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New Mexico Art Through Time

**PREHISTORY
TO THE PRESENT**

By Joseph Traugott

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It's about Art and Culture

NEW MEXICANS—people living in the region we today call “New Mexico”—have always made aestheticized objects that reflect the makers’ worldviews. In short, we have always made art. From beautifully made Paleo-Indian tools to contemporary art, New Mexico art has evolved to reflect changing economic, ethnic, ideological, religious, and cultural perspectives. The region has attracted multiple ethnic groups who have exchanged aesthetic ideas and fused them into new expressions. And New Mexico art has always balanced individual responses with powerful cultural contexts. It’s about time we investigate New Mexico art in a new manner that focuses on objects that best reflect these ever-changing aesthetic and cultural perspectives.

By considering objects across a vast time horizon and presenting individual ethnic perspectives within a single, extended chronology, *New Mexico Art Through Time* celebrates the diverse art forms, the aesthetic complexity, and cultural breadth that developed in New Mexico and the greater Southwest.

This approach is in concert with Jacques Maquet’s definition of art as “a socially constructed reality” (Maquet 1979, 5) in which multiple definitions of art coexist and represent different artistic paradigms. As individuals consider objects across cultural divides, the points of view of the makers and the observers, though equally valid, can present conflicting conclusions. Maquet addresses this paradox in his *Introduction to Aesthetic Anthropology* by distinguishing between works “destined” to be art and those that don’t begin as art but undergo a “metamorphosis” to become works of art in new cultural contexts (Maquet 1979, 9). This perspective validates the makers’ original intent as well as the concepts brought to the works over time by viewers who may have radically different cultural values. This concept is particularly useful for the study of New Mexico art, whose makers range from long-vanished bands of hunter-gatherers to postindustrial artists. While this discussion takes place at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is possible for modern viewers to use contemporary knowledge to understand prehistoric objects in terms of both their function and aesthetic qualities, and to comprehend that ancient peoples viewed these objects from multiple perspectives as well.

Viewers can alter the original meaning of an artwork by superimposing their own ethnocentric aesthetic perspectives on it. Although contemporary American attitudes don’t always jibe with the art of the past, one goal of this study is to encourage people to think about art in broader conceptual terms that transcend the idea that modern aesthetic traditions are the most valid and sophisticated.

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CAROL SARKISIAN (B. 1936)
 DELUXE SAMBA PULLING BAMBI, 2005
 FOUND OBJECTS, GLASS BEADS, GOLD
 LEAF, SILVER LEAF, AND RHINESTONES,
 2 x 8½ x 2 IN. (5.1 x 21.6 x 5.1 CM)

What is so profound about art in New Mexico is its ability to empower concurrent but contradictory points of view, ones that can be transformed over time. The makers' insider and the viewers' outsider perspectives can change as objects pass from one cultural context to another and become part of the larger, evolving meaning of art in New Mexico. Members of indigenous Native cultures often note that their languages did not have a term for art until contact with European Americans. However, today it is easy to recognize that objects made by Native cultures were created with both functionality and beauty in mind, enabling modern viewers to now see them as works of art.

The dynamic between works destined to be art and those that become art through metamorphosis is not limited to ethnic arts. This concept is also an essential aspect of contemporary art, where the artists' intentions may be well known and documented. Makers lose control of the personal meaning of works of art as soon as they leave the studio and assume a new context in a gallery, private residence, museum, or other public setting. In these new contexts, viewers are free to transform the works according to their own values and interpretations.

IT'S ABOUT TERM LIMITS

Art terminology can empower mainstream views but also denigrate alternative aesthetic paradigms. Conventional mainstream views usually make hierarchical distinctions between art and craft, decorative arts and fine art, high art and folk art, popular arts and material culture. These terms reflect the conventional wisdom that there is a dichotomy between functional objects—including craft objects that have decorative elements but lack conceptual depth—and nonfunctional artworks whose only “use” is to be seen, contemplated, and appreciated. Conventional views ascribe less cultural importance to functional objects and assign nonfunctional works with a special, elevated meaning.

