes concurrent indigenous experiences and indigenous identities…We are indigenous all the time, always; where past, present, and future are interconnected…These photographs share with the viewer present-day indigenous identity stories with elements of new and old. Some are stories of old, when the land was inhabited by ancestral figures, some with supernatural abilities. And some are of new, where we create, convey and remember our indigenous ancestry and resilience within a modern worldly context. The photographs are created alongside the subjects and convey collective experiences. They are post-modern Indigenous stories: the kind of fiction that refers to itself and its creation. The author being a character in the story, that sort of thing, with layer after layer of meaning.[322]

With these ideas as a conceptual backdrop to her collaborative photographs, Romero positions herself within an everywhen, or multiple time periods that exist simultaneously. In portraying this stance in her collaborative images, she brings together visual elements of the

[322] Cara Romero, Curatorial Statement, 2018.

post-modern, or period from the late twentieth century to the present, with the co-existence of Native experiences happening both in different periods, yet at once. Thus, the *Native Woman* series—particularly *Nikki, Ty,* and *Kaa* (Figs. 52-54)—honors the artistic and exhibitionary foundation that Native women artists of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico provided for the next generations. This platform continues to sustain Romero and her collaborators today.

Emergence: The Native Woman Series

For Romero, the *Native Woman* series emerged from a two-fold investigation. Around 2014, she began considering the lack of figurative nudes that she saw in contemporary Native American art, or artwork made by Native peoples of North America within her own lifetime.[323] As a case in point, Romero regularly participates in some of the most well-known, major events for Native arts each year like the Heard Museum Guild Indian Fair & Market and the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts' Santa Fe Indian Market—both of which garner international audiences. During the 2010s at these events and in museum exhibitions of Native American art, Romero took note that she was not seeing a presence of the Native female nude in fine art contexts, and that it was an enormous oversight in the field.[324] This meant that the portrayal of Native women was largely absent from the art historical context of the nude—a foundational practice for figurative drawings, paintings, and sculpture in Western academic training. Moreover, it also meant that then-extant portrayals of Native women in the nude were largely left to disrespectful photographs found in scientific and pornographic-oriented contexts.

As the first critical context on this topic, in *Making History: IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts*, Nancy Marie Mithlo devotes a chapter to figurative nudes in Native

[323] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[324] Ibid.

American art made by Native North American artists during the post-modern period. She begins by writing that her research led to her conclude that, "…damaging images in popular culture had an impact on the self-esteem and life choices of Native peoples, especially women."[325] Further, Mithlo goes on to present several examples of Native American art of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and 2010s that portray Native American women in the nude—what can be understood as predecessors to Romero's *Native Woman* photographs. Perhaps most akin to Romero's *Native Woman* series are portrayals of female nudes by Yvonne Thomas (Lummi) and Shan Goshorn (Eastern Band of Cherokee, 1957-2018)—both works held in the collection of the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe in northern New Mexico.

Thomas' mixed media work on paper, *Dawn's Glow (Northwest Woman II)* (1984), depicts a nude Native woman whose face and body are positioned outward to the viewer, while she holds a seated pose on a log by the water's edge.[326] Surrounded by a landscape colored by pink tones, the woman's skin bears a warm complexion with Native Northwest Coast designs overlaid on her face, arms, hands, and legs. In a collaboration with Thomas, the woman portrayed offers a positive image of a Native female in the nude to public audiences through her expression and pose of both strength and assuredness.

Likewise, Goshorn's *Vessel* (2015), a trio of cylindrical baskets woven with photographs printed on paper, depicts three views of a pregnant, Native woman who appears to be in her twenties or thirties.[327] The black-and-white images offer perspectives of the woman in positions that reveal the back of her head and torso; an almost frontal position that shows her breasts,

[325] Nancy Marie Mithlo, "The Gaze in Indigenous Art: Depictions of The Body and Nudity," in *Making History: IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts*, ed. Nancy Marie Mithlo with a foreword by Robert Martin (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), 15.
[326] Ibid., 21.
[327] Ibid., 38.

belly, and legs; and a side profile that presents her breasts, belly, legs, and feet. In all three views, the woman holds her arm overhead as a frame for her face and body—a pose that exudes grace. Moreover, the woman gazes to the side and downwards—she withholds her eye contact from onlookers in an action of gentle agency. Thus, in considering Thomas and Goshorn's artworks, it becomes apparent that these artists also sought to present public audiences with respectful, positive imagery of contemporary Native women in the nude. As such, Romero's collaborative photographs of Native women in the nude expand upon prior work of Native women artists who have contributed to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Nikki

In 2014, Romero collaborated with Nikki Nez (Diné) (Fig. 52) to begin her *Native Woman* series with a color, digital photograph of a Native woman in the nude, printed on plateen, or a semi-luster paper—the material also selected for *Kaa* and *Ty*, images that I will discuss below. With Nez belonging to a matrilineal tribe, her stance in *Nikki* (2014) demonstrates Native women's leadership in familial, tribal, cultural, and artistic expressions. This pose—a Diné birthing position—shows Nez standing in low squat, where she presses her arms together in front of her breasts and between her thighs with her palms flat on the ground. Wearing only moccasins with rolled-down leggings, Nez gazes downwards, withholding her face from viewers, and shows her hair parted in the middle and formed into two braids. The narrative takes place in front of a Diné eyedazzler blanket (Fig. 14, 52), or weaving with serrated diamonds, made around the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that features mostly red wool with black and white accents. As its primary design, the diamonds reflect the ways that Navajo people reimagined Hispano patterns, or Saltillo sarape motifs, into their weavings as the trading of

blankets persisted between cultures in the southwest.[328] As such, Diné weavers began incorporating serrated diamonds into their blankets around the 1850s and 1860s.[329] This change built upon more than a century of southwestern blankets and their associated dyes, yarns, and patterns being traded north and south by way of the Rio Grande and Camino Real, or Spanish Road.[330] Further, as the early tourism era took hold, these blankets traversed the United States' east coast and Western Europe—both by way of travel in the southwest region.

Romero named the portrait *Nikki* (2014) after her collaborator. This marked the first instance of her titling convention that seeks to honor each woman featured by their names, as a corrective for the many historical images of Native women where the subjects remain unnamed. It also confronts the current epidemic of murdered and missing Indigenous women in the Americas, where thousands of persons never return home after the violent attacks and abductions of them. Thus, Romero's combination of visual elements place a central emphasis on the critical importance of Native women carrying on legacies of their forebears while understanding this continuance through the worldview of everywhen. On the relation and materiality of *Nikki*, Romero reflected:

> …our bodies have been othered. This contributes to the idea of missing and murdered Indigenous women. We're not human. We've been hypersexualized in photography and in media. And, so I remember coming home and having this idea—I'm going to do a female nude…the piece was really meant to be incredibly empowering. It comes from an incredibly maternal place…She's in a birthing stance. It's meant to speak to life-giving. It's meant to look very supernatural and empowering…The lighting on it is very powerful. The stance is very powerful. And then there's all the repeated patterns of her body and the triangles. And then the crazy eye designs on the antique blanket and the mother earth tones in it are all meant to be very womanly.[331]

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[328] Ibid.
[329] Joe Ben Wheat, "Navajo Blankets," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* ed. Eulalie H. Bonar (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press in association with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 75.
[330] Ibid., 70-71.
[331] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

As such, the backdrop of the Diné eyedazzler blanket acts as both a physical and visual support for Nez as both an artistic collaborator and carrier of legacy for future generations. Further, the blanket underlines the ongoing vitality of the arts and exhibition practices of Native women of the early tourism era while conveying the simultaneous expansion of these practices in the twenty-first century in this collaboration between two Native women.

The combination of Nez with the eyedazzler blanket in Romero's photograph also creates a correlation with a well-circulated photograph of Elle of Ganado at the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition held in San Francisco (Fig. 13). Of the latter, this image shows Elle weaving an eyedazzler blanket at a loom in area entitled "A Typical Indian: Navajo Winter."[332] A young Diné girl stands at the edge of the weaving loom on one side of Elle, and Tom, her husband, stands on the other side of her next to a group of Diné people seated together. In a comparison of the two images, both compositions feature a Diné woman in close proximity to an eyedazzler blanket that signal the life-giving power of this art form. *Nikki* exudes this dynamic in her birthing stance, while the image of Elle of Ganado conveys this through the presence of Diné people all around her.

In both images, the loom holds a strong, large presence as a foundation that binds the people together in moments of everywhen. The eyedazzler blankets, as art forms that continue to give much strength to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, look back, in the present moment, and forward at once in patterns of renewal that Native women artists persist. The blankets reflect a moment in the late nineteenth century when Diné weavers began creating more complex weavings with commercially-dyed wool in addition to their hand-dyed wool from their

[332] Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 72.

sheep herds. In this way, the photographs communicate the legacy of weaving as a constant source of sustenance for future generations. They speak to the connections between generations through both the creation and movement of these weavings by way of Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. Romero and Nez's collaboration persists in carrying on this legacy.

For the tribe, their orientation centers on K'é, or a Diné way of being that centers acts of giving, love, and kindness among families and is demonstrated through the art of weaving being passed down through women's families.[333] As such, the narratives woven into the textiles deeply connect the people with the Navajo Nation—their homelands that surround four sacred mountains in the Four Corners region of the Colorado Plateau.[334] In Canyon de Chelly at the Navajo Nation, Spider Rock, a rock spire bearing cultural significance, honors the Diné people's holy ancestor, Spider Woman, and her gift of weaving to the Diné people and their culture that persists into the future. During their transition from the second to third worlds, the Diné people received the art of weaving as a gift from Spider Woman (Na'ashéjii Asdzáá). She is their ancestor who was tasked by the Holy People (Diyin Dine'é), the sacred beings who created the world through thoughts, songs, and prayers, "to weave her pattern of the universe" and teach the

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[333] Ann Lane Hedlund, "'More of Survival than an Art': Comparing Late Nineteenth Century and Late Twentieth-Century Lifeways and Weaving," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* ed. Eulalie H. Bonar (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press in association with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, 1996), 48; Pete and Ornelas, *Spider Woman's Children: Navajo Weavers Today*, 10-15.

[334] Hedlund, "'More of Survival than Art': Comparing Late Nineteenth Century and Late Twentieth-Century Lifeways and Weaving," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* 49-51; Bonar, *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian*, 116, 134; Peter Iverson, *Diné: A History of the Navajos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 14-16. As early as the 1100s, the Diné people migrated from points further north and west in the Americas to the southwest—a journey reflected in their clans, or Indigenous social organizations, that adopted a range of people as well as cultural practices of both Native American and Hispano origins. Prior to the seventeenth century, Diné weavers made textiles on looms with yarns of cotton, a local material that weavers at the Pueblo villages in the Rio Grande Valley also used. The Navajo Nation reservation extends into Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, with its capital located in Window Rock, Arizona.

people how to weave in beauty, or hózhó, and harmony in order to reciprocate these qualities into their lives.[335]

Spider Woman based her method on close observations of a spider creating its geometric web, and, with further instructions from the Holy People, she gathered an array of gifts from the sacred mountains, including songs from Dibé Nitsaa, or the "big sheep" mountain to the north. These gifts included wood, plant dyes, patterns, and prayers—elements still employed today in tandem with related songs. Following these gifts, the Holy People instructed Spider Woman's husband, Spider Man, to construct a loom of wooden beams and a set of weaving tools, which included a comb for tapping yarns into place. Through the generations, Diné artists carry on their ancestors' legacy of weaving wool textiles on a wooden loom with a vertical foundation of warp yarns, through which weft yarns are threaded horizontally. The centrality of sheep to Diné worldviews, ways of being, and modes of survival cannot be overstated, as these animals provide for all aspects of life.

As such, the eyedazzler blankets move through spaces of everywhen through their connections between the origins of weaving for the Diné people, their survival during The Long Walk and forced internment at Bosque Redondo from 1864 to 1868, and the past, present, and future generations of both the people and the tribe's weavers.[336] The eyedazzler textiles in both the 2014 and 1915 images of Nikki Nez and Elle of Ganado, respectively, reflect the Germantown weaving tradition. Following the Diné people's release from Bosque Redondo and relocation to reservation lands near their former homes in the late 1860s, the U.S. government

[335] Pete and Ornelas, *Spider Woman's Children*, 10-15.
[336] Iverson, *Diné*, 51-54. The Long Walk refers to the Diné people's forced relocation to imprisonment, and it included more than 50 marches across hundreds of miles.

provided treaty annuities, such as livestock and food rations, including Germantown yarns, where red was the color most often used.[337]

From the vibrant Germantown yarns, the "eyedazzler" design emerged as a new pattern. It reflects a regional aesthetic of Hispano and Native textiles that featured similar designs.[338] It also marks another significant shift for Diné women, who had already been weaving with the red yarns of unraveled bayeta—Mexican, European, and American wool trade cloth.[339] As such, the increasing detail in Germantown designs also directly reflects the Diné weavers' continued transformation of pre-dyed wool yarns into bright red motifs that appear as a constant element in many of their textiles. The shift in color serves as a visual record of the tribe's history, and their expanded color palette marks their survival. Colors hold both constant and varied meanings for the people. White refers to females, the east, and the six sacred mountains; black refers to males, the north direction, and the four stages of life; and red references west.[340]

Thus, the combination of Nez in a birthing stance with the eyedazzler textile in *Nikki* conveys many layers of meaning that overlap in the frame of everywhen facilitated by the medium of photography. From this iconography, Romero poignantly communicates a message of feminine power and leadership in collaboration with Nez, so that both reciprocity and accountability ground this expression. As Veronica Passalacqua writes regarding Native

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[337] Ann Marshall, "Color Riot! How Color Changed Navajo Textiles," in *Color Riot! How Color Changed Navajo Textiles* (Phoenix: The Heard Museum, 2020), eds. Deborah Paddison and Tobi Lopez Taylor, 14-15. Germantown refers to mass-produced wool yarns made in Pennsylvania.
[338] Margaret Moore Booker, *Southwest Art Defined: An Illustrated Guide* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2013), 50-51. In the twenty-first century, Diné artists continue to expand upon this style, known as Germantown Revival.
[339] Ibid., 18; Laurie D. Webster, "Changing Markets for Navajo Weaving," in *Navajo Textiles: The Crane Collection at the Denver Museum of Nature & Science*, by Laurie D. Webster, Louise I. Stiver, D.Y. Begay, and Lydia Teller Pete with a foreword by Ann Lane Hedlund (Denver: Denver Museum of Nature & Science and University Press of Colorado, 2017), 56; Wheat, "Navajo Blankets," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* 70-71.
[340] Bonar, *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian*, 116, 134.

photographers, "Shifting this interpretive power to Indigenous people is one approach to contextualizing their complex relationships with photography…they remain immersed members of their communities…documenting their environments over a lifetime of change."[341] Demonstrating both a commitment to Indigenous narratives told through lens-based imagery, this cooperative project with Nez led Romero to continue with her *Native Woman* series and collaborate with more women in northern New Mexico and areas beyond. As such, this body of work persists in intermeshing Native women's stories of past, present, and future and their critical contributions to artistic and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico.

Kaa

Named *Kaa* (2017) (Fig. 53), the second photograph Romero made in her *Native Woman* series depicts Kaa Folwell (Santa Clara Pueblo, b. 1991), a pottery artist who is Susan Folwell's niece and is also based in northern New Mexico. *Kaa* conveys "how the spirit of Clay Lady has been passed down through thousands of years to this young woman."[342] Captured at 1/8000 second, Romero collaborated with Folwell to create a portrait where the latter holds a low kneeling pose with one of her hands resting on her thigh and the other crossed over her breasts. She tilts her head upwards with her hair fanned in circular form—extending from her elbow to above her head. Her hair bears a light color at its tips and darker color everywhere else, thus reflecting the moment of both firing and transformation of Indigenous pottery in an outdoor pit or bonfire. Covered in white clay from Romero's home of the Chemehuevi reservation, Folwell's

[341] Hulleah T. Tsinhnahjinnie and Veronica Passalacqua, eds., *Our People, Our Land, Our Images: International Indigenous Photographers* (Berkeley and Davis: C.N. Gorman Museum, University of California, Davis and Heyday Books, 2006), xi, xiii.
[342] Alexis Celeste Bunten, "Cara Romero: Chemehuevi Photographer," *First American Art Magazine* 18 (Spring 2018): 74.

body features a digitally-overlaid pattern sourced from ancestral Mesa Verde pottery that references lightning and is represented in zigzag lines in white framed by brown, geometric lines.[343] The combination of Folwell's presence with sacred clay from Romero's home embodies the collaboration of this artwork. Further, the Mesa Verde pattern reflects shared ancestry, as both collaborators trace their Indigenous heritage to this site.[344]

On the origins of creating *Kaa*, Romero recalled:

> You know, I'm married to a Pueblo potter that works with clay all of the time. And, in *First American Art Magazine*, there was an article written by Rosemary Diaz [Santa Clara Pueblo] about Diego. She began with this beautiful anecdote about Clay Woman. It was the first time that I had read this story of this deity of the clay, if you will. And we have a similar mythos back home…how this entity of the clay—soft and inviting and warm to work with and found the world over. But when you go to fire her, no man can ever master her. So, I thought, oh, this is a metaphor for Native women. And you know, I come from a tribe with really strong women and powerful women. I reached out to a clay artist because I wanted to explore this idea of Clay Woman with a clay artist.[345]

As Romero's recollection demonstrates, collaboration drives her photographic narratives that bring together multiple moments in time. This partnership also reflects a Tewa creation story in Santa Clara Pueblo, where "we're all made from clay."[346] In particular, *Kaa* brings together cultural references that unify Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico through the bridging of ancestral histories, the early tourism era, and the twenty-first century. This collaborative practice creates new connections between Indigenous expressions of female leadership for both Romero and Folwell.

On her process for this photograph, Romero reflected:

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[343] Ibid.; "Mesa Verde," National Park Service, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/brochures/1940/meve/sec1.htm#:~:text=Mesa%20Verde%20is%20known%20to,remained%20until%20almost%201300%20A.%20D. Mesa Verde refers to the Four Corners area of the southwest region, from a time period that spans circa 700 to 1300 CE.
[344] Bunten, "Cara Romero: Chemehuevi Photographer," 74.
[345] RoseMary Diaz, "Diego Romero: Cochiti Potter," *First American Art Magazine* 9 (Winter 2015/16): 68; Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[346] Alicia Inez Guzmán, "The Profound Photography of Cara Romero," *New Mexico Magazine*, February 2019, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.newmexico.org/nmmagazine/articles/post/cara-romero/.

> So, I began to work with Kaa…we began to kind of flesh out the idea of capturing clay woman. She's painted in clay. We also picked out the Mesa Verde vessel. There's a second photograph of a Mesa Verde vessel projected onto her skin. It's actually done in Photoshop, but it's a composite of two images. Those were all chosen together…making sure that the design work resonated with her and that the story resonated. And, to have a clay artist, it became very editorial. It became very much about Kaa. So, then it became about how this supernatural medicine was passed down to her through thousands of years.[347]

From this statement, it becomes clear that Romero and Folwell's partnership significantly contributes to the patterns of renewal in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex put forth by Native women in the area since the early tourism era. Further, Native women's practices of making pottery exemplify moments of everywhen, as this art form holds a time immemorial history that continues to influence the present and future as seen in *Kaa*. Every visual pattern in *Kaa* conveys the generational legacy of Native women's influence in both pottery making and expanding the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex—as this relationship itself exemplifies a collaborative partnership.

In a close analysis of *Kaa*, the female figure carries this entire composition and all of its related, visual elements. This vision offers viewers an undeniable reading of "woman"—as the composition and its related narratives simply cannot exist without the unification of Native women's creativity and corporeal form. As such, Folwell's body holds a constant presence that creates a visual statement of the power of Native women's strength and their patterns of renewal in artistic and exhibitionary practices. In doing so, her participation in this image embodies this dynamic position, and the action of Folwell's pose and Romero's record of this moment engage both artistic and exhibitionary expressions at once. Through Romero's technique of photographing Folwell at 1/8000 second, Folwell's radiating hair, frozen in a moment of overt

[347] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

movement, evokes an ethos of high fashion of the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries. It also demonstrates both Romero and Folwell's understandings of how Native culture visually intersects with mainstream, commercial photography.[348] Thus, this aesthetic of high fashion offers an opportunity for viewers to envision women, and specifically Native women, as avant-garde, or at the forefront of experimentation in creative practices in the arts. This evocation of high fashion also serves as a bridge that overlaps moments in time. It locates a space of everywhen through the relationships between postmodern couture, or high fashion, and the Mesa Verde pattern overlaid on Folwell's body. As such, Folwell and Romero's collaboration fuses into a pattern of renewal, or place where they demonstrate expansion in Native women's leadership in arts and exhibitionary expressions.