Hierarchies also exist within conventional views of fine art, for example, that paintings and sculptures are more important than drawings, photographs, and prints. Carol Sarkisian's *Deluxe Samba Pulling Bambi* exemplifies this confusion that can result from such hierarchies and valuations (fig. 8). Is the work sculpture? jewelry? craft? pop culture? or kitsch? Ultimately, such distinctions really don't matter because most people would like to own Sarkisian's artwork and would treat it reverentially in any context.

Changing ethnic identities, fueled by political change at the end of the twentieth century, add to the confusion surrounding terminology. Many Native groups in New Mexico are still known by the descriptive names first used by Spanish colonists. To enforce their power over Native populations, Catholic priests often designated Pueblo Indian villages with the names of saints—such as Santo Domingo Pueblo, Santa Clara Pueblo, San Ildefonso Pueblo, and San Juan Pueblo. Recently, however, many Pueblo groups have rejected this remnant of colonial domination and resumed using their tribal names. Consequently, San Juan Pueblo is now Ohkay Owingeh, and Santo Domingo Pueblo is now referred to as Kewa. This text reflects these and other tribal name variations, such as Diné for Navajo and Ancestral Pueblo for Anasazi (a derivation of the Diné word for “enemy”). Past word usage makes these changes seem awkward, but this is an important change and soon will seem traditional.

Popular terms used to designate Hispanic identity within Hispanic communities will also be used in this text in appropriate contexts, including Spanish, Mexican, Spanish American, and Latina/Latino. As author Michael L. Trujillo points out in *Land of Disenchantment: Latina/o Identities and Transformations in Northern New Mexico*: “Often a person will state a different term of self-identification depending on the context and will prefer the term Spanish in ethnically/racially mixed group settings but call themselves Mexican in in-group settings” (Trujillo 2009, 42).

Another confusing term is “Anglo,” short for Anglo Saxon and then Anglo American, to refer to people with European and American backgrounds living in the Southwest, as immigrants coming to the region were not exclusively from England. Nonetheless, these and other evolving distinctions in identity terminology help clarify the nature of art and culture in New Mexico.

IT'S ABOUT PRIME OBJECTS AND PARADIGM SHIFTS

It is difficult to grasp that humans have been living in the American Southwest for such a vast expanse of time and that art was made in New Mexico so long ago. The timeline of New Mexico art and culture (pp. 16–17) helps clarify the relationship between the art and lifeways of peoples living in New Mexico. What the timeline makes most clear is the slow rate of change during most of this history, in contrast to the fast changes that began with the arrival of Spanish colonists. In fact, the entire period of European influence represents less than 5 percent of the time that people have lived in New Mexico but the time when most of the artistic change occurred.

Further, the timeline shows how short periods of artistic invention are followed by long periods of artistic stasis. George Kubler, in *The Shape of Time*, focuses on the concept of “prime objects” of change as well as “replications.” Prime objects of change incorporate new underlying assumptions. When prime objects are so well known that they become conventional, or traditional, they become replications and lose their sense of innovation. Kubler’s concept is related to Thomas S. Kuhn’s concept of paradigms—the underlying assumptions and conclusions that underpin human constructs, discussed in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.

Kubler’s prime objects of change are also examples of Kuhn’s changing paradigms. As cultural paradigms gain acceptance, their principles become the conventional wisdom that remains unchallenged until superceded by a new paradigm. The idea of changing paradigms can thus be related to the difference between the paradigm that an artist intends in creating a work and that which a viewer superimposes on the piece. These different paradigms show how a viewer’s interpretation of a work of art can be fundamentally different from the artist’s intent.

By necessity, *New Mexico Art Through Time* focuses on the prime objects of cultural change and not replications that have become conventionalized. For example, in the early twentieth century realist artists such as Henry C. Balink (fig. 9) came to New Mexico and made successful careers painting portraits of individuals from then little-known cultures. While some artists today still paint these types of portraits and do so with great skill, the genre is now so well known that it has lost much of its affective power. The meaning of

NATIVE AMERICAN

PALEOINDIAN

14,000 BP 13,000 BP 12,000 BP 11,000 BP 10,000 BP 9000 BP 8000 BP 7000



1.



2.



3.



4.