In addition, a personal element known to the two collaborators and their social circles takes form, as Folwell also uses Mesa Verde patterns in her own pottery designs. An example of this is *Calibo Pot*, a pottery collaboration between Folwell and her partner, artist Derek No-Sun Brown (Shoshone-Bannock). This artwork features a zigzag design in an array of crisscrossing bright colors that cover the inside of a large bowl that bears a red exterior with crosses—a motif used by both her aunt, Susan, and grandmother, Jody, that connotes Santa Clara Pueblo. As such, the lightning pattern on Folwell's body visually speaks to the ways ancestral pottery making both remains part of her everyday life and will be carried on in the next generations. Moreover, the merging of the Chemehuevi clay further enacts moments of carrying legacy—it functions as the sacred vehicle that holds the lightning pattern. Considering these visual elements together, Folwell portrays the spirit of Clay Lady taking a new form within her body—a creative vessel that carries the feminine legacy of pottery making into an aesthetic of high fashion.

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[348] "David Richard Gallery - Artist Talk: Abbey Hepner, Jessamyn Lovell and Cara Romero moderated by Katherine Ware," YouTube, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rkdIeqMiNaA.

This legacy of expansion can also be seen in a comparison of *Kaa* with a photograph of Nampeyo taken by Joseph K. Dixon in 1913.[349] In the latter, Nampeyo gazes directly at the viewer while she sits in a low position on her knees while holding clay in both hands. Four vessels and a bowl of clay surround her. Two vessels showcase her Sikyatki Revival designs, while another, sitting in a puki, or supportive bowl, appears to be close to the polishing and drying stages. Another vessel reads as a large water jug that Nampeyo carried from the nearby water sources to her home village. While strikingly different compositions, both Dixon and Romero's photographs convey both the power and strength of the feminine spirit of the clay as a source of resilience and expansion. The former does this through the arrangement of pottery vessels that encircle Nampeyo and visually gesture to both her direct gaze and clay in her hands, while *Kaa* fuses Folwell's body with Chemehuevi clay and the digitally-overlaid, Mesa Verde design.

Both images point to Native women as the source for this creativity by way of a gift of legacy from their tribes' feminine deity of the clay. Further, both compositions visually convey the clay as the primary source of creation and site of Native women's artistic expansions in the southwest region, and, in particular, the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. And through photography, a convention that fueled the establishment of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex during the early tourism era, these legacies continue to persist in the twenty-first century—in a kind of collaboration between the clay and photographic media.

Thus, *Kaa* also moves into both social and political spheres through the poignancy of the visual elements brought together in a printed, digital photograph. In doing so, the Mesa Verde pattern commemorates its use in domestic pottery vessels, such as ollas, cups, ladles, and

[349] Kramer, *Nampeyo and Her Pottery*, 112.

bowls.[350] In any vessel that carries it, like Folwell's body and the food wares, the pattern offers prayers for nourishment in the form of rain in its pattern as a lightning design. The visual connections made between these contexts overlap in everywhen, as Native women's arts practices in past, present, and future generations rely on water to sustain creativity. This holds particular significance in the dry climates of northern New Mexico and the southwest region in the twenty-first century—a constant condition of the past five thousand years.[351] Further, Indigenous cultures throughout the southwest region of central Turtle Island share this symbol and interpret it according to tribal worldviews within creative expressions, with a commonality of prayers for rain. As such, the lightning pattern functions as a testament to Native women's arts practices in northern New Mexico, and the larger region, as an expansive site of survival held constant through place-specific interactions. These relationships, rooted in nourishment as well as reproductivity and exchanges between Indigenous tribes, honor Native women pottery makers of past, present, and future generations.

The image of *Kaa* also calls attention to the widespread appropriation, or taking without permission, of Native patterns in non-Native fashion designs. The aesthetic of the photograph signals that the political statement being made holds this particular context and specifically to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. As curator Karen Kramer writes regarding the situation in the United States, "They appropriate Indian style for their own purposes, often using it to assert a kind of "true" Americanness… it's like a game of "Telephone," where the message

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[350] "Artifact Gallery – Ladle," Mesa Verde National Park, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/meve/learn/education/artifactgallery_ladle.htm; "Artifact Gallery – Olla," Mesa Verde National Park, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/meve/learn/education/artifactgallery_olla.htm; Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park Cliff Palace," Mesa Verde National Park, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/bae51/sec9a.htm. Note: This is an excerpt from Fewkes' 1911 book. For the full text, see Jesse Walter Fewkes, *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park Cliff Palace* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology, 1911).

[351] Ann Marshall, ed., *Rain: Native Expressions from the American Southwest* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000), 18.

becomes garbled…Imitating Indian design may be legal according to U.S. copyright law, but it's still a thorny, even a moral issue."[352]

This paradoxical legality also parallels land appropriation and its related injustices of wellbeing. For Romero, being from the California side of Lake Havasu, her life experience includes a personal history of land appropriation rooted in intertwined Chemehuevi and American histories that resulted in both pain and reemergence. Between 1934 to 1938, the Parker Dam, a federally-funded endeavor, formed Lake Havasu through a process that flooded tribal lands and many community members' homes in order to yield 450 miles of shoreline.[353] Born two generations later, Romero feels this history of place and conveys it in her photography. She states, "The oral histories tell of how there were already inches of water in people's homes before they were made to leave. Now Lake Havasu feels haunted—there are homes and floodplains below—and when I submerge myself there, I feel all of that water memory."[354]

Thus, through *Kaa*, both Romero and Folwell present a collaborative vision with a clear and grounded meaning significant to both of their Native cultures. Through the lightning design, a symbol circulated throughout the Indigenous southwest, they express the significance of both the prayers and the fruition of water that fuel the resilience of Native women's artistic legacies in the region. Further, the photograph's mobility, or movement through social and political strati, reaches into spheres like that of high fashion in the twenty-first century to confront issues of appropriation in connected contexts. In turn, Romero and Folwell's collaboration creates patterns of renewal that honor their feminine ancestry, survival, mentorship, and place-specific

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[352] Karen Kramer, "Native Fashion Forward," in *Native Fashion Now: North American Indian Style*, by Karen Kramer, with contributions from Jay Calderin, Madeleine M. Kropa, and Jessica R. Metcalfe (Salem, Munich, London, New York: Peabody Essex Museum in association with Delmonico Books, 2015), 18.
[353] Guzmán, "The Profound Photography of Cara Romero," *New Mexico Magazine*; "City History," Go Lake Havasu, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.golakehavasu.com/city-history.
[354] Guzmán, "The Profound Photography of Cara Romero," *New Mexico Magazine*.

interactions. Through these women's shared relations in both northern New Mexico and Mesa Verde, they contribute to the kin-space-time constellation of these locales. They find their intersection within the everywhen of *Kaa*—a composition that honors Native experiences of past, present, and future.

In terms of Native audiences' reception of *Kaa*, Romero states, "I found the response in Indian Country, and particularly among women, has been overwhelmingly loving. Women have told me, 'This is how I feel about my body, too.'"[355] Furthermore, this artwork moves through both familial and public spaces—it hangs in the home of Folwell's grandmother—pottery matriarch Jody Folwell—and, in 2019, it was published in the *New York Times*.[356] As such, Kaa Folwell and Cara Romero successfully expanded the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex to national and international audiences in an elite, mass media publication, while honoring the legacy of earlier generations of Native women artists, like Jody Folwell. Further, Romero's husband, Diego, collaborated with Jody in reinterpreting this image for a collaborative pottery vessel, thus expanding the movement and reach of this photograph. In doing so, these artists' collaborations and successes hinge on the strides made during the early tourism era by Native women artists—ongoing leaders in northern New Mexico arts and exhibition practices.

Ty

As the third photograph of focus in this chapter, *Ty* (2017) (Fig. 54) depicts Romero's collaborator, Ty Harris (Diné) in profile with her eyes closed. She faces the left side of the

[355] Bunten, "Cara Romero: Chemehuevi Photographer," 74.
[356] Tess Thackara, "The Hand of Native American Women, Visible at Last," *The New York Times*, May 31, 2019, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/31/arts/design/native-american-women-art.html; Jody Thompson, "Pottery that Speaks," *Native American Art Magazine*, December 1, 2018, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.pressreader.com/usa/native-american-art/20181201/282222306805625.

composition while holding her presence at the exact center of the frame. As a significant backdrop in the image, a Navajo blanket in a Moki style—a striped pattern overlaid with crosses and serrated diamonds—surrounds Harris' face, white shell necklace, shoulders, and upper chest.[357] With Harris' breasts partially revealed, the image implies that viewers witness her nude body, even though much of her figure remains beyond the frame. For this photograph, Romero was awarded first place in the Classification division at the Santa Fe Indian Market in 2017.[358]

On the origins of this photograph, Romero explained:

> …that was really an intertribal effort of interviewing Ty, and finding out the mythos that are important to her, and how she would be interested in being portrayed and showing her sketches of ideas that I had…letting her pick from different, maybe it's vernacular from her own tribe…she began to talk about White Shell Woman. I began to think of Chemehuevis being the traders of the Southwest. We were the ones that were able to traverse the Mojave Desert. And where did we get the white shells from? And where did the Navajos get their white shells from? They got them from us. And where did we get them from? We got them from the coast. We have songs about all of these trade routes, and we all speak in these trade languages that go from east to west.[359]

Thus, White Shell Woman holds a central place as a Diné ancestor who provided the people with white shell—the original material for their weaving combs.[360] To honor her legacy of leadership, Harris holds a central position in the photograph that links the necklace with the blanket, and, with Romero's collaboration, this cooperative portrait realizes an everywhen. It brings together moments of intertribal partnerships in relationship to the tethering of Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico across time.

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[357] Wheat, "Navajo Blankets," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* 82. Moki, or Moqui, the Spanish name for Hopi, refers to the tribe's indigo blue and brown striped blankets. The Diné people wove similarly styled blankets during the late nineteenth century and incorporated indigo dye—a color introduced in the area by Spanish settlers around the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
[358] Romero, *Cara Romero Photography: Editions*, 23.
[359] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[360] "Native Voice TV - NVTV – Anecita Agustinez (Navajo/Diné) – Navajo Rugs," YouTube, accessed June 19, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fAFSHjd_6tA.

Of the necklace's origins, Romero described its pathway to this composition.

> I asked my girlfriend that's from the west coast, Leah Mata Fragua [Northern Chumash], if she had any Olivella shells, which are the sacred white shells. Because I had this idea…if [Ty's] interested in White Shell Woman, maybe we can incorporate white shells that are sacred to us in California. And [Leah] said, "…I've been collecting them for ten years, so they're really rare." We spent four or five days stringing these luxurious white shells…we draped them over this young Navajo woman and kind of like reinvigorated this old trade route from 1000 years ago of the Chemehuevis getting the white shells from the coast and bringing them to the southwest.[361]

As such, the white shell necklace bears particular significance, as it reflects time immemorial trading between Native tribes in the southwest and western regions. Moreover, the necklace reflects multiple understandings of the white shells—a cross-cultural phenomenon that overlaps through the collaborative forces and living entities that brought this photograph to fruition.

In this photograph, the featured Moki Blanket dates back to the time period between the late 1800s and the early twentieth century—the early tourism era. The cross elements it features as an overlay to the stripes also reflect Diné women's initial use of the motif around the 1860s, as yet another reimaging of Hispano designs within a Navajo context.[362] Thus, the Moki blanket commemorates the leadership of Diné women artists, like Elle of Ganado, in establishing, shaping, and redefining Native women's arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. Through its designs and materials, the blanket embodies the cross-cultural influences in the southwest region, particularly with the significant changes in dyes and patterns that took place during the late nineteenth century. As a visual history, the blanket in *Ty* recalls critical events that forever reshaped the people's weavings and ways of life. It recollects several moments in time—a kind of everywhen.

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[361] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.
[362] Wheat, "Navajo Blankets," in *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian,* 78.

In the early seventeenth century, Diné women adopted the use of indigo blue into their weavings, after the Spanish settlers introduced the color into the region during their occupation that began in the late sixteenth century.[363] By the 1860s, Diné weavers incorporated the indigo with a dark brown into a striped pattern—a regional style that flowered from the neighboring Hopi tribe's weaving influence on both Native and Hispano peoples in the area.[364] These changes foreshadowed yet another major shift in Navajo weaving that emerged during the Diné people's internment at Bosque Redondo from 1864 to 1868, as discussed above. During these years, the women unraveled and re-wove commercial yarns—a continuation of their pre-internment unraveling and reweaving of bayeta cloth. The Diné women's use of both of these kinds of premade cloth made it possible to obtain crimson red, which holds a continued presence as a signature color of Navajo weaving. As mentioned earlier, as yet another turn in Navajo weaving, upon their return to their homelands in the late 1860s, Diné women adopted brightly-dyed, Germantown yarns—federal annuities—as another way to persist in meshing crimson red with other bright colors into their designs.

Taken together, the indigo blue and crimson red—as signature colors in Navajo weaving— in this blanket attest to Diné women's leadership in their arts practices as they underwent both major cultural shifts and moments of duress. In doing so, the colors and patterns chart the movement of the Diné people and their corresponding artistic practices in weaving. In particular, the blue and red coupled with the precision in the diamond, cross, and striped patterns—a blend of Native and Hispano influences—attest to Diné women's leadership in blending signature patterns and colors. As such, this combination marked a central presence for their weavings in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex during the early tourism era.

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[363] Ibid., 82.
[364] Ibid. Hispano references the descendants of the Spanish settlers in the southwest.

Further, their feminine leadership fueled their co-establishment and creation of a platform for Native women artists in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex—a phenomenon carried on today by Diné weavers of all genders in the early twenty-first century.

Reciprocal Journeys and Movements: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes

As discussed above, Romero expands the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex through her photographic arts practice that offers new visions to the representation of Native peoples in lens-based media. Her practice focuses on the empowerment of Native women, in particular, and feminine legacies passed on intergenerationally. These themes emerge in *Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes* (Figs. 55-60)—an exhibition that brought together five years of Romero's collaborative processes in the form of thirteen portraits. Further, the themes in the exhibition marry national and international reach with place-specific interactions through the concept of everywhen.

Romero's exhibition took place at Peters Projects, a commercial gallery owned by Gerald Peters, who also owns a sister gallery in New York City. Peters has worked with artists in the southwest region since 1972, when he opened a gallery in Santa Fe—the predecessor to the space where Romero held her exhibition.[365] At the time, Peters began with showcasing paintings by Santa Fe and Taos artists of the early twentieth century, and he expanded into featuring art by artists pushing ideas of modernism during the 1910s to the 1940s.[366] By 1998, Peters opened a new space in Santa Fe—the same space of 44,000 square feet that he owns now.[367] Since establishing this gallery, Peters collaborates with international and Indigenous artists throughout

[365] Forbes Magazine, "Gerald Peters Gallery," *Forbes Magazine*, accessed June 19, 2019, https://www.forbes.com/2000/12/14/pggeraldpeters.html?sh=3cfe957f60d1.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.

the southwest region and beyond. He supports the work of many Native artists in northern New Mexico through solo exhibitions held regularly at the gallery, often coinciding with the high tourist season of summer. At Peters Projects, the common theme between the works shown is that they defy what one may think of as "southwest art"—a stereotype developed during the early tourism era by the Santa Fe Railway advertisements that persists today. Thus, Romero's work pushes these boundaries within the context of a fine art, commercial gallery space in a tourist area like Santa Fe.

On the particular locale of the exhibition and her art practice, Romero stated:

> I live in Santa Fe, and I make art in Santa Fe because it has a supportive nature about it. I feel like this place—it's almost like an art ecosystem of intertribal people that have all come to this place, like through IAIA [Institute of American Indian Arts], and of course, the early New Mexico painters combining with SWAIA [Southwestern Association for Indian Arts] have created kind of this artistic ecosystem that I don't think is found anywhere else. So, we're kind of all nesting in this space in Santa Fe, making art because it's kind of a cradle…it's actually an attraction internationally here…the whole town is really supportive of people being artists, having studios, having galleries, and the tourism economy coming here. So, I think that's the influence. I think that this has been going on for some time that international eyes have been coming to Santa Fe…[368]

As such, many of the settings of Romero's photographs in *Everywhen* took place in Santa Fe—a community that supports her artistic endeavors in expanding the ways that Native peoples both portray themselves and are seen by public audiences. Other photographs include reference areas Romero remains connected to, like Oklahoma and southern California. Further, seven of the thirteen images in *Everywhen* visually honor Native women's leadership in arts practices.

On the exhibition's theme, Romero recalled:

> The Everywhen show was really my first opportunity to have a solo show. I had done a couple that were smaller that were in galleries, but that was such a beautiful gallery and a big space. I began to put the different bodies of work together. The show was not created altogether. It was done over years in that really slow methodical way of producing a couple pieces at a time, whatever my heart was into. So, I found myself looking at the

[368] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

> body of work, trying to find my own values…I found them very imaginative. I've found them to really be set in dreamscapes…I'm really trying to focus on the feeling of our Indigeneity and how everything just kind of exists all at the same time…visually, there's often times things from the distant past mix with contemporary things.[369]

Thus, the years-long process Romero mentioned refers to her role as a mother and needing to plan the concepts and staging over several months at a time.[370] She lets her ideas percolate over an extended period and plans particular elements during hours separate from those where she tends to the responsibilities of her family.[371] Working in this way allows Romero to produce artworks each year that are carefully plotted and envisioned in her mind for months before they are realized.[372] As such, Romero's practice remains rooted in overlapping moments of time, where she considers past, present, and future at once.

On the basis for each photograph, regardless of the particular theme, Romero focuses on the biography of the subjects—a technique developed during her professional training in both Oklahoma and Texas.[373] This process allows these collaborative images to function editorially while simultaneously being born from the diverse, sensitive viewpoints of all participants.[374] In *Everywhen*, this approach offers new readings for her photographs once they are brought together by way of a collective, exhibition frame. Further, Romero's artworks, like *Nikki*, *Kaa,* and *Ty*, take on new meanings in relationship to other photographs in the exhibition. In addition to the *Native Woman* series, *Everywhen* featured images from the *First American Girl* series (2015-present), the *Water Memories* series (2015), the *Pop Culture & Our Indigeneity* series (2015-present), and the *Reclaiming Our Stories* (2017-present) series. Below, I discuss the

[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Ibid.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Ibid.
[374] Ibid.

dynamics between these different bodies of work in relationship to the positioning of *Nikki*, *Kaa,* and *Ty*—all within the exhibitionary frame of *Everywhen*. I do this to show the ways that the matrilineal legacies of Native women artists in northern New Mexico serve to both bridge the themes between these bodies of work and push the boundaries of representation in Native women's arts.

In one gallery space with a title wall and entryway, Romero interspersed works from her different series together. The first artworks viewers encounter are *TV Indians* (2017), from the *Reclaiming Our Stories* series; *Kaa,* from the *Native Woman* series*;* and *Wakeah* (2016) and *Julia* (2018) from the *First American Girl* series (Fig. 55). Printed in sepia and set in a northern New Mexican landscape, *TV Indians* features two Native women, Kaa Folwell and Romero's daughter Crickett (Muscogee [Creek]); Romero's son, Santiago (Cochiti Pueblo); and, a Native mother, Dana DeVore (Jemez/Kewa Pueblos) with her baby. All of the collaborators are dressed in tribal regalia while posing in front of a stack of televisions and a radio. The TV screens show mass culture representations of Native peoples. These include *Billy Jack* (1971), a film about a Native veteran and fighter as portrayed by an Anglo actor, Tom Laughlin; Iron Eyes Cody, an Italian actor named "Oscar" DeCorti, known for his performances as an "environmentalist Indian" in 1970s television commercials; the Red Power occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969; the *Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima* 1945 photograph that featured Ira Hayes (Pima); and *Smoke Signals* (1998), a cult classic film of an insiders' version into Native life on a Northwest reservation, replete with humor in its storytelling.[375] In featuring these mass culture images, Romero's photograph offers a direct commentary on the photographs of Edward S. Curtis

[375] "Billy Jack," IMDb, accessed July 21, 2021, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0066832/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1; "Iron Eyes Cody," IMDb, accessed July 21, 2021, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0002014/?ref_=fn_al_nm_1; "Smoke Signals," IMDb, accessed July 21, 2021, https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120321.

(American, 1868-1962), who traveled throughout North America and made romanticized images of Native peoples for his book series, *The North American Indian* (1907-1930).[376] Curtis was known for editing mass culture references out of his photogravures to preserve a ethos of the mythical and romantic (Fig. 5).

For Romero, the featured images of pop culture reflect beloved memories, albeit conflicted in content, for herself, her family, and many of her friends.[377] Positioned across from *Kaa*, connections between pop culture and Native peoples in northern New Mexico further emerge. This juxtaposition creates visual links between Native peoples as active participants in the expansion of arts and exhibitions practices that extend within both high fashion and pop culture. Through the Mesa Verde pottery pattern in *Kaa* and the tribal regalia in *TV Indians,* both images also resonate the importance of place in the southwest, and particularly in New Mexico. Further, the pottery and regalia reflect feminine legacies, as Pueblo communities began through matrilineal organization and the making of clay vessels originated with Native women. In looking at both images together, one see the connections to the visibility of Native women in mass media in national and international scope that emerged during the early tourism era. Thus, Romero contributes collaborative visions of how this expansion in arts and exhibitions continues to take form.

Printed in full color, *Wakeah* and *Julia*, adjacent to *Kaa* (Fig. 56), further emphasize the generational legacies of Native women. The series is a play on the "American Girl" doll series, where female-designated dolls wear particular clothes to identify their personality and heritage. As such, Romero partnered with these two women to portray them with clothing and objects that

[376] See Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: The Complete Portfolios* (New York: Taschen, 2015). This book is a reproduction of the complete set of *The North American Indian* published between 1907 and 1930.
[377] Interview with the author, August 19, 2018.

are important to their Native identities. *Wakeah* shows Romero's collaborator of the same name dressed in regalia alongside a suitcase and other special adornments. Facing viewers, Wakeah (Kiowa/Comanche) exudes confidence in front of a bright green background. Likewise, *Julia* depicts Romero's niece, Julia (Cochiti Pueblo), in her Pueblo regalia while she faces forward with a direct gaze at viewers. Standing in front of an orange background, Julia holds a coiled basket and three ears of corn. Behind and above her are a ristra of red chile, her great-great uncle's drum, two more baskets, two bundles of pine leaves, and several ears of her grandmother's blue corn.[378] She stands surrounded by a black-and-white border indicating a wild spinach pattern in pottery from Cochiti Pueblo. Considered together, these portraits convey Native women's legacies in arts production, particularly in the beadwork worn by Wakeah and the pottery pattern surrounding Julia. When juxtaposed with *Kaa*, the legacy of Native women's creative practices throughout North America takes visual form through all of the patterns of renewal present in each composition.

The next section of the gallery features another photograph from *First American Girls*, named *Naomi* (2018), and three photographs from the *Water Memories* series named *Eufaula Girls* (2015), *Oil Boom* (2015), and *Water Memory* (2015) (Figs. 57-58). These artworks surrounded a doorway to an adjoining room where *Ty* and another work from the *Native Woman* series, *Jenna* (2016), a Native woman wearing a boxing outfit, were installed with works by other international artists represented by Peters Projects. As viewers approached the adjacent gallery and entered further into the main gallery, they saw glimpses of *Ty* in relationship to themes of both intertribal relations and environmental politics. For instance, *Naomi*, a photograph of Naomi (Northern Chumash), shows her wearing a necklace of white Olivella

[378] Michelle J. Lanteri, "Review: Cara Romero | Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes, Peters Projects," *First American Art Magazine* 21 (Winter 2018/19): 79.

shells and her regalia while standing near tribal baskets and other culturally-significant objects. Naomi is Leah Mata Fragua's daughter, and thus, a connection between the shells worn by her and those in *Ty* takes form. As such, the circle continues between Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico, as these linked portraits begin to add many more layers to the artistic relationships between Native women in both the southwest and western regions. This complexity also alludes to Romero's position as a Chemehuevi photographer of the Mojave desert practicing photography in Santa Fe.

Further, the three portraits from the *Water Memories* (Fig. 58) series create another dimension to consider concerning the Olivella shells in both *Ty* and *Naomi*. This juxtaposition brings forth a theme of environmental politics, where many place-based materials, like the Olivella shells, become scarce as both climate change and industrial pollution continue to permanently alter the environment. This brings up the point that materials that are culturally significant to tribes may continue to be less available and thus may eventually remain as memories in tribal stories and songs. Through this intersection, the *Water Memories* portraits begin to come into focus as environmental narratives that bridge Native arts and legacies with tribal homelands.

Romero printed two of these works in sepia tone. *Oil Boom* (2015) features Cannupa Hanska Luger (Mandan/Hidatsa/Arikara/Lakota), an artist based in northern New Mexico. In this portrait, he submerges himself into the water, underneath a group of oil drills. *Eufaula Girls* (2015) features Romero's stepdaughter Crickett with her mother Lisa Tiger (Muscogee [Creek]). They also submerge themselves into water while holding shawls that support their movements. Printed in full color, *Water Memory* features Rose Simpson (Santa Clara Pueblo descent), another artist based in northern New Mexico, and Romero's son, Santiago. With both

collaborators wearing their Pueblo regalia, the double-portrait shows them engulfed in bright green water. In all three of these works, the collaborators appear to float in the water—a life force that continuously carries them from one moment to the next. This larger theme reveals a central link between the worldviews of Indigenous tribes throughout North America where water gives life, and, without water, life wanes and becomes increasingly difficult.

As such, *Oil Boom* confronts the prominence of the international oil industry in contaminating water sources and destroying the land. *Eufaula Girls* speaks to flooding events where Native peoples must relocate in order to survive, at the expense of losing access to culturally-significant lands that hold tribal knowledge. *Water Memory* speaks to the critical importance of the continuation of Native dances and ceremonies as prayers for water for all beings in the world. Thus, Romero's juxtaposition of these works near *Ty* and *Naomi* brings out new visual connections that underline the reciprocal orientation of Native arts, cultures, and lands—that water carries these legacies.

The last three works in close proximity in the gallery were *Nipton Highway* (2013) and *The Last Indian Market* (2015)—both from the *Pop Culture & Our Indigeneity* series—and *Nikki* (Figs. 59-60). Printed in sepia tone, *Nipton Highway* refers to Romero's home in the Chemehuevi Valley, and the image is a portrayal of Romero's son, Santiago, holding her younger son, Paris. Santiago stands in the middle of this road, and he and Paris face the viewer. Their pose conveys a theme of intergenerational support. On this image, Romero recalled:

> I set out to do a landscape, and the landscape that I'm from, I felt like wasn't represented. I'm from the land of chollas and Mojave Desert and Joshua trees. Where my ancestry is particularly from is about two miles from Nipton Highway. The land that my family sold in the 1940s is off Nipton Highway, and it's now owned jointly by the Bureau of Land Management and the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. That particular highway is not part of Joshua Tree National Forest…but I love that area because, in the Mojave Desert, it can look like that really barren landscape that probably conjures up in your mind. There are areas where the elevation or the ground water changes slightly, and all of

> these medicine plants will pop up…which is important to Chemehuevi and Southern Paiute peoples in the desert. At the last minute, I asked my son Santiago to hold his brother…I said, go stand with your brother in the middle of the road. He held him up, and the baby was just four months old, but he was just looking right at his mom in the photograph. And it was just such a beautiful, very candid, very quick photograph. And that's all it was.[379]

Taking place in a locale of cultural significance to Romero and her family, this moment during her process of collaboratively creating this image demonstrates the ongoing leadership of Native women artists in northern New Mexico pushing the boundaries of arts and exhibition practices.

For *The Last Indian Market*, Romero gathered together thirteen Native collaborators in the northern New Mexico area, many of whom are artists, to riff on the Italian Renaissance painting, *The Last Supper* (1495-98), by Leonardo da Vinci (Italian, 1452-1519). The roster included Romero's husband, Diego Romero, as Judas, as well as America Meredith (Cherokee Nation), Linda Lomahaftewa (Hopi/Choctaw), and Lomahaftewa's cousin, Marcus Amerman (Choctaw). Of the latter, he is dressed as Buffalo Man, his alter ego that comments on the return of the buffalo after its near extinction, imposed by the federal government, in the 1860s. The scene also featured Chris Eyre (Cheyenne/Arapaho), a filmmaker most known for his role as director of *Smoke Signals* (1998)—the cult classic film mentioned above.

Romero made this image inside a Santa Fe restaurant. The table is filled with fruits and bread. The bread references that from a Pueblo horno, or oven, as well as the body of Jesus Christ. The narrative also speaks to all of the imposed changes that Native people endured in order to survive, including those of diet and movement. During the late nineteenth century, these changes included the imposition of unhealthy and often nonedible federal rations and the confinement on reservations that restricted hunting, particularly of buffalo—a being so central to

[379] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

the lifeways of many Native peoples. Further, the food also references the Spanish occupation of the southwest, and their importation of wheat as well as many fruits into the region, such as watermelon, which has become central to Native cultures in the area. Lastly, the title of the image speaks to the annual Santa Fe Indian Market—which serves as a reunion for Native artists throughout the United States, in addition to being a premier event where they make much of their income for the year. With a twisting sense of both humor and critical commentary, the entire image also points to Native peoples' art practices as a primary foundation and legacy for survival.

When considering *Nipton Highway* and *The Last Indian Market* in relation to *Nikki*, who is posed in a birthing stance in front of a Navajo blanket, themes of portraying insiders' views into Native life emerge. All three of these portraits convey representations of Indigenous ways of being in individual, familial, tribal, and communal contexts as a kind of everywhen. The figures shown allude to their relatives. The narratives performed offer new visions of Native life to those outside these communities, while simultaneously providing a familiar scene to those inside these communities or those who hold similar relations in their own contexts. All of this serves to share a diverse understanding of the identities of Native peoples through visual imagery that prompts viewers to seek more, ask questions, and hold these visions of Native life in their hearts and minds. Native women artists in northern New Mexico persist in their exhibitionary work to expand this kind of movement.

In closing, my discussion of Romero's portraits shows how she and her collaborators create patterns of renewal in cooperation that exemplify Native women's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. In particular, *Nikki, Kaa,* and *Ty*, from the *Native Woman* series, demonstrate how the persistence of Native women's

pottery and weaving practices during the early tourism era continues to redefine Native women's arts and exhibitionary work in northern New Mexico in the twenty-first century. Through these portraits, Romero, through critical partnerships, enacts both a visual dialogue and a maternal, artistic exchange that overlaps time between the early tourism era and the twenty-first century. In Romero's practice, the fusion of mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions both become visualized and hold a central position in her artworks that honor Native women artists of past, present, and future generations. In her work, Romero carries on the legacies of Native women artists of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico—she builds upon their foundation of feminine power through her visualizations of arts, culture, and place—a kin-space-time constellation that continuously reunites in Santa Fe.

> …we can kind of innovate when we feel it's appropriate. We are held to strict cultural protocols, but when can we push that? And only we know. To me, it really has to do with your own truth and your own experience… it becomes really about your own subconscious and everything that you've experienced. And for me that's as an urban person, reservation person, mixed race. So, my identity emerges, my autobiographical subconscious that shows up in the artwork becomes very much about my experience and my identity.[380]

[380] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature

"Being a contemporary artist, it is good to look in different directions and see not only what is going on in the contemporary art world in that field, but also being Native American, being a Lakota citizen and an Ojibwe citizen as well… I can't help but look at the global connections."[381]

Athena LaTocha (Hunkpapa Lakota/Ojibwe, b. 1969), mixed media painter, New York

Athena LaTocha grounds her practice in the art of perspective—a pattern of renewal that allows her to create dialogue with the interspecies around her.[382] She takes an immersive approach to creating landscape paintings, as demonstrated in a recent exhibition in northern New Mexico—*Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature* (January-May 2017) (Figs. 61-72). For this project, LaTocha created a site-specific, or uniquely-designed, installation at the Institute of American Indian Arts' Museum of Contemporary Native Arts in downtown Santa Fe. As a visitor to Tewa lands, LaTocha carries on the legacy of Native women's leadership in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex from a perspective as a guest, thus contributing to the kin-space-time constellation of this particular locale. She does this through the Native epistemologies and ontologies that she contributes to this specific place. As such, her landscape paintings operate much like a prism, with many sides being drawn together. These dynamic angles allow both her and audiences to see her artworks as patterns of renewal in relation to both a specific place and from varying perspectives. Further, the location of her exhibition also bears significance as a kin-space-time constellation. The IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts serves in "bringing forth a vision that can drive future generations of Indians," as former IAIA

[381] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[382] Athena LaTocha earned a bachelor of fine arts degree at The School of the Art Institute Chicago and a master of fine arts degree at Stony Brook University in New York. Her paintings are in the collections of the Plains Art Museum, Aktá Lakota Museum, Stony Brook University, and the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, amongst other institutions.

president, Kathryn Harris Tijerina (Comanche) stated.[383] As such, LaTocha's exhibition re-envisions the possibilities for her paintings—as a locale to demonstrate the form of the land around her through materials gathered from specific places.

For this project, LaTocha recognized the power of La Bajada Red—the red clay found on the sloping trails of central and northern New Mexico (Figs. 61-72).[384] This material, as part of the earth of this particular place, guided her paintings for the *Inside the Forces of Nature* project and became the central material used. This process, of gathering local earth upon offering prayers in exchange, marked the first of several of LaTocha's site-specific installations that followed in this fashion in places such as Bentonville, Arkansas and New Orleans, Louisiana.[385] As such, LaTocha's place-focused process of portraying the landscape from a perspective of being immersed within it offers her a position of leadership in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. In *Inside the Forces of Nature*, she builds upon the partnerships between the earth and artmaking in northern New Mexico established by Native women artists of earlier generations. In this chapter, I argue that LaTocha fuses clay, ink, paper, and found materials to paint landscape narratives through a process of both feeling the environment and experiencing it from a perspective of within. Further, LaTocha's *Inside the Forces of Nature* exhibition demonstrates how her practice builds upon foundations established by Native women artists

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[383] Hill, *Creativity is Our Tradition: Three Decades of Contemporary Indian Art*, vii.
[384] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[385] Ibid.; "Art for a New Understanding: Native Voices, 1950s to Now," Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art, accessed June 27, 2021, https://crystalbridges.org/exhibitions/art-for-a-new-understanding-native-voices-1950s-to-now; "IAIA A-I-R: Athena LaTocha, Frank Buffalo Hyde, Jason Reed Brown, and Wanesia Spry Misquadace—Radio Broadcast," Institute of American Indian Arts, accessed June 27, 2021, https://iaia.edu/event/iaia-r-athena-latocha-frank-buffalo-hyde-jason-reed-brown-wanesia-spry-misquadace-radio-broadcast/; "Ear to the Ground: Earth and Element in Contemporary Art," New Orleans Museum of Art, accessed June 27, 2021, https://noma.org/exhibitions/ear-to-the-ground-earth-and-element-in-contemporary-art. These exhibitions include *Art for a New Understanding: Native Voices, 1950s to Now* (2018-2019) at the Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art and *Ear to the Ground: Earth and Element in Contemporary Art* at the New Orleans Museum of Art. LaTocha also held an artist residency at the Institute of American Indian Arts in November and December 2017, which allowed her to build upon her experiences relating to *Inside the Forces of Nature*.

during the early tourism era in northern New Mexico. Below, I offer an in-depth examination of LaTocha's paintings that comprise *Inside the Forces of Nature*—a critical contribution that expands the ever-changing form of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. As context for this analysis, I discuss the ways that mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions influence LaTocha's artworks in focus.

In northern New Mexico and the southwest region, the legacy of painting with pigments from the earth emerged with time immemorial pottery practices.[386] In these ancestral methods, Native artists gathered pigments from a variety of places in order to create specific color palettes. Further, these spectra, when formed into patterns and motifs, became representations of particular tribes and their relationships to the earth. This process recalls concepts put forth by scholar Gregory Cajete (Santa Clara Pueblo) that "…communal interaction with nature reflect[s] a basic idea of natural community, of human beings who are active participants along with all other entities and energies within an environment…the sense of natural community is expressed in the design motifs in forms such as pottery."[387] As such, this process persists, and particular families in northern New Mexico continue to be associated with particular palettes arranged from gathering area pigments in rock, clay, plant, and mineral form. For instance, the Gutierrez family of Santa Clara Pueblo, specifically Lela (1895-1966) and Van (ca. 1870-1956), became known for their pastel-like palette of mineral and clay colors during the early tourism era—a style passed on through the generations that continues today. In their vessels, this wife-and-husband team depicted motifs that reference water, birds, hunters, and warriors in yellow, greens, and

[386] Trimble, *Talking with the Clay: The Art of Pueblo Pottery in the 21st Century*.
[387] Cajete, *Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence*, 113.

pinks painted over a beige ground surrounded by bands of red pigment at both ends.[388] The perspective conveys their approach of working from a viewpoint of within.

Thus, northern New Mexico holds a long, ongoing history of pottery and painting practices developed in direct relationship to the land by Native women artists. As discussed earlier, Pablita Velarde, of Santa Clara Pueblo, began making paintings with earth colors (Fig. 27) while attending The Studio program at the Santa Fe Indian School from 1932 to 1936.[389] Mentored by both Tonita Peña (San Ildefonso/Cochiti Pueblos), a painter of the early tourism era, and Dorothy Dunn, who founded The Studio program, Velarde built upon the conventions of the flat-style painting on paper that emerged during the late 1910s. She made the leap from representing narratives of particular places to building narratives from the materials of these specific locales. To make paintings with earth colors, Velarde gathered rocks and raw clay in the northern New Mexico area and then ground them by hand with a *mano* and *metate*, or stone grinder and curved dish, before mixing them with glue and water to transform the pigments into paint.[390] She employed this process in order to convey the liveliness of the natural world, and, for these paintings, she often incorporated abstract, or non-representational, motifs into her compositions to reflect the ecology of northern New Mexico. Of this process, she stated, "The earth colors are my favorite medium. I feel at peace with my soul when I am working with the Earth."[391] In considering Velarde's process as an early expansion upon Native painting in northern New Mexico, a parallel emerges between her work and the way that LaTocha

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[388] RoseMary Diaz, "Avanyu: Spirit of Water in Pueblo Life and Art," *Santa Fe New Mexican,* May 14, 2014, accessed November 5, 2019, https://www.santafenewmexican.com/magazines/bienvenidos_2014/avanyu-spirit-of-water-in-pueblo-life-and-art/article_da0e9cb8-d4b2-11e3-9331-0017a43b2370.html; Jason Garcia, email to the author, November 7, 2019; Trimble, *Talking with the Clay: The Art of Pueblo Pottery in the 21st Century*, 54-55; Both Diaz and Garcia are part of the Gutierrez family.
[389] Lydia Wickoff, ed., *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art* (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, 1996), 275.
[390] Ruch, *Pablita Velarde: Painting Her People*, 44.
[391] Ibid.

approached her paintings for *Inside the Forces of Nature*. Further, this relationship forges intergenerational connections as these women's work depended on the foundations put forth by Native women artists in northern New Mexico, like Peña, during the early tourism era.

In carrying on the legacy of painting with earth pigments, LaTocha, a guest from New York, her current home, and of Lakota and Ojibwe territories, her tribal homelands, brings an outsider's perspective to her landscape paintings that results from her position of within. Recalling her work in 2016 and 2017, she stated:

> When I was down in New Mexico, I was basically just trying to find my own way through it. We have different sets of knowledge and different ways of understanding… there's other ways of knowing. For me, some of that is premised on that direct experience, on that immersion. And I've always believed that it's that kind of immersion that allows you to decipher intrinsic meaning or intrinsic relationship or intrinsic knowledge that can be found in place and understanding and having deep, rooted connections to place. Why does this texture appear here? How does it relate to the environment within which you find it? How do animals evolve, how do your plants evolve, how have humans evolved in particular areas? I think there are really strong connections between all things that can be found in those basic principles.[392]

In her description of her process, it becomes clear that LaTocha works from an intersection of both relatedness and liveliness in her partnerships with particular landscapes. Further, she values the process of immersion as a place to learn and find knowledge through respect, equity, and curiosity in her position as both an artist and guest of places in which she works.