TIMELINE OF NEW MEXICO ART AND CULTURE

1. CLOVIS POINT, CIRCA 13,650-12,800 BP
2. FOLSOM POINT, CIRCA 12,900-11,950 BP
3. AGATE BASIN POINT, CIRCA 12,000-11,400 BP
4. EARLY ARCHAIC, JAY PHASE SPEAR POINT OR PROJECTILE, CIRCA 6800-7800 BP
5. SAN JOSÉ-LIKE PROJECTILE POINT, CIRCA 6300-4500 BP
6. ANCESTRAL PUEBLO BI-LOBED BURDEN BASKET, CIRCA 1200 CE
7. PUEBLO BONITO CYLINDER JAR, CIRCA 1100 CE
8. TULAROSA FILLET RIM BOWL, CIRCA 1100-1300 CE
9. A. J. SANTERO (ACTIVE 1820-1840), NUESTRA SEÑORA DE GUADALUPE / OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE, CIRCA 1825
10. POWHOGE POLYCHROME JAR, CIRCA 1830
11. GERALD CASSIDY, CUI BONO?, CIRCA 1911
12. GEORGIA O'KEEFFE, PEDERNAL WITH RED HILLS, 1936
13. BERLYN B. BRIXNER, FIRST ATOMIC EXPLOSION AT A DISTANCE OF ABOUT FIVE MILES, TRINITY SITE, NEW MEXICO, JULY 16, 1945
14. PATROCINIO BARELA, THE GARDEN OF EDEN, CIRCA 1948
15. T. C. CANNON, WASHINGTON LANDSCAPE WITH PEACE MEDAL INDIAN, 1976
16. DIEGO ROMERO, SIEGE OF SANTA FE, 2009

6000 BP

5000 BP

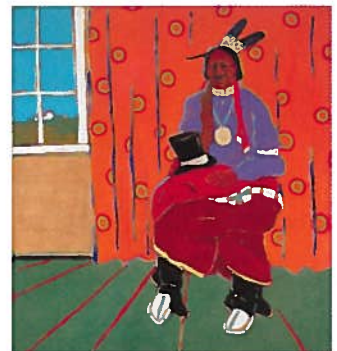
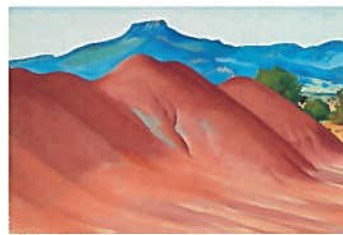
4000 BP

3000 BP

2000 BP

1000 CE

2012





9
HENRY C. BALINK (1882–1963)
PUEBLO POTTERY, 1917
OIL ON CANVAS, 27 x 33 IN.
(68.6 x 83.8 CM)

these replications is therefore quite different from the prime objects that Balink and others painted a century ago.

IT'S ABOUT THREE CULTURES, ISN'T IT?

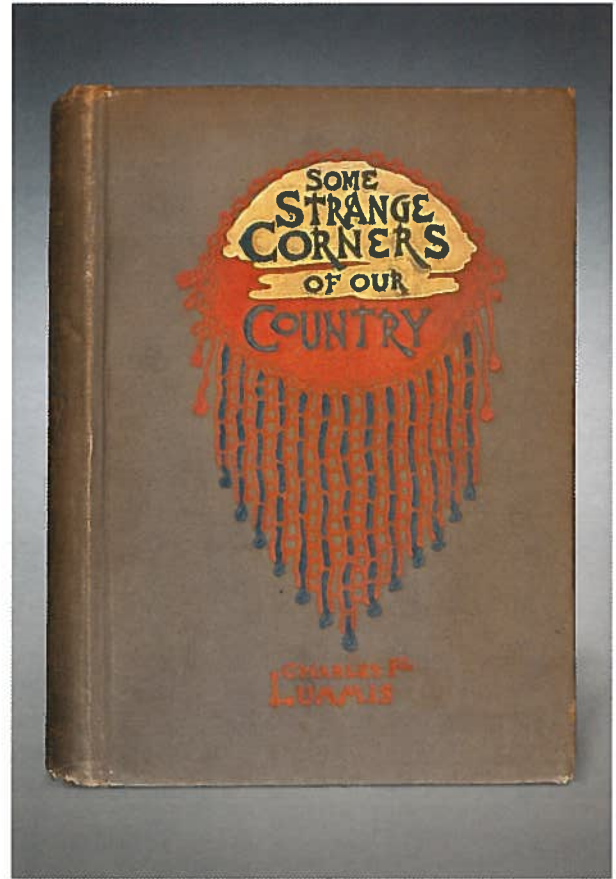
Depictions of the Southwest as a region of tricultural harmony were an important component in the drive for statehood. Museum of New Mexico founder Edgar Lee Hewett incorporated this idea into the programs he developed in Santa Fe during the 1910s and 1920s. Hewett and other early twentieth-century popularizers of New Mexico were masters at simplifying the cultural landscape of the region by using broad ethnic categories, however inadequate this approach was to accounting for the cultural diversity of New Mexico and the greater Southwest.