On this kind of approach, scholar Kim TallBear (Sisseton Wahpeton Oyate) writes that Native ways of knowing and being "accord greater animacy to nonhumans, including nonorganisms, such as stones and places, which help form (Indigenous) peoples in much more complex ways…"[393] As the first of her immersion-style projects, LaTocha's landscape paintings in *Inside the Forces of Nature* reflect these mutual understandings between all of the beings and

[392] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[393] TallBear, "Beyond the Life/Not-Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies Thinking, and the New Materialisms," 187.

herself within the environment of New Mexico. Thus, this accounts for her position of "within," a set of perspectives that bridges her social position as an outsider with a sensitivity to the nuances of a particular place. For this project, LaTocha drew upon her relationships with her home and homelands in order to identify the specificity of the animacy and tactile qualities of the landscape of New Mexico. From this intersection, a cross-cultural dialogue emerged between both multiple kinds of beings and of multiple landscapes.

Beginning: Precursors to Inside the Forces of Nature

Born in Anchorage, Alaska, LaTocha knows firsthand how a mountainous environment affects its constituencies, and she has taken the approach of being "within" the landscape in the creation of her paintings for nearly twenty years. While Alaska is where she is from, these are not her tribal homelands. As such, in some ways, she grew up as a guest of the Anchorage area, living in a kind of duality of resident and guest at once. Of this influence, she reflected:

> …it wasn't until I was doing the current work that I've been doing since the early 2000s that I became aware of just how embedded Alaska is within my whole makeup. How I see and respond to environments, how it affects the way that I perceive depth and space and altitude and shift in perspective, because of the incredible depth that you can see in space, form, and mass. I think all of that has had profound impact on the way that I perceive things, like the fragrances and being outdoors. Where I grew up, we could literally walk out our back door and be in the woods. It was right there at the foot of a mountain, which was the first mountain in a range of mountains that went back down the valley toward a glacier that fed the river that we crossed over to get into Anchorage.[394]

As she describes above, LaTocha takes note of the nuances of outdoor environments during the conceptual steps of her artistic process which includes repeat visits to particular locations and her own Indigenous perspective of studying these places. In taking note of this critical part of her

[394] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.

process, it becomes apparent that LaTocha's artwork emerges from both her attraction and desire to move between divergent places—a now central part of her life.

During her childhood, LaTocha dreamed of moving to New York, where she lives now, with homes in Brooklyn and, also Peekskill, in the Hudson River Valley.[395] Her history with New York dates back to the early 2000s, as she earned her master of fine arts degree at Stony Brook University in 2007.[396] She also received training through The Art Students League of New York as well as through a bachelor of fine arts program at The School of the Art Institute of Chicago.[397] In relocating to places very different from her home, these formative years of her career as an artist not only offered LaTocha both conceptual and technical skills but also set a path in motion of her immersion into new places and their ecosystems. Moreover, living in both New York and Chicago provided her a chance to broaden her perspectives of landscape, mentorship, and community-building, as well as local and international currents.

In an intersection of landscape, mentorship, and community-building, LaTocha recalls that the Indian Health Service hospital in Anchorage functioned as a Native meeting place and de facto community center.[398] There, her mother, of Lakota and Ojibwe ancestry, gathered with Native peoples whose homelands were in or near this area—such as those from tribes who speak Yupik, Chupik, Alutiiq, and Inupiat. The significance of the hospital emerges from its presence as a gathering space for Native people living in remote areas where many aspects of their lives, like visiting the hospital or shopping at stores, requires a long commute.[399] On this part of her life, LaTocha recalled, "My work begins with my memory of Alaska—specifically the irony and

[395] Ibid.
[396] "Curriculum Vitae," Athena LaTocha, accessed June 27, 2021, https://athenalatocha.com/page/3-CURRICULUM-VITAE.html.
[397] Ibid.
[398] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[399] Ibid.

fascination between vast spaces devoid of human contact and the impact industrial development has upon the natural world. These natural and man-made environments elicit visceral responses as a reflection upon the turbulence of the human condition."[400] As such, LaTocha's formative experiences in Alaska set the stage for a nuanced understanding of being able to learn about a particular place through leadership in feminine relations—an important kind of both mentorship and community-building that continues to shape her practice.

In New York, LaTocha found a support system of artists that she relates to in her practice. In particular, she maintains a reciprocal friendship with mentor and fellow artist Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (Salish/Métis/Cree/Shoshone), who is based in central New Mexico but frequently visits New York because of her exhibitions and gallery representation there.[401] Smith offers mentorship to LaTocha in several ways. In 2015, Smith curated a solo exhibition of LaTocha's artwork at the CUE Art Foundation in New York City.[402] In this show, LaTocha created a wall-sized landscape, which marked her transition to working in this larger scale.[403] During the exhibition, some of Smith's work showed in adjacent galleries in celebration of her and LaTocha's friendship—one that spans intergenerationally and through legacies of leadership in arts and exhibition practices.[404]

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[400] David Bunn Martine with Jennifer Tromski, ed., and a foreword by Dore Ashton, *No Reservation: New York Contemporary Native American Art Movement* (New York: AMERINDA, Inc., 2017), 153.
[401] "Artists," Accola Griefen Fine Art, accessed June 27, 2021, http://accolagriefen.com/artists; "Artists," Garth Greenan Gallery, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.garthgreenan.com/artists; "Biography," Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.jaunequicktoseesmith.org/. Both galleries represent Smith and have hosted solo exhibitions of her paintings. Her paintings have also been shown at the International Print Center and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an institution who holds her work in their collection. Her paintings are also included in the collections of the Smithsonian American Art Museum and the Whitney Museum of American Art.
[402] "Athena LaTocha," CUE Art Foundation, accessed June 27, 2021, https://cueartfoundation.org/athena-latocha.
[403] Anna Tsouhlarakis (Diné/Muscogee [Creek]), "Unsettled," in *Athena LaTocha*, ed. CUE Art Foundation (New York: CUE Art Foundation, 2015), 30, accessed June 27, 2021, https://issuu.com/cueart/docs/issuu_catalogue_latocha.
[404] "Athena LaTocha," CUE Art Foundation.

In her paintings during this period, LaTocha applied sumi and walnut inks on paper with rocks and rubber tire shreds.[405] Smith interpreted the artist's paintings as "high drama, the earthen kind, as in arid places with volcanoes, earthquakes, high winds, and spewing ash. They are like the sandstorms in the SW [southwest] known as Haboobs…the viewer has a sense of atmospheric gravity, a weather front…"[406] In relating LaTocha's work to haboobs, Smith, thinking of her home in New Mexico, provides a foreshadowing of LaTocha's immersive project with IAIA in 2017. After LaTocha began working in northern New Mexico, Smith mailed a package of La Bajada Red clay to the artist's New York studio to give her more of the material she needed to work with in her paintings for the IAIA installation.[407] As such, this earlier moment of Smith and LaTocha's relationship in 2015 forged new, place-based connections between New York and New Mexico. It also extends a continuous global reach of the exhibition, thus paralleling the ongoing friendship between the two artists, as the CUE catalogue for LaTocha's show remains accessible on the internet.

Inception: Inside the Forces of Nature at IAIA

LaTocha's path to creating paintings for *Inside the Forces of Nature* began with an invitation from the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts' curator, Manuela Well-Off-Man, to exhibit. During this initial conversation, LaTocha presented her concept by saying, "…what I'd like to do is make a piece that is specific to your gallery wall and based on my specific experience of the local area, basically interpreting."[408] She went on to say, "I don't really

[405] Athena LaTocha, "Artist's Statement," in *Athena LaTocha*, ed. CUE Art Foundation (New York: CUE Art Foundation, 2015), 5, accessed June 27, 2021, https://issuu.com/cueart/docs/issuu_catalogue_latocha.
[406] Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, "Curator's Statement," in *Athena LaTocha*, ed. CUE Art Foundation (New York: CUE Art Foundation, 2015), 7, accessed June 27, 2021, https://issuu.com/cueart/docs/issuu_catalogue_latocha.
[407] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[408] Ibid.

see myself as a representational painter, but I do feel that I am a landscape painter based on interpreting sights."[409] In considering LaTocha's words, her proposal for her exhibition and the way she describes herself as an artist offer insights into her position as an outsider to northern New Mexico making landscape paintings from a perspective of within.

Further, her phrase—"interpreting sights"—brings together concepts of both narrative, or storytelling, and place, or particular locale, with the layered framework of sights, or what is seen and what is sought after to see. On the topic of narratives, scholar Kathleen Ash-Milby (Diné) writes, "But how does an artist capture something intangible such as a story or legend? Mixed media allows them [Native artists] to engage with multiple forms of heritage..."[410] Ash-Milby's reflections offer a place to begin to analyze LaTocha's paintings—as an art form engaging in dialogue across multiple cultures and species. Further, LaTocha's artworks offer narratives of particular sights in abstract, or non-representational, marks, yet they hold presence for the landscapes to which they belong. On the topic of Native landscape painters, scholar Kate Morris writes, "…a landscape painting is an assertion of Indigenous presence, a transmission of place-based knowledge, a depiction of landbase…fully kinetic experiences…"[411] From LaTocha's kinetic, or movement-driven, paintings, she imparts narratives of the place-based histories of the past, present, and future in central and northern New Mexico.

Thus, for her project with IAIA, LaTocha selected a pair of locales of focus from her travels between Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico. She began her immersion of the area by visiting Kasha-Katuwe—known colloquially as Tent Rocks—a site of rock formations

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[409] Ibid.
[410] Kathleen Ash-Milby (Diné), "The Essence of the Matter: Materiality and Mixed Media," in *Native Art Now! Developments in Contemporary Native American Art Since 1992*, eds. Veronica Passalacqua and Kate Morris (Indianapolis: Eiteljorg Museum of American Indians and Western Art, 2017), 190, 192.
[411] Kate Morris, *Shifting Grounds*: *Landscape in Contemporary Native American Art* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019), 10-11.

stewarded by Cochiti Pueblo that is located between Albuquerque and Santa Fe. LaTocha set out for this to be her initial focus for her paintings, but while driving, she noticed a bank of clay that kept piquing her interest.[412] On these experiences, she remembered:

> …Kasha-Katuwe…there was something about the formation. There is a sense of mystery, and they felt alive with definitely a presence that you feel, almost like a guardian ship. Something there that was really just alluring…how you navigate that space to go through that canyon area, to climb through and crawl through. But I kept driving by this bank of clay…next to the highway, when you have to pull off to head in that direction, to go across the plateau there. That caught my eye first, because it was a big red shield, or clay bed. And I really didn't think much more than that, because I was really drawn to the Kasha-Katuwe….I brought some of the materials back with me. I had stopped and picked up some red clay. I thought, there's something about it that felt very powerful, and it felt very special. Like there's something very strong about it…I didn't bring it back with the intention to use it in the work.[413]

This reflection reveals that the clay gestured to LaTocha through its animacy, and that she responded to its liveliness. It also persists Native women's legacies of using the clay for art made for the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

During her visits into the landscape, LaTocha also sought to relate to the area not only through her movements, but also through video and photographic documentation.[414] While recording the environment there, she offered her attention to the smells, the sounds, the animals, the plants, the water, the rocks, the arroyos, and the canyons.[415] From this kind of site research, she worked to establish a perspective from within. By noticing all of the different nuances of this particular place, she began to recognize the relationships between the different beings within the local ecology. Through learning this particular place through a respectful, immersive process, LaTocha positioned herself as a guest seeking to look at the landscape from a place of within, where she temporarily became part of the ecology. From this perspective, she joined the

[412] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[413] Ibid.
[414] Ibid.
[415] Ibid.

environment and desired to view it in a relational standpoint from inside its intersections, hence the title of the exhibition, *Inside the Forces of Nature*.

When she returned to her studio in New York, LaTocha put together different sections of photographic paper, a type made for ink jet printers, to form the support for her wall-sized painting.[416] Then she began to create the painting by applying layers of ink and moving them around to find a visual path to work through the composition.[417] From there, she looked for the images to reveal themselves through the process of adjusting marks within the pigment, and, after some time, she recalled that "Something happened, and the move was made in the studio. It [the La Bajada Red clay] found its way into the work literally."[418] Upon this turning point, LaTocha received the package of La Bajada Red clay from Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, and, shortly thereafter, she began to incorporate it and the clay gathered during her trip into her large-scale painting.[419] Titled *La Bajada Red* (2016-17), the painting conveyed a new dialogue between LaTocha's experiences in New Mexico and those in her studio in New York.

Layers: La Bajada Red

As the anchor piece for *Inside the Forces of Nature*, *La Bajada Red* (Figs. 61-66) measures at 104 x 362 1/8 inches, scaled to fit an entire wall space in the exhibition gallery. A sloping mesa (Figs. 62-64) created in La Bajada Red clay with gestures of black ink grounds the lower and middle sections of the composition. Above it, a cloudy sky shows brown and yellow ink splotches and drips with white areas peeking through (Figs. 65-66). These patches offer a sense of a thick atmosphere of cloud coverage, as the marks reflect the quick movement of the

[416] Ibid.
[417] Ibid.
[418] Ibid.
[419] Ibid.

clouds in northern New Mexico. Further, the sky portion visually balances the section below it. In its entirety, the painting carries on an overall sense of crescendos, as it seems to both move and shift the more one examines it closely.[420] When looking at the details, the scratch marks in the composition begin to emerge from the indentations LaTocha made with tire shreds and rock pieces. The effect allows for lower levels of the painting to be seen, thus offering a view from within to audiences.

Further, LaTocha takes an extraordinary amount of care in the complex textures she creates, resulting in an aesthetic of unresolvedness. Areas of *La Bajada Red* (Fig. 61) swirl into darker and lighter hues of brown ink and clay as well as thinner and thicker layers of pigment applied. The upper portion, implying a sky area, includes a maze of splatters that suggests a notion of peeling and scraping, or even explosion. Taken together, both areas of the painting communicate the resiliency and simultaneous degradation of the landscape. Moreover, LaTocha conveys these themes through her use of tire shred. This material serves as a metaphor for the effect of traversing the land and the forces of nature, including the industrial power of a motor vehicle. Within this context, she also holds herself accountable as a frequent road traveler. Of this part of her process, she explained:

> …when I was down in New Mexico, I ended up picking up tire shred…so driving down, I stopped in North Carolina and picked up tire shred. I picked up some from Tupelo, from stopping by to visit Graceland…then when we got on route 66, I pulled over and there was some nice tire shred on route 66…that's also a way of indexing place and road systems…and keeping those reminders of locomotion, movement, trajectory… front-and-center in the studio as well…some of the tires have a steel radial belt in them…they have a bit of a bite to them…They can scratch and scrape, dig into surface, dig through the media that you put down. Really abrade sections scraped through, and incise, cut into not just your material, but the actual support itself. It provides a certain sense of unexpectedness where it kind of thwarts your thinking a

[420] Michelle J. Lanteri, "Review: Athena LaTocha, Inside the Forces of Nature at the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts," *First American Art Magazine* 15 (2017): 74-75.

> bit. It's not that it throws you off your game, it's that it challenges the way that you understand what you do…what you think you know and your mastery of something.[421]

As such, LaTocha's reflection on this critical part of her process reveals her reliance on a quality of uncertainty, as a kind of partnership with the materials that she uses.

Thus, LaTocha offers visions of landscapes in New Mexico that project a multifaceted liveliness, or an ongoing series of breaths of life amidst the detrimental impacts of industry. *La Bajada Red* demonstrates this complex presence through its constant movement, as evidenced by the layer of La Bajada Red clay that continues to fall from the paper support (Fig. 68). This reciprocal gesture between LaTocha and the painting allow them to co-exist without the desire to own, master, or dominate. Instead, they respect each other and allow each other to move according to their own volition. In addition, LaTocha's paintings build upon particular legacies of relationality carried on by Native women artists in northern New Mexico. These works offer a new aesthetic, thus expanding upon the paintings of her feminine predecessors, like Velarde. As well, they connect to the time immemorial histories of the area, and particularly those of clay, thus contributing to both patterns of renewal and the kin-space-time constellation of this locale. In this process, *La Bajada Red* changes right before viewers' eyes—audiences witness its ever-altering state and process of living.

La Bajada Red also offers a sense of constant motion in its rounded marks throughout the composition. The higher part of the mesa at the left gives the sense of clay rolling down the hill towards the middle of the painting and then in a slightly upward motion at the right of the painting. The texture of the areas depicting the mesa suggest layered time—where the clay builds on itself through its different generations of creation. As such, these areas offer immense depth,

[421] Ibid.

where the paper remains concealed as to convey the time immemorial quality of the clay in this particular place. The clay also parallels the different generations of Native women artists in northern New Mexico, communicating itself as a foundation, and as a regenerative being. Moreover, the clay persists despite the crisis of industrial pollution. This degradation becomes visible in the warm brown ink in the sky portion of *La Bajada Red*, to convey the current health of the earth, as it co-exists with the regenerative clay. As well, the sky alludes to the forest fires of northern New Mexico—another devastating issue that affects all beings of this area. This occurrence takes the form of black ink placed in light strokes overtop the yellow-brown sky and above the clay. Another allusion forged here points to Los Alamos, New Mexico, the nearby site of nuclear weapons testing during the 1940s and 1950s.[422] LaTocha's choice of colors for the sky, adjacent to the clay, provide another parallel to the relationships between the environmental damage from radiation and the resiliency of Native peoples of the area, despite the sickness and death imposed upon them. The yellow also alludes to the uranium crisis in the region, where the misuse of this mineral through the course of industry continues to challenge the health of the land. This remains a critical problem at the Navajo Nation, where areas of the tribe's lands remain toxic from fallout from the uranium mining boom of the 1940s and 1950s.[423]

As such, the view that LaTocha gives comes from within, and it brings together many sides, like a prism, as a constant reminder of the variance of perspectives, akin to patterns in pottery, textiles, and photography. About her process, she shared:

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[422] "Our History," Los Alamos National Laboratory, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.lanl.gov/about/history-innovation/index.php. Also, see Anne Fitzpatrick, "Igniting the Light Elements: The Los Alamos Thermonuclear Weapon Project 1942-1952" (PhD diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1999), accessed June 27, 2021, https://fas.org/sgp/othergov/doe/lanl/docs1/00460048.pdf.

[423] Doug Brugge and Rob Goble, "The History of Uranium Mining and the Navajo People," *American Journal of Public Health* 92, no. 9 (2002): 1410-1419, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3222290/.

> What is the message? What is the medium? How do we do things?… I work on the floor, and I flood the work with sometimes gallons of water…It was a process of getting to know what I'm doing, while I'm doing it…about this clay bed, this area, and the Cochiti Pueblo…the history of the fact that these were clay beds by the surrounding Pueblos where the women would come over and gather their clay. So, what happened here? So, what is La Bajada? I was doing a lot of research…and as it was coming together, I was figuring things out and learning about this particular mesa, La Bajada, and learning about the road system. So, is it a matter of renewal? Or a matter of getting to know or getting to re-learn something outside of what you know, but relocating, re-centering your base of knowledge in different environments?[424]

Within her practice of working on the floor, LaTocha also engages with the history of Abstract Expressionist painting in New York in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly the drip-style, action paintings of Jackson Pollock (American, 1912-1956) that he made on the floor with house paint.[425] While Pollock's paintings depicted abstract forms in a way that allows viewers to project their own meaning entirely, in *La Bajada Red,* LaTocha brings in a complex system of research to ground her paintings in experiential knowledge of and physical references to a particular place. Her process offers viewers an opportunity to ground the meanings they imagine as connected to a site-specific location, while also projecting their own experiences into their understanding of the painting. This multi-sighted approach allows LaTocha to contribute to the legacies of Native women's leadership in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex where their artworks speak to both places of significance and the webs that connect all beings.

Thus, *La Bajada Red* connotes the ongoing negotiation of cross-cultural presence in northern New Mexico at La Bajada Mesa, an area that sits between two rivers, now known as Rio Abajo and Rio Arriba.[426] Originally, this pass was formerly traversed by way of a steep trail known for its "hairpin" turns, which travelers have been able to avoid since the rerouting of the

[424] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[425] See Richard Pipes, ed., *Reading Abstract Expressionism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).
[426] Robert Julyan, *The Place Names of New Mexico*, revised ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 28.

trail took place in the 1930s.[427] This inscription into the earth speaks to ongoing, imposed changes to Indigenous lands of the southwest by settlers of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. The cuts in LaTocha's painting reference these histories. They form a web of pathways that speak to the constant traversing of the land by varied species. The different levels of these incisions describe the diverse impacts recorded while these movements take place. Further, LaTocha marks the increase in travel through the use of tire shreds. This implies the abundance of car travel in the 1930s to northern New Mexico—a preference for private traveling that developed out of the Santa Fe Railway and Harvey hotel era of the early tourism period.

When compared to a National Park Service photograph of La Bajada Mesa on the agency's website, the marks LaTocha made from the tire shred stand out in comparison to the tourism image that maintains an ideal of a pristine, or immaculate and unpeopled, mesa.[428] Where LaTocha's painting ascribes value to the crisscrossing tracks on both nurturing and detrimental travels, the National Park Service photograph promotes an illusion of all travel as positive. The image presents an ideal of the mesa as an attraction, or desirable sight to visit, with the paths visible, as to appeal to the fantasy of traveling in "solitude"—a state of "aloneness" that allows for "adventure." On this topic, scholar Dean MacCannell writes, "The attraction functions as an opaque mirror 'reflecting' back onto the tourist his own ideal self."[429] Here, the tourist, or traveler from a place outside this locale, receives a mirrored vision of themselves successfully navigating a rugged trail. Supporting this theme, on the same website, another image offers a reproduction of a postcard photograph, likely from the 1930s, that shows a lone car driving on a

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[427] Ibid.
[428] "New Mexico: La Bajada Mesa," National Park Service, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/new-mexico-la-bajada-mesa.htm.
[429] Dean MacCannell, *The Ethics of Sightseeing* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2011), 110.

path on the mesa. Offering a glimpse of nostalgia, or longing for the past, this image's title reads "Automobile Road on La Bajada Hill on 'Ocean to Ocean Highway,' near Santa Fe, New Mexico." This description references the mesa as temporarily joining Route 66, as well as its inclusion in Harvey Indian Detour excursions.[430]

However, the trail holds Native ancestral histories of agricultural development, thus attesting to the time immemorial presence of tribes in northern New Mexico. LaTocha honors this area as the homelands of Native peoples through the La Bajada Red clay in her painting. As scholar Stephen Trimble writes, "Pottery comes from the earth. By transforming pieces of this earth—painted with minerals and plants, shaped with stones and gourds—Pueblo artists create a bond between landscape and people, between home and spirit."[431] This bond refers to the continued centrality of clay to Native women's art practices in New Mexico. It also conveys the complexity of the relationships between Native peoples and the clay as extending into all parts of life and across species and cultures. Further, the clay functions as a passage of time, connecting ancestral generations of Native peoples with those of the early tourism era, the near present, and the future. With this in mind, LaTocha's painting becomes forever enmeshed with the ongoing events of La Bajada Mesa. It creates an eternal intersection with the time immemorial art practices of Native women working with La Bajada Red clay in their pottery—a key practice especially critical during the early tourism era. As such, the clay substantiated Native women artists' leadership in establishing the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

LaTocha's painting also represents the immense amount of travel at this locale that began in the 1860s when the United States Army altered the area for wagons to pass through.[432] This

[430] "New Mexico: La Bajada Mesa," National Park Service.
[431] Trimble, *Talking with the Clay: The Art of Pueblo Pottery in the 21st Century*, 2.
[432] "New Mexico: La Bajada Mesa," National Park Service.

change allowed the mesa to be much more passable, whereas prior to this alteration, the trail could only be traveled on foot or by animals.[433] It also was an outgrowth of the trail's use in the 1700s, when the Spanish settlers claimed the area for El Camino Real.[434] This Spanish "real road" functioned as the major throughway for the flow of goods from the Americas, Europe, and Near East between Mexico City and Santa Fe. Today, the National Park Service recommends that travelers visit La Bajada Mesa by car or by foot, but only on the "sanctioned" trail denoted by the federal agency.[435] LaTocha's process of scraping through the clay and ink with found tire shred and rocks visually describes the ongoing travel and changes in pathways on the mesa.

Further, it also reveals the liveliness of these materials in her process of building and carving into the clay and inks on paper in her paintings. Of this action, La Tocha described:

> I would love to crack open the rocks…in the studio. I was cracking them open to get a sharp edge, because I want some rocks that I had picked up, they were round and I wanted to scrape or cut into the paint layers…all of these things are at play and bringing these things into the studio and how they elicit certain responses. How it opens your mind to thinking about not just the subject of the work, not just what that image is, but also the materiality. What is the material? By the time you got to see La Bajada Red in the gallery, I think in the first few days of the exhibition, you could still smell the earth, the fragrance of the freshly rubbed red earth on the work that had fallen to the floor, kind of released this fragrance…It's an extension of that experience of the landscape or the environment from which the work comes.[436]

As such, *La Bajada Red*, with its records of movement, represents both the cross-cultural and cross-species exchanges at La Bajada Mesa, as performed in both harmful and nurturing ways. The painting considers the complexity of creating new pathways for travel in relationship to the time immemorial legacy of Native women's pottery practices in the southwest region.

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[433] Ibid.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.

Inside the Exhibition Space: Inside the Forces of Nature

Housed in a modest space at the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, *Inside the Forces of Nature* took place in a gallery and adjoining hallway and was comprised of *La Bajada Red*, four painting studies for the large painting, and a video interview. Upon entering the exhibition area, one first encounters the title wall, artist statement, and recorded discussion between LaTocha and the museum's curator, Manuela Well-Off-Man (Fig. 67). Here, it is instructive to review the artist's statement about her process as displayed in the exhibition.

> Having grown up in Alaska, my understanding of the land was influenced by both the rugged monumentality of terrain and the impact of the oil and gas industry upon the land. To this day, I feel a natural affinity for places and things that evoke those memories, such as the mountains and deserts of the southwest, and excavation sites and earthmoving equipment found in the industrial landscape. I unfurl large rolls of paper on the floor and immerse myself in the painting, much like being in the landscape. Working from the inside out, I disperse a palette of earth-toned inks with distilled water and industrial solvents, and use aggressive tools such as wire brushes, scrap metal, and reclaimed tire shreds to push the ink around. Surrounded on all sides by the expanse of paper, I move through the works as if I am traversing the terrain, makhá mani.[437]

Of the Lakota term makhá mani, this refers to the relationships between the earth and walking—suggesting a constant traveling through the earth.[438] Further, LaTocha's statement reveals her persistent journey in her practice of exploring the relationships between the industrial stress on the land and the ongoing nourishment of the earth.

The statement above, in addition to the video interview on display, also puts forth LaTocha's concept of re-enacting what she finds in the ecologies of particular sites. Her commentary situates her stance as one rooted in the concerns of the everyday without romantic notions of the landscapes she traverses. She sees the landscape as a set of forces of nature that

[437] Athena LaTocha, Artist Statement, 2017.
[438] "Mani," Dakota Dictionary Online, accessed June 27, 2021, https://fmp.cla.umn.edu/dakota/browserecord.php?-action=browse&-recid=309; Athena LaTocha, email to the author, July 1, 2021; National Park Service, "The Black Hills as a Sanctuary and Sacred Landscape," *U.S. National Park Service Publications and Papers* 157 (2003): 461, http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/natlpark/157.

constantly changes in its intertwined relationships with industry—implications of the immense travel to the southwest that vastly increased during the early tourism era.

As such, the basis for *Inside the Forces of Nature* and *La Bajada Red* hinges on the drastic changes that have taken, and continue to take place, in international travel as well as in Native women's arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. Upon entering the adjoining gallery, audiences encounter *La Bajada Red*, the wall-sized painting that anchors the space across from four small studies on paper that informed the larger work. With LaTocha's statement in mind, visual connections between industry and the La Bajada Red clay begin to take form. Considering the permanence of the clay leads to its role as the primary support for Native women artists' practices. It forms a tether to the significant roles of Pueblo women and their pottery in both establishing the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex and forging a foundation for later generations, like LaTocha, to showcase their artwork in public forums. Further, upon a closer look at *La Bajada Red*, audiences see a pile of the clay (Fig. 68) that continues to fall from the painting onto the floor. This movement suggests the transformative power of this material and its versatility for use in any artwork. Its presence on the floor also attests to both its expansiveness and animacy. It seeks to be experienced in many different ways, constantly altering artists' and audiences' perspectives of its possibilities to take new forms.

The clay's position below the painting also offers further implications. Within the gallery, a didactic provides more insights. It reads as follows. "Why is there red soil on the floor? Athena LaTocha used red La Bajada soil in her painting to add color and texture to her composition. Part of the soil falls down over time. This process evokes erosion in nature. It is part of the art experience, according to the artist."[439] Thus, LaTocha's perceptions of the La Bajada mesa in

[439] IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Exhibition Didactic, 2017.

tandem with the audience's witnessing of her *La Bajada Red* painting serve as a methodology for both creation and presentation—a strategy discussed by scholars Candice Hopkins (Carcross/Tagish) and Lucía Sanromán.[440] By centering observation, LaTocha invites viewers to find new paths into experiencing the artwork, thus creating new connections with all who spend time with her painting. As such, this approach situates LaTocha's position of "within" as a possibility extended to audiences in their participation in the exhibition and their considerations of the landscape's complexity as well as the implications of its changing form.

Further, the focus on "erosion" calls attention to the concept of particular places as events in and of themselves. On this topic, scholars Jean Robertson and Craig McDaniel write, "A place is an event, as well as a collection of tangible materials, for places inevitably undergo change, however slowly this may occur (only the conception of an idealized place, or utopia, remains fixed and static). As events unfold in a specific place, they invest the location with historical significance."[441] Here, the overlap of the events of erosion and the movement of the La Bajada red soil suggest the resiliency of the clay through different epochs of this particular place. Moreover, the clay offers intergenerational support for Native peoples of the area, and, by extension, that of all beings who traverse La Bajada mesa. Despite the erosion and industrial degradation of the land, the clay regenerates, providing a constant source of sustenance for Pueblo families in pottery practices carried on through feminine leadership. Overall, *La Bajada Red* continues to speak many stories at once—that of Pueblo families, that of Hispano and American settlers, and that of all beings across cultures and species. As such, the historical

[440] Candice Hopkins (Carcross/Tagish) and Lucía Sanromán, "Inverted Landscapes," in *Unsettled Landscapes*, ed. Lucy Flint (Santa Fe: SITE Santa Fe, 2014), 37.
[441] Jean Robertson and Craig McDaniel, *Themes of Contemporary Art: Visual Art After 1980*, 4th ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 228.

significance of La Bajada mesa remains in-flux and expands upon these narratives through the clay's movement—patterns of renewal that LaTocha participated in as a guest of these lands.

As a key part of the exhibition display, the falling clay in LaTocha's painting also creates a bridge to the earthwork art of the 1960s and 1970s. Of this influence, LaTocha reflected:

> I was really captivated by the work of 1960s and 1970s artists and particularly the earthworks artists, the earth artists, and moving out of the commercial. But then how do you make a viable living? So, that comes into play. It's questioning that and sustainability. It's hard to think about sustainability sometimes in a studio practice and in an artistic practice. How do you think about what you do? And how do you draw the line to establish a perimeter within which you'll work and stay within that...How do you establish a system of values?[442]

As such, LaTocha's comments particularly recall the well-publicized practice of artist Robert Smithson (American, 1938-1973). Known for his creation of the *Spiral Jetty* (1970), this spiral installation in the Great Salt Lake in Utah is now "owned and stewarded" by the Dia Art Foundation.[443] The art center's concept of "owning" runs parallel to Smithson's imposition on the land to alter it permanently. Further, as scholar Darren Jorgensen writes about Smithson, "He would become known as the leading earthworks artist, recognizing in the destruction of the earth an opportunity to recreate it anew."[444] This binary, or oppositional, approach also emerged in Smithson's "nonsite" artworks of the late 1960s. In these works, he brought materials from the landscape into museums. He categorized these installations as "nonsites," or spaces without distinction.[445] In both the *Spiral Jetty* and nonsite works, Smithson applies a linear sequence to the events of creation and destruction.

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[442] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.
[443] "Robert Smithson, Spiral Jetty," Dia Art Foundation, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.diaart.org/visit/visit-our-locations-sites/robert-smithson-spiral-jetty.
[444] Darren Jorgensen, "Earthworks and Bioart, Ethics and Cosmology," *Synnyt/Origins* (January 2015): 7.
[445] "Robert Smithson, Nonsite, Site Uncertain, 1968," Detroit Institute of Arts, accessed June 27, 2021, https://www.dia.org/art/collection/object/nonsite-site-uncertain-61831.

Expanding on ideas of bringing the outdoors inside, LaTocha positions the museum as an ecological locale in its own right in *Inside the Forces of Nature*. She does this by bringing together the landscape with the industrial as a reflection of the ecosystem of the present. She values co-existence, seeing how creation and destruction exist at once, rather than in a linear sequence. As such, her paintings add a circular approach to extant concepts of earthworks, understanding that all entities exist as distinctive sites, and that creation and destruction happen simultaneously, rather than before or afterwards.

Thus, in combination with the falling clay, the group of four studies (Figs. 69-72) placed on the wall across from *La Bajada Red* offers audiences another opportunity of observation—this time to consider smaller scale narratives of the La Bajada mesa. One of the studies examines the interactions of the inks and shellac, while the other three offer a closer look at the way that the inks, shellac, and La Bajada Red clay interact. This difference suggests the additive process of LaTocha's work in making *La Bajada Red*. It also attests to the care that she gives to navigating her use of materials in her artworks. As such, the studies provide considerations of the overlapping boundaries between the land and sky portions of *La Bajada Red*. Further, they allow audiences to gain closer access and examine particular textures, like the scratch marks and splatters of ink. They also demonstrate how the clay grounds the overall composition of *La Bajada Red,* and how the painting exists as a direct reference to the La Bajada mesa based on the direct connections to the soil.

Overall, the smaller works assist in viewers' understandings of the larger painting. They serve as microcosms of *La Bajada Red* while acting as a visual guide to both the spectrum of color and swath of textures featured in the larger painting. They serve as a site of knowledge-building and of establishing the relationships between the elements of the La Bajada mesa. Their

position across from the larger painting serves as a mirror of sorts, with the different works on paper reflecting into each other, thus adding to the prismatic dimensions of the overall installation. The studies also allude to concepts of growth, where all beings begin small and extend their presence as time passes. Here, concepts of ecological community emerge, as LaTocha's paintings reveal the expansive web between the outdoors and indoors, and, in turn, become understood as representative of a particular place—northern New Mexico.

In closing, in this chapter, I have closely analyzed how LaTocha fuses clay, ink, paper, and found materials to paint landscape narratives through a process of both feeling the environment and experiencing it from a perspective of within. In doing so, LaTocha creates patterns of renewal through her immersive process where she traverses the landscape both outdoors and when making her paintings in her studio. LaTocha's approach of bringing together all the elements of the landscape—the natural and the industrial—allows her to convey a holistic view of specific areas. In particular, in *La Bajada Red*, LaTocha reflects upon the history of the La Bajada Red clay at La Bajada mesa. She considers its past, present, and future in relation to Pueblo peoples and all beings. She creates a new connection to this material through both her site-specific painting and the overall installation of *Inside the Forces of Nature*.

Further, LaTocha accounts for the impacts of industry in northern New Mexico through her use of tire shreds and sharp rocks as painting instruments, while also recalling the cross-species and cross-cultural histories of northern New Mexico. Overall, her entire process of creating *La Bajada Red* forges a tether to the early tourism era in northern New Mexico, when intersections between Native women's art practices and the advent of railway travel forever altered the landscape of this particular locale. In doing so, LaTocha builds on the legacy of Native women artists of northern New Mexico—she creates a tribute to clay that looks in all

directions as it continues to carry on through Indigenous leadership. To close with LaTocha's takeaway from *Inside the Forces of Nature*, she recalled:

> …I suppose there can be this sense of renewal. Because you're constantly re-learning what you think you know and adapting it to different locations. So, you're establishing a system, a methodology and this discourse with this environment. But then you're transposing that, or redirecting, or taking that system, and using that system to help you understand something else. So, it was really fascinating, because that was the first project that I did where I became incredibly cognizant of what was going on, as it was going on. And being aware that there are so many unknown factors that you kind of have to trust that intuitive response and have that faith to step into the abyss with…I think it's just renewing systems of methodology into your subject more, to have a better understanding. So fascinating, it was incredible, but that was the first project where I became aware of that system.[446]

[446] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.

Patterns of Renewal: Concluding Thoughts

In my dissertation, I positioned artist interviews as a site of reciprocal exchange in order to center an active dialogue throughout this study. To do this, I applied Jolene Rickard's four-part method of analysis proposed in *Watchful Eyes: Native American Women Artists* to inform the structure of the interviews held specifically for use in this text.[447] These discussions focused on the complexity of the artists' practices as shaped by mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary forms, and place-specific interactions. As such, the artist interview process allowed me to contextualize the artworks and exhibitions under consideration with insights unavailable through other methods and sources. It also facilitated a space of collaboration in producing new knowledge on the topic. In doing so, each chapter offers a multifaceted understanding of Susan Folwell, Cara Romero, and Athena LaTocha's leadership in arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico in the early twenty-first century. Further, our conversations revealed the ongoing connections between Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha's exhibitions in focus with the critical roles of Native women of the early tourism era who established, shaped, and redefined the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex through their arts practices.

This dialogue also put the ongoing partnerships between Native women artists across generations in northern New Mexico into relief. In looking at the ways that these artists support each other, it became clear that Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha's work in northern New Mexico builds upon the accolades of their feminine forebears in order to strengthen the foundation of this exhibitionary complex for Native women artists of the future. This core tenet of Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha's practices demonstrates the ways that the intertwined concepts of

[447] Rickard, "Artist Essay: Frozen in the White Light," 18.

patterns of renewal and kin-space-time constellations continue to expand Native women's leadership in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. This links past, present, and future generations within this specific place with a unique, Indigenous history that continues to be built upon by Native artists. Further, these kin-space-time constellations rely on patterns of renewal for their expansiveness and in persisting connections across generations of Native artists in the area. These relationships become evident in the living, interrelated entities of artworks, displays, publications, photographic imagery, and community knowledge that continue to tether the achievements of Native women artists across generations.

For Folwell, her work in her familial homelands allows her to persist a practice of artistic storytelling from a time immemorial perspective. In her *Taos Light* series (2016-present) (Figs. 36-51), she does this through a creative rumination on the cultural activities carried on by Tewa and Tiwa women in the Pueblo villages of northern New Mexico. In her *Taos Light* pottery vessels, she reflects on Native women's practices of baking bread, gathering materials from the land, and even modeling for artists in northern New Mexico—all activities that remain interdependent on the cultural changes in the area. To do this, Folwell draws on imagery of these activities that the Taos Society of Artists painters represented in their artworks, thus positioning her painted pottery as both a link and legacy of the early tourism era carried into the twenty-first century. As such, her pottery contributes to the kin-space-time constellation of Native women's creative practices in northern New Mexico. This strengthens the tether between the leadership of Native women artists during the early tourism era and those working today and in the future.

Folwell performs acts of looking across time through patterns of renewal passed onto her from her feminine forebears. She primarily receives these legacies from the pottery practices of her mother, who paints narrative commentary on clay vessels, and her grandmother, one of many

Native women whose pottery formed the foundation for the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. As such, patterns of renewal emerge from Folwell's narratives portrayed in clay—a familial legacy that anchors the subject of her *Taos Light* series. Through this group of vessels, she locates her pottery practice as one of many feminine legacies of collaborative work carried on by Pueblo women. This position, grounded in clay, allows her to situate the *Taos Light* series as a mirror that reflects her own perceptions of Pueblo lifeways in northern New Mexico.