Today it is no longer appropriate to simplify New Mexico by viewing it as a tri-cultural region composed of Native Americans, Hispanos, and European Americans.

Each of these broad categories can be subdivided into multiple ethnicities, and further divided by class, caste, gender, status, and geography. Nonetheless, the simplistic view of three cultures is so ingrained that sweeping generalizations about the region continue to be made, undermining understanding of the complexity of New Mexico art and culture. Yet it seems all but impossible to transcend the lumping of artistic and cultural traditions into broad categories without resorting to long-winded qualifiers that confuse the issues. Consequently, this study emphasizes the prime objects of aesthetic change—those works of art that have been catalysts for transformations in the cultures and lifeways in New Mexico over the last 14,000 years.

Fascination by non-Native peoples and tourists with southwestern rituals has created a thriving market for objects and images related to religious events. Over time, this has led to sensationalist stories and depictions of private rituals that have offended local communities. Charles F. Lummis's 1892 tales in *Some Strange Corners of Our Country* (fig. 10) is one example of an ethnocentric view that is demeaning to many ethnic groups living in the Southwest.

Today, many Native and Hispanic groups strenuously object to the reproduction of ritual images and religious objects by non-Natives. This publication does not include representations of Pueblo katsinas, kiva paintings, Penitente ceremonies, depictions of masks, or materials associated with mortuary practices, including paintings of prehistoric Mimbres art from southwest New Mexico (fig. 11). The major points of this study remain intact without reproducing works that may offend individuals who are part of indigenous traditions in the Southwest.



10
CHARLES F. LUMMIS (1859–1928)
SOME STRANGE CORNERS OF OUR
COUNTRY: THE WONDERLAND OF THE
SOUTHWEST, 1892
7¼ x 5¼ IN. (19.7 x 14.6 CM)



11
MAKER UNKNOWN
MIMBRES BLACK-ON-WHITE BOWL,
CIRCA 1060–1110 CE
CLAY AND PIGMENTS, 12 x 8⅞ IN.
(30.5 x 22.6 CM)

IT'S ABOUT TIME TO THINK ABOUT TIME

Archaeologists rely heavily on carbon-14 dating, a technique based on the breakdown of carbon isotopes over time. Carbon dates are presented as a single date with a range of years, such as 11,657 plus or minus 300 years. However, the amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is not constant and alters the results of carbon-14 testing. Thus carbon-14 dates can differ from one calendar year to another as the age of a specimen increases. Scientists have corrected this problem by devising tables that translate carbon-14 dates into calendar years.

This study translates carbon-14 dates to calendar years using graphs by P. J. Reimer. For example, remains from the Clovis culture have carbon dates ranging from 11,650 to 10,700 before the present. But the modern calendar equivalent for this period is off by approximately 2,000 years. A more understandable age for nonarchaeologist readers is therefore 13,650 to 12,700 calendar years before the present (CYBP). This study assumes that archaeologists have neither found nor dated the charcoal from the first human campfire in New Mexico, so the starting point for this project is 14,000 calendar years before the present, or a few hundred years before the first radiocarbon date for Clovis culture.

To keep time frames consistent throughout this project, all carbon-14 dates are corrected to calendar years. Dates between the beginning of the Common Era (the nonreligious version of AD) and before the sixteenth-century Spanish *entrada* will be designated CE. Events after European contact will be given a date, such as 1598, with the understanding that it refers to the Common Era.

One of the most interesting results from this study is seeing the shape of artistic time in New Mexico. For most of the 14,000 years that humans have inhabited the state, the lifeways and resulting works of art reflect hunting and gathering economies. This successful strategy lasted for almost 11,000 years before Native peoples began to adopt agricultural practices. Another two millennia passed before agriculture provided the food resources that facilitated the development of Ancestral Pueblo villages. Hispanic colonization of the Pueblo world began four centuries ago, increasing the pace of change. With statehood in 1912, the art of New Mexico changed even more rapidly with a proliferation of prime objects of artistic change.

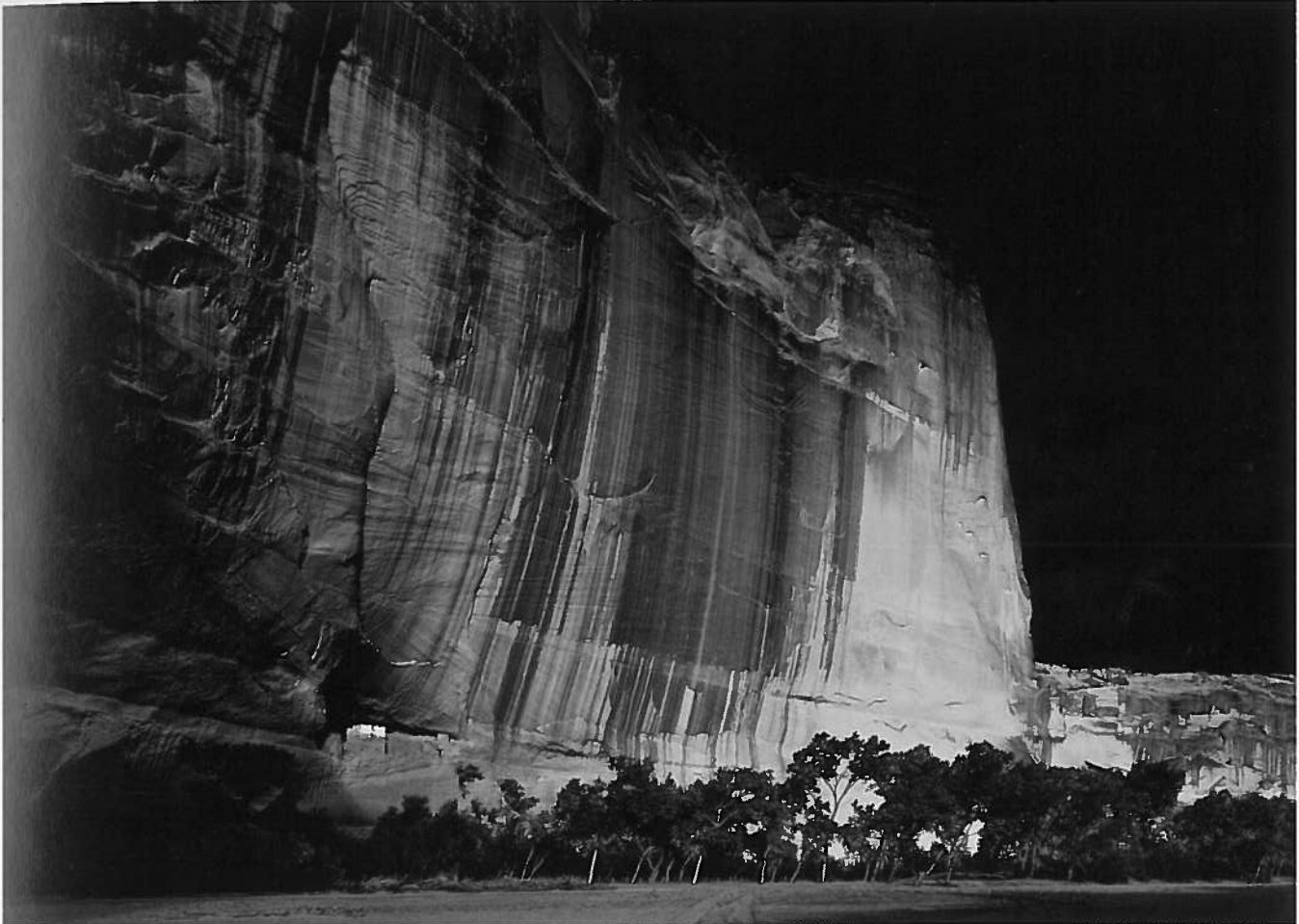
New Mexico Art Through Time includes works that were intended to be art by their makers, as well as objects that ultimately became art through metamorphosis. Many of the works in this investigation look at other cultures and the southwestern landscape with an aestheticized eye, such as William Brooks Clift's black-and-white photograph *White House Ruin, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona* (fig. 12), in which the lighting has been manipulated to create a dynamic view of the cultural landscape that transcends the physical experience of place.