In this series, Folwell reconfigures the Taos Society of Artists' paintings—widely-publicized narratives that presented Native peoples from the outside perspectives of Anglo painters to both promote Southwest travel and seek empathy for Native peoples from audiences. To do this, she reimagines the subjects of these paintings in order to arrive at a place that reflects the history of her home and her understandings of it today. This process forges a dialogue of cross-cultural exchange that mirrors the critical events of the early tourism era that forever changed the social and physical landscapes of northern New Mexico, for all beings involved. As such, this implication became emphasized in Folwell's exhibition, *Through the Looking Glass* at The Harwood Museum of Art in Taos. Through its history and collections on view, the context of this museum calls further attention to the significant changes that informed the artworks, displays, publications, photographic imagery, and community knowledge of the early tourism period.

From here, further studies of Folwell's *Taos Light* series could include interviews with descendants of the Pueblo women who posed for the Taos Society of Artists painters. These discussions could focus on their perspectives of these paintings as well as expanded insights on the relationships between the painters and models. Additionally, Folwell's works could also be looked at in expanded Indigenous contexts to consider the foundational legacy of women's

storytelling in Native communities. A study of narrative pottery practices by Indigenous artists of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries would allow a beneficial perspective to locating nuances in Folwell's artworks within a global perspective. In these kinds of examinations, artist interviews would again remain critical to both center dialogue and create new knowledge on the topic. In addition, Rickard's four-part methodology could be adapted to the studies suggested here in order to focus interview discussions on the influence of mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions.

For Romero, her work in the hybrid position of being a guest and at home in northern New Mexico allows her to hold a unique perspective in creating photographs in collaboration with Native women of the area. As such, her *Native Woman* series (2014-present) (Figs. 52-54) clearly creates a tether between Native women artists' leadership of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico and their generational descendants. To do this, Romero takes an editorial approach to making these portraits—a process that centers interviews with her collaborators in her artistic practice. This process holds a critical weight in Romero's photographs, particularly from this series, in such works as *Nikki, Kaa*, and *Ty*. Through positioning partnership at the core of her practice, Romero engages in processes of patterns of renewal that create a kind of everywhen, where multiple time periods exist at once within her photographic frames. Further, these photographic collaborations contribute to the kin-space-time constellations of northern New Mexico. Romero's studio is located in Santa Fe, and many of her photographic shoots take place in and near this area, thus layering continued experiences of Native women's leadership roles in this locale. As such, in *Nikki, Kaa,* and *Ty*, Romero embarks upon new expanses for Native women's arts and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico through the juxtaposition

of the female nude body with patterns of artistic forms rooted in the area. She creates new possibilities for the representation of Native women in the twenty-first century in direct relationship to the weaving and pottery practices of their feminine forebears of the early tourism era.

For instance, *Nikki* and *Ty* both offer audiences visualizations of single portraits of Native women in stances that exude strength with Navajo textiles as backdrops. *Nikki* conveys this through Romero's collaborator, Nikki Nez (Diné), holding her nude body in a customary, or ancestral, birthing pose of Diné women. With her pose taking in place in front of a Navajo eyedazzler blanket from the early tourism era, the juxtaposition communicates the ongoing support of these weavings and their makers for Native women of the early twenty-first century and beyond. Further, Native women artists of the early tourism era co-established the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex both through their proliferation of making this art form and their posing for photographs of the period. As such, *Nikki* demonstrates the ongoing collaboration between Native women of the early tourism era with those of the twenty-first century through Romero and Nez's partnership with a historical weaving to allow for multiple time periods to exist at once.

Ty builds upon these themes, while also including materials that relate directly to Romero's home in the Chemehuevi Valley. In this image, Ty Harris (Diné), Romero's collaborator, poses in front of a Moki style, Navajo blanket with crosses and stripes that hearken to Native women's work of the early tourism era. Standing in profile with closed eyes, Harris wears an Olivella, or white shell, necklace on her nude body. This juxtaposition allows Harris and Romero to convey the time immemorial trading patterns between Native women of the Pacific Coast and of the southwest region, as the shells originate from tribes of the Mojave

Desert, like Romero's community, the Chemehuevi people. The necklace also allows another presence that signals the origins of Navajo weaving, as it recalls White Shell Woman, a Diné ancestor who gave the Diné people the white shell for their weaving combs. Here, another instance of everywhen takes place, where time overlaps and continues its relevance through the layered contexts of the photograph. Further, the Moki style blanket of the early tourism era creates a bridge between time immemorial weaving practices of the Diné people and their tribe in the twenty-first century. The Moki blanket marks one of the significant turns in Diné women's weaving practices—when these artworks began to form the basis for the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. As such, Diné weaving continues to offer support to Harris as well as to Romero, as they are both female generational descendants of this legacy and participants in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex today.

In *Kaa*, Romero's collaboration with Kaa Folwell (Santa Clara Pueblo) offers a photograph that fuses twenty-first century portraiture with that of high fashion staging. In this image, Folwell kneels in profile with her nude body covered in white clay and digitally overlaid with Mesa Verde pottery patterns. With her hair radiating in circular forms and highlighted tips, this portrait conveys the power of Clay Lady, a Tewa ancestral being, and "how the spirit of [her] has been passed down through thousands of years to this young woman."[448] As such, this image brings together values contributed by both Folwell and Romero to forge new modes of representing Native women potters in photographic form. In this approach, Romero provided the clay, a sacred clay from her home of the Chemehuevi Valley, to honor the power of Native femininity carried on since time immemorial. The Mesa Verde lightning pattern, an ancestral pottery motif shared by both Folwell and Romero's tribes, offers a visual association between

[448] Bunten, "Cara Romero: Chemehuevi Photographer," 74.

Native women artists and their pottery. This practice began during the early tourism era, and as demonstrated here, continues to be carried on in innovative ways. This serves to expand the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, as seen in the new meanings developed in *Kaa, Ty,* and *Nikki* through their juxtaposition with several of Romero's photographs in *Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes* (Figs. 55-60) at Peters Projects in Santa Fe.

Thus, further studies of Romero's work could take place within the context of Indigenous women's photographic portraiture of the twenty-first century. In this framework, interviews with artists persist in remaining critical to providing a study that centers on dialogue. Romero's work can also be considered within a scope of Native women photographing Native women in a collaborative fashion. Both of these studies would offer more insights of the intentions that drive these practices as well as the significance of Indigenous women's approaches to working in lens-based media. As well, Rickard's methodology provides much relevance to these kinds of examinations. It offers expanded opportunities to facilitate critical discussions of the artists' mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions. Taken together, these facets of Indigenous women's photographic practices can be juxtaposed in relationship to the complexity of global Indigenous practices of creating scenes of everywhen in narrative, lens-based form.

For LaTocha, her position as a guest on Tewa lands in northern New Mexico situates her to apply a personalized approach to her site-specific artwork made in this locale. In selecting La Bajada mesa as the place in focus that gave way to her *La Bajada Red* painting (2016-17) (Figs. 61-66), LaTocha recognized the legacies of Native women artists in northern New Mexico and built upon these practices. Her use of the La Bajada red clay in this site-specific painting honors the leadership of Native women potters and painters and their foundational participation in the

northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Her work particularly expands upon the legacy of interdisciplinary art forms developed by Native women artists in the area in direct relation to the early tourism era. In particular, these include works like the two blacks pottery (Figs. 20-21) of Maria Martinez, created in partnership with her husband Julian, as well as the paintings of Tonita Peña (Fig. 25), and those of an artist of the following generation, Pablita Velarde (Figs. 26-27), for whom Peña served as a mentor.

As such, LaTocha's process of establishing a perspective of within allows her to contribute to the patterns of renewal put forth by Native women artists in northern New Mexico through blessings and offerings of respect and gratitude to the land and for the clay. Further, by working directly with the land to make an in-gallery painting, LaTocha contributes to the kin-space-time constellation of the area and the ways in which Native women artists persist in adding to this legacy with each generation. In her practice, LaTocha brings a keen awareness of the significance of making art within certain places and the implications of those processes in her site-specific paintings.

Thus, in *La Bajada Red*, LaTocha provides a narrative of travel at La Bajada mesa, and, by extension, in the northern New Mexico area. Her landscape scene of the mesa acknowledges the histories of this particular place as embedded into the clay itself that she uses as the foundation for the painting. In doing so, the painting reveals what remains present at La Bajada mesa. This includes the co-extant, time immemorial trails of Pueblo peoples, the pathways identified and expanded by Spanish settlers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the Anglo-determined roads implemented during the early tourism era and into the 1930s. As such, LaTocha's painting shows how the desires for travel will forever alter La Bajada mesa. Her work contributes to the tethering between the leadership of Native women during the early

tourism era by making new associations with their legacies of pottery and painting. These two art forms gave, and continue to give, a foundation to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Moreover, this platform offers LaTocha a place to stand, particularly through her relations to mentor Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (Fig. 33), a long-time resident of New Mexico and leader in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

From here, LaTocha situates her paintings, like *La Bajada Red*, at the center of a system of relations. She pushes boundaries of depicting landscapes by taking an approach that creates an extended location for these places within galleries, like that of her exhibition, *Inside the Forces of Nature* (Figs. 61-72), at the IAIA Museum of Contemporary Arts in Santa Fe. In doing so, this process speaks to the movements of the La Bajada red clay from its origin place to the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex through the art forms of Native women during the early tourism era into the present and future. Further, *La Bajada Red* adds to this legacy of clay being transformed from its material form in the earth to an art object in an exhibition context. The movement between these two points remains unique to the turn of events during the early tourism era. It speaks to Native women artists' leadership during this period in developing a platform for their generational descendants to come. In working in a northern New Mexico exhibitionary context, LaTocha conducts her process in collaboration with her feminine forebears and those Native women artists that will make art after her in the same locale.

For further studies, LaTocha's earth-based paintings could be examined in a global, Indigenous context focused more explicitly on the significance of the materiality of the artworks under examination. As well, LaTocha's process could be considered in relationship to an overall study of Native American women's painting practices and their uses of earth pigments to convey particular perspectives. In addition, these studies could be expanded to look across art forms and

within a scope based on the use of earth pigments in Native American women's works, either writ large or by region or time period. For these studies, interviews with artists and that of their descendants remain critical to contextualizing this practice within specific worldviews as well as familial and tribal histories. Moreover, discussions of cross-cultural exchange must be included in these kinds of studies to account for movements, migrations, and the particularity of each artist's own history. In all of these approaches, Rickard's methodology would allow for linkages to be made between the influences of mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions of Indigenous women's arts made with earth pigments.

Future Directions

In terms of this study, it could be expanded further in monograph or exhibition form by including more artists who lead through their arts practices in the context of the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. These artists include Rose Simpson (Santa Clara Pueblo descent), Melissa Cody (Diné), Sonya Kelliher-Combs (Iñupiaq/Athabascan), and Maria Hupfield (Wasauksing First Nation). I have identified these artists due to their participation and lasting impact in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex (Figs. 73-80). Further, I have witnessed these artists' works in galleries, art centers, and museums in the area during the past six years.

For instance, Simpson's figurative clay sculptures (Figs. 73-74) offer self-portraits that interrogate her role as an artist, Native woman, and new mother. Her works enact a bridge to her female ancestors' legacies of change through a blending of media, as seen in combinations of metal and ceramic technologies. Named for her great-grandmother, potter Rose Naranjo,

Simpson carries on the legacies of her feminine forebears by revealing personal narratives to public audiences. In written form, these analyses could focus on my experiences with Simpson's artworks displayed in a group show in Santa Fe at Chiaroscuro gallery (Fig. 73) in 2015 and at her solo exhibition, *LIT: The Work of Rose B. Simpson* (2018-2019) (Fig. 74), at the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian in Santa Fe.[449] As such, Simpson's work reveals the complexity and in-flux nature of her identity of which she conveys particular facets in her figurative sculptures. Simpson's work can also be contextualized through her close relationship with her mother, sculptor Roxanne Swentzell, and the ways her practices inform those of her daughter. As such, Simpson's ability to exhibit her work directly relates to Native women's pottery practices of the early twentieth century, like those of Maria Martinez. In a tribute to Maria and Julian Martinezes' foundational work, Simpson painted a Chevy El Camino with the Martinezes' two blacks patterns, and she named the vehicle *Maria* (2014).[450] Most recently, she exhibited *Maria* in photographs and in a hood-only form in *Santo Lowride: Norteño Car Culture and the Santos Tradition*, a 2021 exhibition at The Harwood Museum of Art in Taos.

As well, Melissa Cody (Diné) weaves textiles in the Germantown Revival style (Figs. 75-76), continuing the late nineteenth century legacy of using bright colors to create bands of complex, geometric patterns.[451] In her artworks, Cody showcases a portfolio of styles in horizontally-divided samplers that recall Chief's Blankets, or leader blankets that were traded to

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[449] See Michelle Lanteri, "Review: Fall Group Show, Chiaroscuro Contemporary Art," *First American Art Magazine* 10 (Spring 2016): 79-80; "Exhibitions: LIT: The Work of Rose B. Simpson," Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, accessed July 17, 2021, https://wheelwright.org/exhibitions/lit/.

[450] Simpson's *Maria* (2014) was also featured during the full run of the *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists* exhibition. See "Maria," Rose B. Simpson, accessed August 1, 2021, https://www.rosebsimpson.com/maria; Yohe and Greeves, *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*.

[451] Pete and Ornelas, *Spider Woman's Children: Navajo Weavers Today*, 134. The revival style stems from the mid-nineteenth century, where Navajo people used commercially-made Germantown yarns, manufactured in Pennsylvania, for their rugs. Also see "Melissa Cody," Garth Greenan Gallery, accessed August 1, 2021, https://www.garthgreenan.com/artists/melissa-cody.

Plains area tribes, and eyedazzler motifs. She builds upon the weaving practices of her feminine forebears by including sections of illusionistic trompe l'oeil, or "fool the eye," patterns that reflect her experiences growing up with video games during the 1980s aesthetics of pop culture. My experiences with Cody's work come from visits to SITE Santa Fe in 2018, where her weavings showed in the group biennial, *Casa tomada* (Fig. 76).[452] Cody holds the position of being a seventh-generation weaver in her family. As demonstrated in her blending of Germantown and Moki style motifs with newer references to her childhood, Cody both borrows while building upon the legacies put forth matrilineally in her family as well as generationally in the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex. Cody's works create a living tether to the early tourism era that speaks to familial, tribal, and cross-cultural contexts. She also incorporates lettering into her weavings in the form of poetry. These inclusions add an individualized context to her artworks that also link to the early tourism era, in instances such as Elle of Ganado's weaving of lettering into a blanket made for President Theodore Roosevelt.

The mixed media installations of Sonya Kelliher-Combs (Iñupiaq/Athabascan) also offer an interdisciplinary way of examining these artworks as expansions upon the legacies of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico. In particular, her series, *Remnant* (2016) (Figs. 77-78), comments on the value systems of museum displays through shadow boxes of found materials and gifts, like antlers and human hair.[453] These artworks feature a synthetic skin that clouds the viewing of these materials, as an intervention, or disruptive performance, into the display of these objects. By obstructing audiences' views of these artworks, Kelliher-Combs

[452] See Michelle Lanteri, "Review: SITElines.2018, Casa tomada, SITE Santa Fe," *First American Art Magazine* 21 (Winter 2018/19): 76-78;"SITElines.2018: Casa tomada," SITE Santa Fe, accessed July 17, 2021, https://sitesantafe.org/exhibition/la-casa-tomada/.
[453] See "Sonya Kelliher-Combs," Minus Space, accessed August 1, 2021, https://www.minusspace.com/sonya-kellihercombs.

provides a social commentary on the culture of display in the early tourism era in northern New Mexico—a legacy that continues today. Further, within the exhibition context of the *much wider than a line* (2016) (Fig. 78) biennial at SITE Santa Fe, the potency of these sculptures hinge upon the leadership of Native women artists during the early twentieth century.[454] They do so by building upon the legacy of these women's innovations in presenting their artworks to public audiences within the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex.

Lastly, the performance work of Maria Hupfield (Wasauksing First Nation) (Figs. 79-80), also included in the *much wider than a line* (2016) biennial at SITE Santa Fe, would expand this study in further directions.[455] In *It is Never Just About Sustenance or Pleasure* (Figs. 79-80), Hupfield speaks to the process of adaptation by wearing a set of industrial felt mittens and boots, made by her own hands, while traversing the northern New Mexico landscape. In this process, she acknowledges the migration, both forced and voluntary, of Native peoples to the northern New Mexico area. Further, in presenting this performance in video form to public audiences, she allows visitors to the biennial to virtually travel with her to this outdoor locale. As such, this artwork carries on the legacies of Native women artists in the area by turning audiences' attention to the significance of the landscape through particular art forms. Moreover, Hupfield also centers her body as a site of legacy that allows her to make art and inspire the next generations of Native female artists while also honoring her feminine forebears. By creating this

[454] See Michelle Lanteri, "Review: much wider than a line: SITElines.2016; New Perspectives on Arts of the Americas, SITE Santa Fe," *First American Art Magazine* 13 (Winter 2016/17): 84-85; "SITElines.2016: much wider than a line," SITE Santa Fe, accessed July 17, 2021, https://sitesantafe.org/exhibition/sitelines-2016/.
[455] See "It is Never Just About…Sitelines," Maria Hupfield, accessed August 1, 2021, https://mariahupfield.wordpress.com/2016/07/07/it-is-never-just-about-sitelines/; Lanteri, "Review: much wider than a line: SITElines.2016; New Perspectives on Arts of the Americas, SITE Santa Fe," 84-85; "SITElines.2016: much wider than a line," SITE Santa Fe.

performance for the northern New Mexico exhibitionary complex, Hupfield expands the legacies of Native women artists in the area into new forms of expression specific to this particular place.

A Reflection on Dialogue

As the last section of this chapter, I reflect on the insights of Susan Folwell, Cara Romero, and Athena LaTocha as a way to conclude with a pause in this study in its current state. During our interviews, these artists generously spoke to the main concepts of the topics under consideration. They articulated their understandings of the ways that they carry on the legacies of Native women before them. In particular, Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha spoke of the relationships that carry their arts and exhibition practices into the future as well as the forms that these connections take in their work in northern New Mexico during the twenty-first century. Below, their words shed light on the lasting impacts of mentorship and education, national and international reach, interdisciplinary art forms, and place-specific interactions on their practices. Their reflections reveal their persistence of positioning their art practices in collaboration with their feminine forebears, contemporaries, and forthcoming generations. Further, the distinctive leadership put forth by Native women artists of the early tourism era in northern New Mexico directly offers ongoing support to Native women artists working in this locale, like Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha. The strengthening of the tether between this epoch and that of the twenty-first century carries on in an ongoing unfolding of expansive feminine leadership.

For Folwell, a Santa Clara Tewa artist who is both from and lives in northern New Mexico, this emerges from a recontextualizing of history in the present through narrative pottery vessels. She stated,

> …as a Pueblo person, and coming from one of the Pueblos that is so prolific in making pottery, you don't understand it while you're in it, because it's your day to day life… the actual art revolution in [Native] art is still in its infancy. It's amazing how much it's

> exploding. Now that we have other platforms, there's film, photography, fashion, but all of that is still in its infancy. It's just nice to be a part of that, to be just a fish floating down that stream, you know, kind of doing your own thing, and another fish comes along, and you're all doing your own thing, and just kind of getting on with it.[456]

Folwell points to the future of Native American arts and exhibitions writ large as a progression of renewal building within the younger generations of artists taking front and center positions to express their voices while they build upon connections to their artistic predecessors.[457] Folwell's focus on the increasing range of media emerging as employed by Native artists within the overall art world speaks to continued strides in the field as well as to expanding sites of patterns of renewal and kin-space-time constellations in both northern New Mexico and beyond. She visualizes a Native "art revolution," or movement of return to move forward. This platform is largely made possible by the highly-publicized exhibitionary complex in northern New Mexico—a legacy of Native artists, and particularly Native women, of the early tourism era.

For Romero, a Chemehuevi artist from the Mojave desert who lives in northern New Mexico, Indigenous women's legacies take shape through collaborative photo-portraiture, particularly in the form of the Native female nude. This kind of representation builds upon the legacies of Native women's origination of art forms like pottery and weaving. She stated,

> I would say that the pieces are also about decolonizing our self-image. We've been hypersexualized in photography and in the media. And, so I remember coming home and having this idea and I said, I'm going to do a female nude. And the conversations around the house were, you can't do that. And I was like, I'm going to do that. I did one other; it's called *Indigene*. I didn't show it a lot. But there are a few underground copies of it, and that one is more of a full nude. And I think when you're really trying to honor cultural protocols…we're all different. All of our tribes are different.[458]

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[456] Interview with the author, January 26, 2021.
[457] Tsinhnahjinnie and Passalacqua, *Our People, Our Land, Our Images: International Indigenous Photographers*, 28.
[458] Interview with the author, February 11, 2021.