To modern viewers, the prehistoric and historic works of art illustrated in this volume will have multiple meanings, serving as complex symbols of history, progress, salvage, humanity, cultural roots, and ancestral lifeways. Unfortunately, the need to compress such a multifaceted history into a short text and 241 images means that many categories of art and ethnic traditions, as well as hundreds of artists, could not be included in this book. Instead, *New Mexico Art Through Time* offers a way to rethink the art of New Mexico in a less ethnocentric manner along the vast continuum of time.

As markers of the past and present, the works of art in *New Mexico Art Through Time* may spur aesthetic responses and a deeper understanding of the region's diverse cultures. As a humanities project, this study encourages readers to rethink the meaning of art and aesthetics in an intercultural manner. By doing so, we can transcend our personal perspectives on art and understand and appreciate alternative visions and traditions.

12

WILLIAM BROOKS CLIFT III (B. 1944)
WHITE HOUSE RUIN, CANYON DE
CHELLY, ARIZONA, 1975
GELATIN SILVER PRINT, 6% X 9% IN.
[16.8 X 24.4 CM]



American Colonialism in New Mexico

WEALTHY FAMILIES BOLTED THEIR DOORS as word reached Santa Fe that U.S. troops from the Army of the West were approaching from the east. Governor Manuel Armijo vowed to defend New Mexico against the American invasion and sent defenders of the Mexican Republic to construct barricades outside Santa Fe. But at the last minute Armijo dismissed the defenders and fled to El Paso, becoming the last governor of New Mexico under the rule of the Mexican Republic.

On August 18, 1846, General Stephen Watts Kearny marched unopposed into Santa Fe and claimed New Mexico as United States territory. While the American Army imposed U.S. law, the general established the “Kearny Code” of basic laws for the new territory. A new colonial government was installed, and an influx of traders and citizens from the East flowed to the territory.

The United States consolidated its control over New Mexico with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo on February 2, 1848. The American Catholic Church also exerted its control in 1851 by sending Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy (fig. 82) to direct New Mexico Catholics. Soon to be archbishop, Lamy opposed the traditional Hispanic religious arts that filled New Mexico’s missions, churches, private chapels, and homes. He built churches in rural areas and furnished them with paintings and sculptures imported from Europe and the East Coast. While some *santeros* continued to create *retablos* and *bultos*, production of locally made traditional Hispanic religious art decreased markedly as a consequence of Lamy’s dictates.

With the decline in the number of friars serving New Mexico between the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, many rural Catholics had taken charge of their own religious rituals. The Penitentes, a lay male brotherhood that conducted regular ceremonies, were opposed by Archbishop Lamy as he superimposed his brand of Catholicism on the region. His strict, puritanical views and opposition to local customs created strife with well-established Hispanic clerics and their devoted followers, including Padre Antonio José Martínez of Taos (fig. 83).

The Mexican-American War and U.S. colonial policy in New Mexico were part of a greater plan to connect the East and West coasts. Trade between New Mexico and the United States had boomed after Mexican independence from Spain in 1821 and the opening of the Santa Fe Trail the following year. Goods moved freely along the Santa Fe Trail between Missouri and New Mexico and as far as Mexico City via El Camino Real, or the

82
WILLIAM HENRY BROWN (1844–1886)
ARCHBISHOP JEAN BAPTISTE LAMY,
CIRCA 1870–1880
GELATIN SILVER PRINT, 8 x 10 IN.
(20.3 x 25.4 CM)

83
MAKER UNKNOWN
PADRE ANTONIO JOSÉ MARTINEZ,
1847–1848
DAGUERREOTYPE, 4 1/8 x 3 1/4 IN.
(10.5 x 8.3 CM)



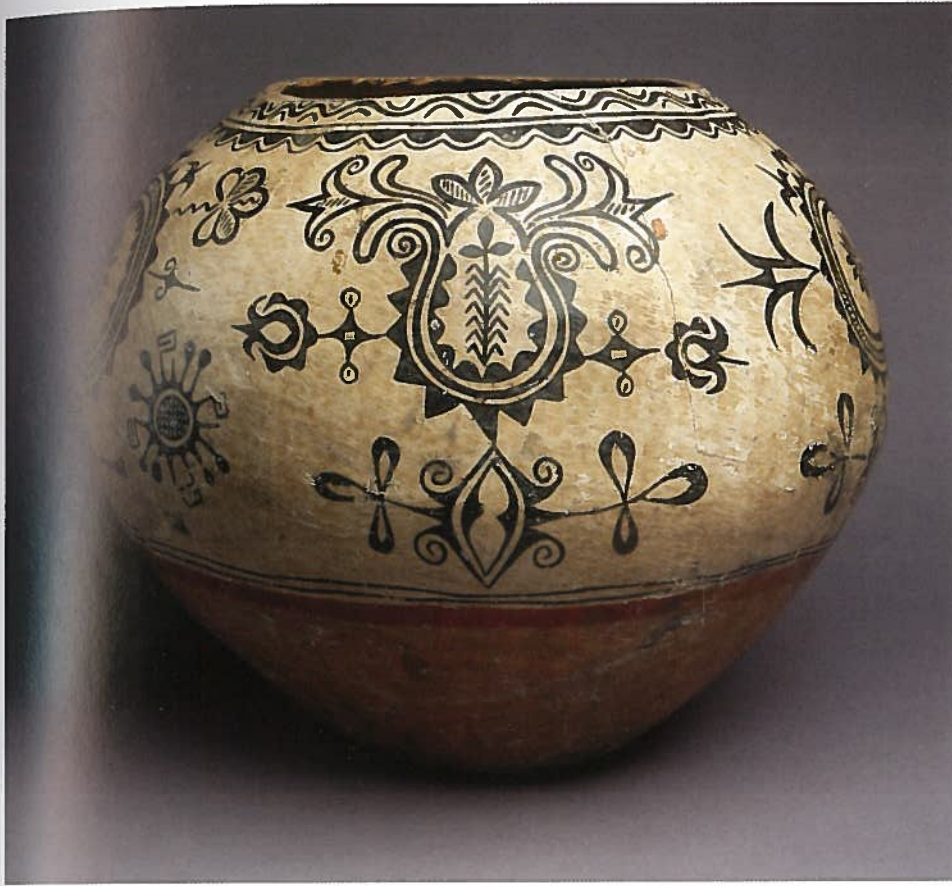
84
MAKER UNKNOWN
COLCHA EMBROIDERY, CIRCA 1840-1865
COTTON AND WOOL, 55 1/8 x 83 7/16 IN.
(140 x 212 CM)

Royal Road. The expanded trade had made clear to U.S. business interests and the federal government that control of the Southwest was essential to America's future progress.

John L. O'Sullivan, a journalist supporting democratic initiatives in 1845, called the expansion our "great experiment in liberty," writing that "our manifest destiny is to over-spread and possess the whole continent which providence has given us" (Simmons 1988, 121). Known as manifest destiny, the ideology justified America's westward expansion to the Pacific Ocean. Many Americans believed that God had endowed the United States with abundant resources to be utilized, and thus it was incumbent on Americans to create a unified country and trade routes from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

But manifest destiny deadlocked at the border of the Texas Republic, a state that declared its independence from the Mexican Republic in 1836. After a decade of negotiations, the United States annexed Texas as the twenty-eighth state in 1845, setting the Mexican-American War in motion. Acquisition of New Mexico was next in the plan, but negotiations ended with Armijo's flight from Kearny's troops.

The United States brought its laws and a free-wheeling form of capitalism to New Mexico. Hispano, Pueblo, and Diné fears that they would suffer under American colonialism caused these communities to band together and led to a rebellion in Taos in 1847, during which Governor Charles Bent, a Taos merchant, was murdered by an angry mob. U.S. forces quickly quelled this and other efforts against the American occupation.