With these thoughts, Romero reveals that she sets her goals to enact decolonizing, or a liberation from colonial frameworks, processes in her photography by rooting her visual narratives in tribal stories of exchange.[459] In doing so, she persists in positioning Native voices as narrators of Indigenous visions through photographic media. She also acknowledges tribal specificity in her artistic practice, as her perspectives and those of her collaborators and audiences differ. Romero's approaches center Indigenous ways of being and knowing as the foundation for her collaborative photography that expands the patterns of renewal and kin-space-time constellations in northern New Mexico through a feminine lens.

For LaTocha, a Hunkpapa Lakota and Ojibwe artist from Alaska who visited northern New Mexico and lives in New York, the landscape moves from indoors to outdoors at once through the power of painting with clay. This gesture becomes akin to Native women artists making art for both interior and exterior spaces while also alluding to a variety of social interactions in the art world.

> …what other Indigenous people are doing, how these things have influence…this is something that I've grappled with since I got out of art school. In art school, there was no focus on these types of things…You start looking around and looking at the interconnectedness of things and the exclusion of things…you can see that within the canyons where there were rocks lodged within sections of that…the rush of water…it really gave a sense of…how these elements work and the power of it…the process informs the image...what started becoming clear was the image that showed up in the final piece.[460]

With these reflections, LaTocha emphasizes the importance of making art through practices of interconnection as revealed through her process. This reflects the ways that both her research work and art making continue to be informed by concepts of "we are all related" or "mitakuye

[459] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 80.
[460] Interview with the author, February 16, 2021.

oyasin," in Lakota.[461] This grounds her practice in both the acknowledgement and connection to all beings. Through allowing the process to lead the formation of her imagery, LaTocha participates in interspecies patterns of renewal. She also contributes to the kin-space-time constellations of northern New Mexico through the dialogue both recognized and represented in her arts and exhibition practices.

In closing, my dissertation reveals critical facets in Folwell, Romero, and LaTocha's practices that strengthen their tether to Native women artists in northern New Mexico during the early tourism era. All three of these artists expand upon this foundation through Indigenous narratives that fuse visualizations of the past, present, and future with methods of collaboration. They do this by positioning their work as part of a time immemorial trajectory leading to new developments in the field. For Folwell, this takes shape in a vision of a Native art revolution in its infant stages. For Romero, this entails a constant effort to liberate imagery of Native women. For LaTocha, this finds form in bringing together interspecies relationships in her process that fuse to unfold the imagery in her art. In turn, the possibilities persist in opening, expanding, and reaching. These women strengthen the foundation that their female predecessors laid for them with an intention of widening the path for Native women's art and exhibition practices in northern New Mexico. As received from generations before them, they hand these gifts of artistic leadership to the next generations. From here, this pattern of renewal reaches far into the future of this place—through ongoing leadership and collaboration carried on by Native women artists.

[461] Cajete, *Native Science: Natural Laws of Interdependence*, 178.

FIGURES

Fig. 1, New Mexico Pueblos

Image Source: Peter Fitzgerald, OpenStreetMap
Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic

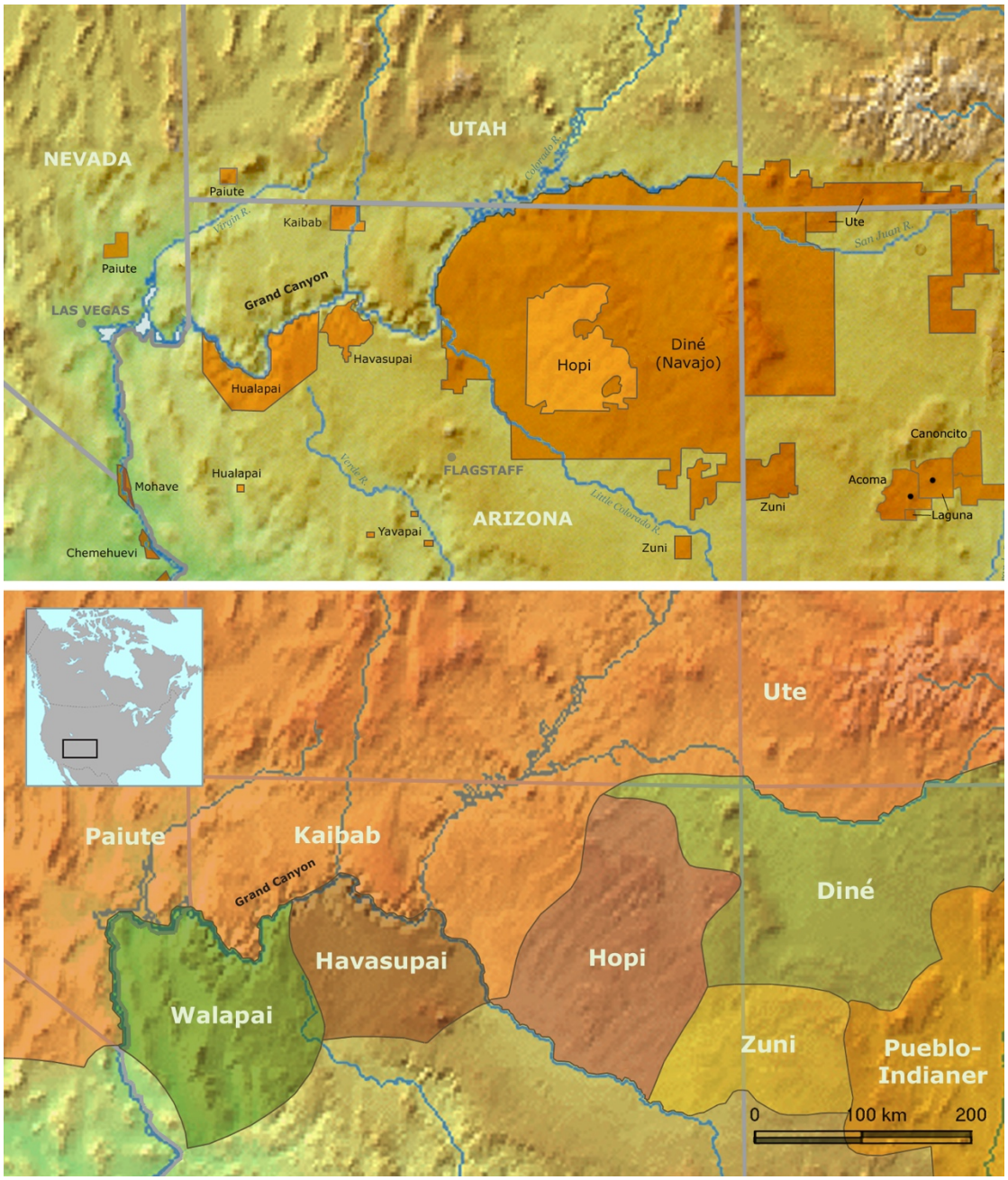

Fig. 2, Hopi, Diné, and Native tribes in Arizona area near the Grand Canyon

Image Source: Public Domain

Fig. 3, William Henry Jackson, Nampeyo and her brother, Tom Polacca, 1875
digital reproduction of glass plate photograph

Image Source: Public Domain

Fig. 4, William Henry Jackson, Nampeyo, 1875
digital reproduction of stereograph print

Image Source: Public Domain

Fig. 5, Edward S. Curtis, Nampeyo, 1900
digital reproduction of photogravure

Image Source: Library of Congress

Fig. 6, Adam Clark Vroman, Nampeyo and Family, 1901
from left: Annie Healing (Nampeyo's daughter) with daughter Rachel;
White Corn, Nampeyo's mother; Nampeyo
digital reproduction of photograph

Image Source: Public Domain

Fig. 7, Adam Clark Vroman, Nampeyo, 1901
digital reproduction of photograph

Image Source: National Archives and Records Administration; Record Number 520084

Fig. 8, Nampeyo, Jar, early 1900s
Hopi-Tewa clay and clay slips
Collection of The Heard Museum, Phoenix, AZ

Fig. 9, Elle of Ganado, Indian Building, The Alvarado hotel, Albuquerque, NM, n.d. digital reproduction of postcard image

Image Source: Curt Teich Postcard Archives Digital Collection (Newberry Library), Public Domain

Fig. 10, Elle of Ganado, at right, in Indian Work Room,
The Alvarado hotel, Albuquerque, NM, n.d.
digital reproduction of postcard image

Image Source: Curt Teich Postcard Archives Digital Collection (Newberry Library),
Public Domain

Fig. 11, Elle of Ganado, Maker of the President's Blanket, The Best Weaver Among the Navahos (sic), ca. 1900-09, digital reproduction of postcard image

Image Source: Curt Teich Postcard Archives Digital Collection (Newberry Library), Public Domain

Fig. 12, Elle of Ganado, The Santa Fe Magazine, March 1917
digital reproduction of image

Source: Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art*, 66.

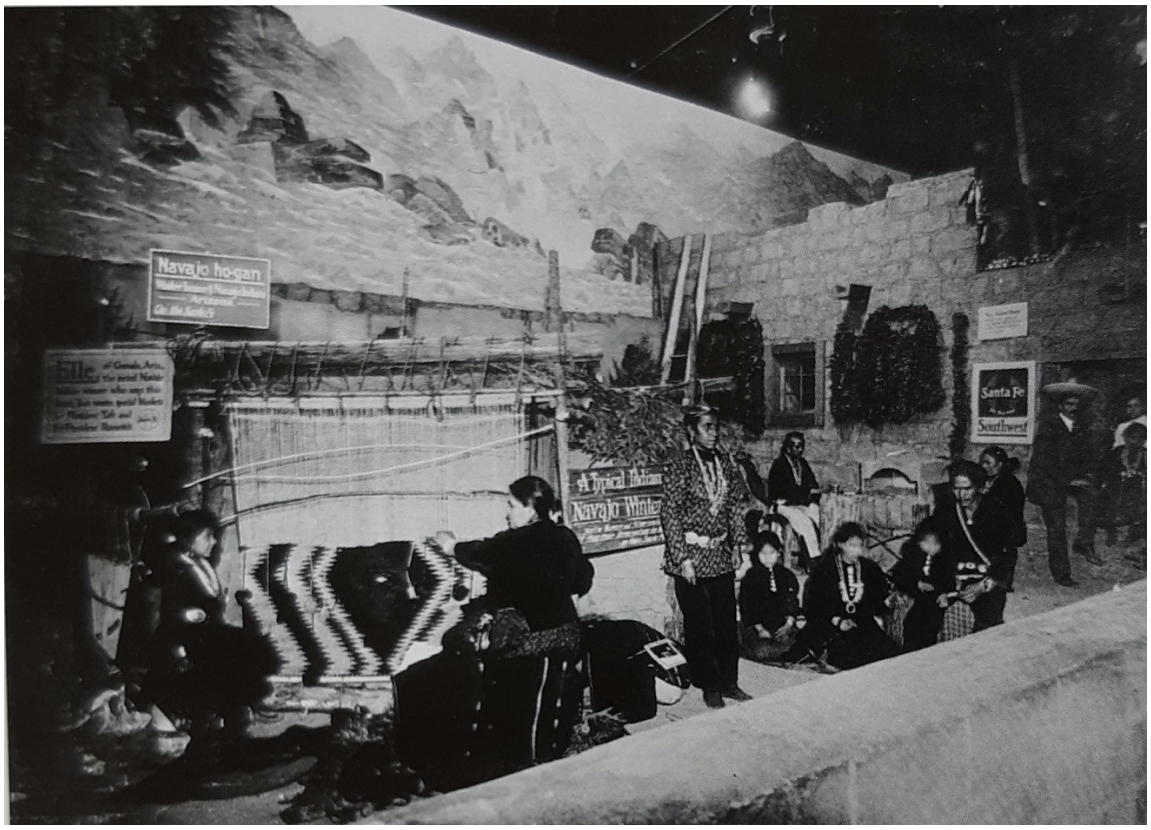

Fig. 13, Elle & Tom of Ganado, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915
digital reproduction of photograph

Source: Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest:*
The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art, 72.

Public Domain

Fig. 14, Navajo Eyedazzler Blanket, ca. 1890-1900
wool and aniline dyes, 88 x 56 in.
MRM 1956.001.011
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 15, Maria and Julian Martinez working on their pottery, ca. 1920s-30s
digital reproduction of photograph
MRM 1984.012.041
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

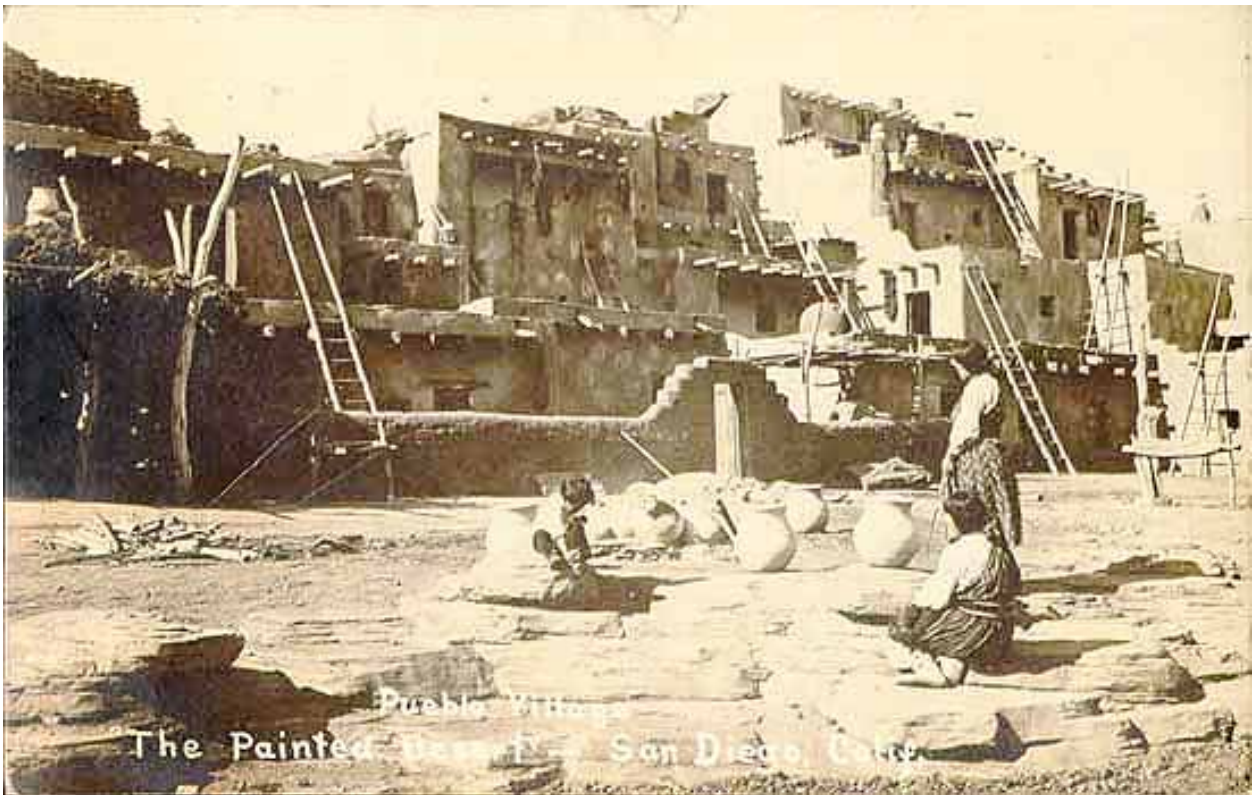

Fig. 16, Unknown photographer, The Painted Desert display,
Panama-California Exposition, San Diego, California, 1915
digital reproduction of photograph

Fig. 17, Unknown photographer, Maria Martinez, Santa Fe Railway Promotional Image, 1905
digital reproduction of photograph

Source: Howard and Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest:*
The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art, 74.

Fig. 18, Unknown photographer, Maria Martinez at her home in San Ildefonso Pueblo, 1905 digital reproduction of photograph

Image Source: Public Domain

POH-WE-KA (LITTLE BLUE CORN FLOWER.)

Marie Martinez of San Ildefenso, the Most Talented Among the Tewa Pottery Makers Whose Productions are Truly Works of Art Fashioned in the Spirit of the Ancient Days When San Ildefenso Pottery Rivaled in Beauty of Design, in Form and Texture the Best Hopi Ware.

Fig. 19, Maria Martinez, 1919
digital reproduction of photograph

Source:
El Palacio, "Poh-We-Ka (Little Blue Corn Flower)," *El Palacio* 6, no. 7 (March 22, 1919): 98.

Fig. 20, Maria and Julian Martinez, Two Blacks Bowl, 1924
San Ildefonso clay, 5 x 9 ¼ in.
MRM 1986.046.001
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 21, Maria and Julian Martinez, Two Blacks Jar, ca. 1930s
San Ildefonso clay, 5 ½ x 7 in.
MRM 1977.010.001
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 22, Unknown photographer,
Maria and Julian Martinez firing “two-blacks” pottery, San Ildefonso Pueblo, ca. 1920

Image Source:
Palace of the Governors Photo Archives, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM,
Public Domain

Fig. 23, Maria Martinez, adding coil to pot, late twentieth century
digital reproduction of photograph
MRM 2003.004.034
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 24, Maria Martinez, demonstrating pottery to children, twentieth century
digital reproduction of photograph
MRM 1984.012.051
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 25, Tonita Peña, *Hopi Corn Dance*, before 1937
gouache over graphite on wove paper, 14 x 22 inches
Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Image Source: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., online collection
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Fig. 26, Pablita Velarde, *Basketmaking*, ca. 1940
casein paint on board, 11 ½ x 11 1/8 in.
Collection of Bandelier National Monument

Image Source: United States National Park Service, Public Domain

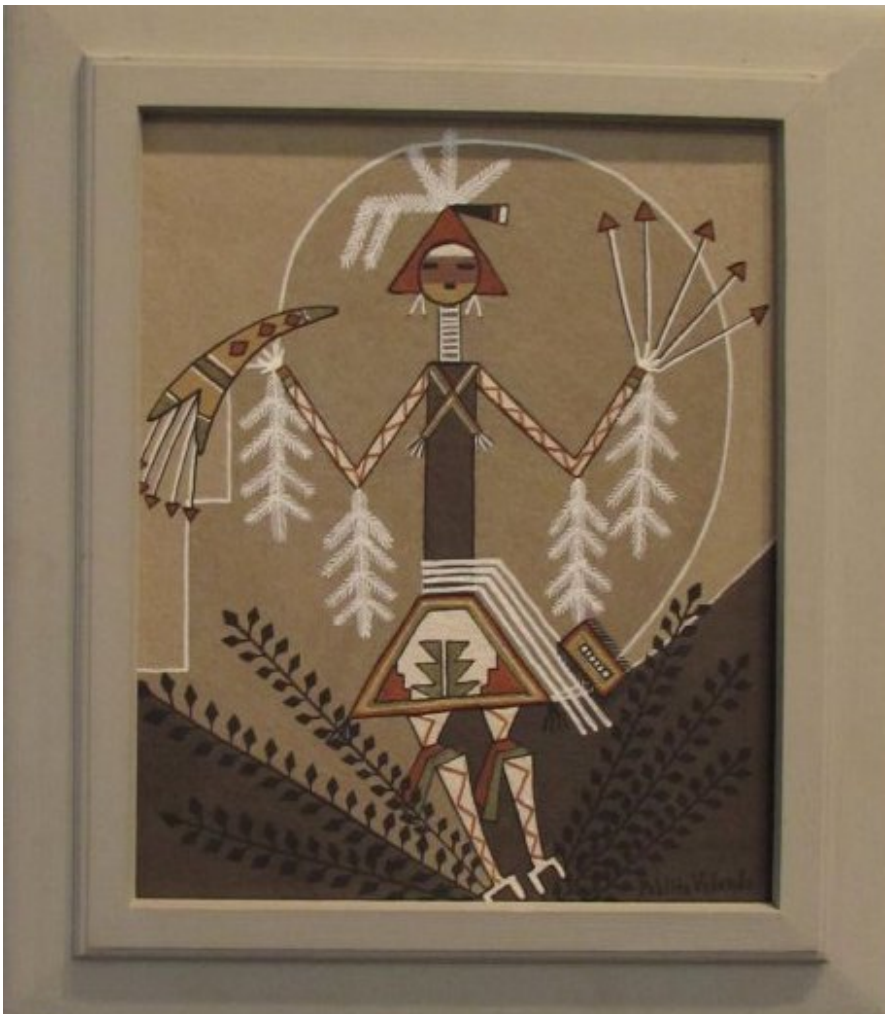

Fig. 27, Pablita Velarde, *Santa Clara Painting*, ca. mid-to-late twentieth century
earth pigments on panel
MRM 2019.002.061
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 28, Pop Chalee, *My Wild Horses*, n.d.
watercolor on paper, 13 x 19 in.
MRM 1985.045.001
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

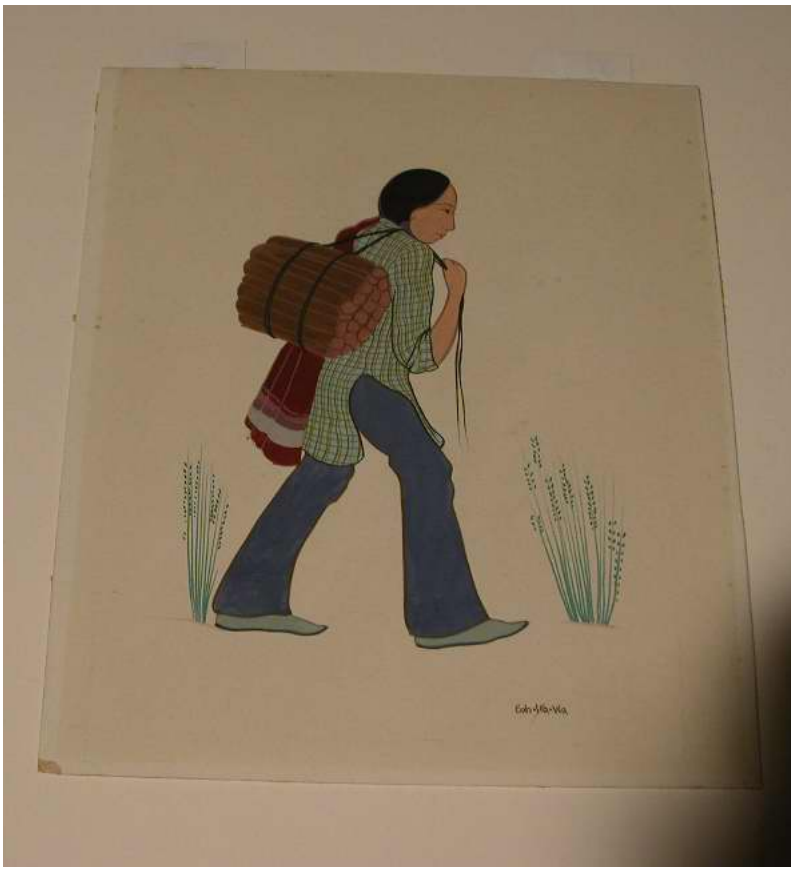

Fig. 29, Eva Mirabal/Eah Ha Wa, *Returning with Wood*, twentieth century
watercolor on paper, 7 x 6 in.
MRM 1984.001.003
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

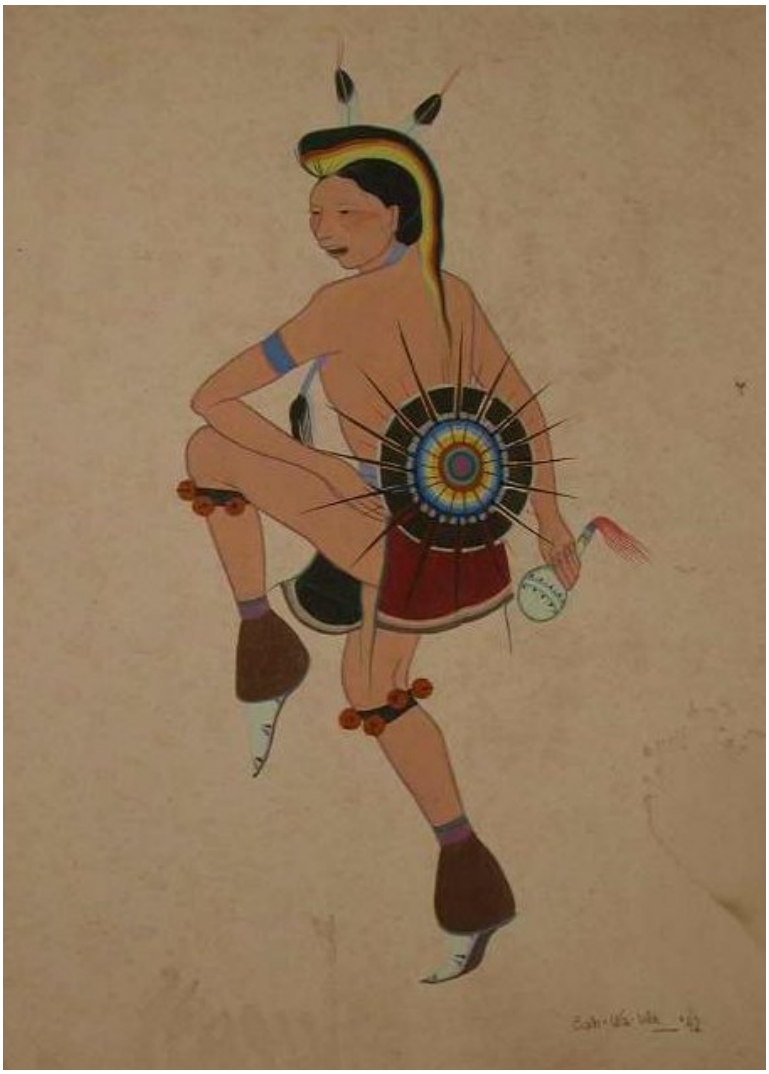

Fig. 30, Eva Mirabal/Eah Ha Wa, *War Dancer*, 1942
watercolor on paper, 27 x 19 1/2 in.
MRM 1984.001.001
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

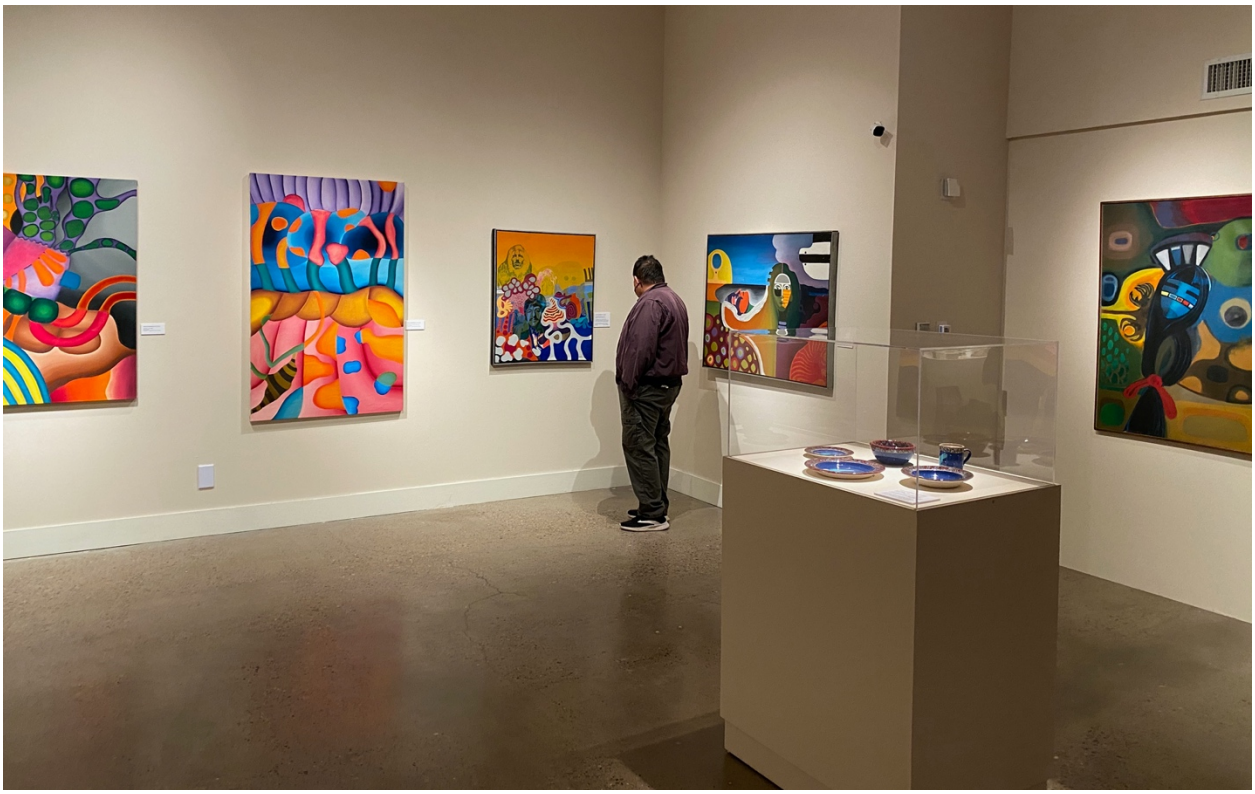

Fig. 31, Linda Lomahaftewa, installation view, *The Moving Land: 60+ Years of Art by Linda Lomahaftewa*, IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, NM
selection of paintings from the 1970s

Fig. 32, Linda Lomahaftewa, *Green Parrot*, 1982
acrylic on canvas, 14 x 12 in.
MRM 1982.032.002
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 33, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, *State Names*, 2000, oil, collage, and mixed media on canvas
Collection of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 34, Emmi Whitehorse, *#510, Kin Nah Zin* series, 1985
mixed media on paper
MRM 2018.012.001
Courtesy of the Millicent Rogers Museum, El Prado, NM

Fig. 35, Roxanne Swentzell, *For Life in All Directions*, late twentieth century, bronze

Image Source: en:User:Tillman, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bootbearwdc/178806313/
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Fig. 36, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *The Artist*, 2016,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 37, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *The Artist* (verso), 2016,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 38, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 39, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 40, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 41, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *The Artist*, 2016,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

E.I. Couse, *The Cacique*, 1932, oil on canvas
Collection of the Harwood Museum of Art

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 42, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Blue Mountain*, 2019,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 43, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Blue Mountain*, 2019,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

W. Herbert "Buck" Dunton, *Portrait of John Reyna*, n.d., oil on canvas
Collection of the Taos Art Museum at Fechin House

W. Herbert "Buck" Dunton, *Ginger*, ca. 1932, oil on canvas
Collection of the Harwood Museum of Art

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 44, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Baking Bread*, 2018, Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 45, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Baking Bread* (detail), 2018,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 46, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Walter Ufer, *Winter in New Mexico*, ca. 1930, oil on canvas
Collection of the Harwood Museum of Art

Susan Folwell, *Baking Bread*, 2018, Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

E. Martin Hennings, *Discussing the Crops*, ca. 1930, oil on board
Collection of the Harwood Museum of Art

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 47, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Sleeping Model*, 2018,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 48, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Victor Higgins, *Sleeping Model*, n.d., oil on canvas
Collection of the New Mexico Museum of Art

Susan Folwell, *Sleeping Model*, 2018,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 49, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Higgins "Open Bowl,"* 2017
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 50, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Susan Folwell, *Higgins "Open Bowl,"* 2017
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Victor Higgins, *Nude Study*, n.d., watercolor on paper
Collection of the New Mexico Museum of Art

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 51, *Susan Folwell: Through the Looking Glass*, 2019-20
The Harwood Museum of Art, Taos, New Mexico

Victor Higgins, *Sleeping Model*, n.d., oil on canvas
Collection of the New Mexico Museum of Art

Susan Folwell, *Sleeping Model*, 2018,
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Susan Folwell, *Higgins "Open Bowl,"* 2017
Santa Clara Pueblo clay, slips, acrylic paint, wood stain, India ink

Victor Higgins, *Nude Study*, n.d., watercolor on paper
Collection of the New Mexico Museum of Art

Victor Higgins, *Indian Nude*, n.d., oil on canvas
Collection of the Taos Art Museum at Fechin House

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 52, Cara Romero, *Nikki*, 2014, digital photograph, archival pigment print

Image Source: Cara Romero, *Cara Romero Photography: Editions*.
Santa Fe: Cara Romero Photography, 2021.

Fig. 53, Cara Romero, *Kaa*, 2017, digital photograph, archival pigment print

Image Source: Cara Romero, *Cara Romero Photography: Editions*.
Santa Fe: Cara Romero Photography, 2021.

Fig. 54, Cara Romero, *Ty*, 2017, digital photograph, archival pigment print

Image Source: Cara Romero, *Cara Romero Photography: Editions*.
Santa Fe: Cara Romero Photography, 2021.

Fig. 55, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*, 2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *TV Indians*, 2017, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 21 x 33 inches

Cara Romero, *Wakeah*, 2016, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 56 inches

Cara Romero, *Julia*, 2018, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 52 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 56, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*, 2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *Kaa*, 2017, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 48 inches

Cara Romero, *Nikki*, 2014, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 49 inches

Cara Romero, *TV Indians*, 2017, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 21 x 33 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 57, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*,
2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *Eufaula Girls,* 2015, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 55 x 55 inches

Cara Romero, *Naomi,* 2018, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 49 inches

Cara Romero, *Wakeah*, 2016, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 56 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 58, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*,
2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *Water Memory*, 2015, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 55 x 55 inches

Cara Romero, *Oil Boom,* 2015, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 55 x 55 inches

Cara Romero, *Eufaula Girls,* 2015, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 55 x 55 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 59, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*,
2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *Nipton Highway,* 2013,
digital photograph, archival pigment print, 110 x 22 inches

Cara Romero, *The Last Indian Market,* 2015,
digital photograph, archival pigment print, 110 x 32.5 inches

Cara Romero, *Water Memory*, 2015, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 55 x 55 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 60, *Cara Romero: Everywhen: Indigenous Photoscapes*,
2018, Peters Projects, Santa Fe, New Mexico

(clockwise)

Cara Romero, *Nipton Highway* (detail), 2013,
digital photograph, archival pigment print, 110 x 22 inches

Cara Romero, *Nikki*, 2014, digital photograph, archival pigment print, 42 x 49 inches

Cara Romero, *The Last Indian Market* (detail), 2015,
digital photograph, archival pigment print, 110 x 32.5 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 61, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red*, 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 62, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 63, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 64, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 65, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 66, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper, 104 x 362 1/8 inches

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 67, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Still frame of video featuring Athena LaTocha and Manuela Well-Off-Man, curator

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 68, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, *La Bajada Red* (detail), 2016-17,
sumi ink, walnut ink, La Bajada red clay on paper

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 69, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, Untitled Study, 2016, sumi ink, walnut ink, shellac on paper

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 70, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, Untitled Study, 2016,
sumi ink, walnut ink, shellac, La Bajada Red Clay on paper

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 71, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, Untitled Study, 2016,
sumi ink, walnut ink, shellac, La Bajada Red Clay on paper

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 72, *Athena LaTocha: Inside the Forces of Nature*, 2017,
IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico

Athena LaTocha, Untitled Study, 2016,
sumi ink, walnut ink, shellac, La Bajada Red Clay on paper

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 73, Rose B. Simpson, *Neptune*, 2014
installation view, *Fall Group Show*, Chiaroscuro gallery, 2015
clay, leather, mixed media, 33 inches high

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 74, Rose B. Simpson, *Self-Portrait*, 2016
Installation view, *LIT: The Work of Rose B. Simpson*, 2019
clay, motorized parts, metal, wires

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 75, Melissa Cody, *4th Dimension* (cropped image), 2016
wool, aniline dyes

Image Source: SITE Santa Fe, *Casa tomada*, Press Kit

Fig. 76, Melissa Cody, installation view, *Casa tomada*, SITE Santa Fe, 2018

(from left) *Dreamscape*, 2016; *Woven in the Stones*, 2018; *Water's Edge*, 2016; *Sweet loveable…you*, 2016; *4th Dimension*, 2016; *US*, 2015
wool, aniline dyes

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 77, Sonya Kelliher-Combs, *Remnant: Caribou Antler*, 2016
acrylic polymer, caribou antler, organic and synthetic materials

Image Source: Photo by Eric Swanson, SITE Santa Fe, direct communication

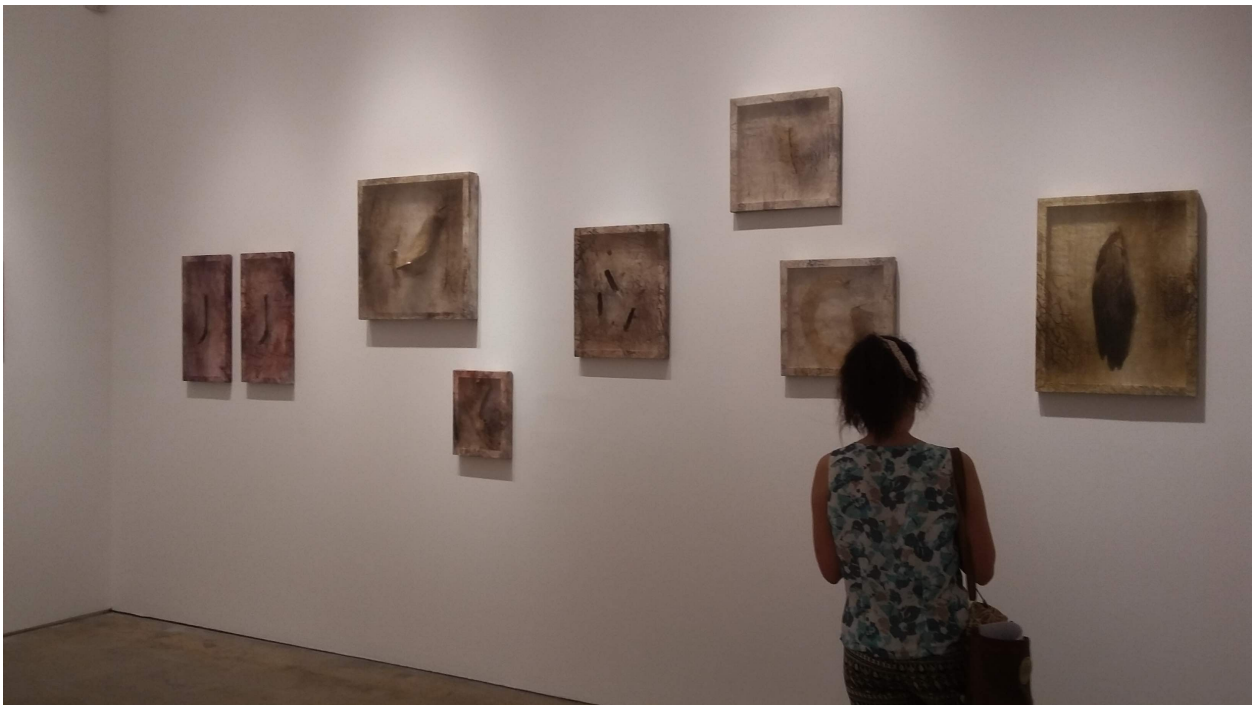

Fig. 78, Sonya Kelliher-Combs, *Remnant: Caribou Antler*, 2016
installation view, *much wider than a line,* SITE Santa Fe, 2016
acrylic polymer, caribou antler, organic and synthetic materials

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 79, Maria Hupfield, *It is Never Just About Sustenance or Pleasure* (detail), 2016
installation view, *much wider than a line,* SITE Santa Fe, 2016
industrial felt, polyester thread, copper jingles, 2 x 4 pine lumber, acrylic paint, digital video

Image Source: Courtesy of the author

Fig. 80, Maria Hupfield, *It is Never Just About Sustenance or Pleasure* (cropped image), 2016
installation view, *much wider than a line,* SITE Santa Fe, 2016
industrial felt, polyester thread, copper jingles, 2 x 4 pine lumber, acrylic paint, digital video

Image Source: Photo by Eric Swanson, SITE Santa Fe, direct communication

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