85
MAKER UNKNOWN
TESUQUE PUEBLO POLYCHROME JAR,
CIRCA 1870–1880
CLAY AND PIGMENTS, 17½ x 21 IN.
(44.4 x 53.3 CM)

Meanwhile, communities continued to borrow aesthetic ideas from one another, producing cultural fusions that simultaneously demonstrated their closeness and their separateness. One popular Hispanic art form was *colcha*, hand-embroidered fabrics that served primarily as bed coverings. Colcha yarns were made from hand-dyed wool and sewn onto either cotton or woolen base fabrics. A colcha coverlet made between 1840 and 1865 incorporates interlocking flower motifs and deer-like animals with abstract designs that resemble filigree jewelry (fig. 84).

Similar filigree-like design elements can be seen on a Tesuque Pueblo Polychrome jar, also from the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 85). These elements alternate with painted emblems reminiscent of the silver medallions on Diné concha belts. The jar does not look like earlier Tewa Polychrome pottery from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; its globular shape has no neck, and none of its painted design elements resemble the feather motifs associated with the earlier period.

The juxtaposition of Native and Hispanic design elements can be seen in small crosses produced in Hispanic and Pueblo communities during the nineteenth century. Often the crosses are painted with water-based pigments and incorporate decorations that allude to their cultural origins. A well-used nineteenth-century cross believed to be of Pueblo origin has the remains of what appear to be Pueblo motifs painted in black and red pigments (fig. 86). Hence this work combines Christian and Pueblo forms into an

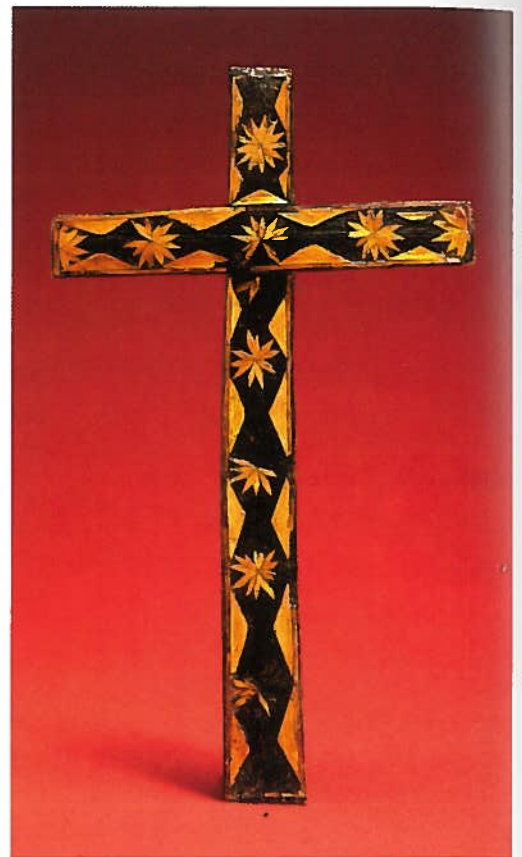
86

MAKER UNKNOWN
CRUZ / CROSS, EARLY 1800S
PAINTED WOOD, 25 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ IN.
(65 x 7 CM)



87

MAKER UNKNOWN
CRUZ / CROSS, LATE 1700S–EARLY 1800S
WOOD AND STRAW, 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ IN.
(40 x 23.5 CM)



object that was used for decades. A similar Hispanic cross is decorated with straw inlays (fig. 87).

New Mexico entered the Civil War in the summer of 1861 when Confederate troops of the Texas Mounted Volunteers took control of southern New Mexico and then occupied Albuquerque. New Mexico militia, Colorado Volunteers, and federal troops congregated in Las Vegas and at Fort Union. However, the decisive battle of the Civil War in New Mexico was fought on March 27 and 28, 1862, at Glorieta Pass, east of Santa Fe. Major John M. Chivington of the Colorado Volunteers discovered the Confederate supply caravan at the rear of their column and routed the defenders, burning 64 wagons and killing 1,100 burros. The Confederates retreated, but it took a second battle near Peralta, south of Albuquerque, to ensure their defeat.

The U.S. Army now sent Colonel Kit Carson with a force of 750 soldiers to stop repeated Diné attacks on the European-American settlers of western New Mexico and Arizona. Carson forcibly marched 8,500 Diné from their traditional homelands to Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo, in east-central New Mexico. The harsh conditions and loss of life along the four-hundred-mile “Long Walk” permanently tainted relations between the Diné and the federal government.

During four years of captivity at Bosque Redondo, the Diné expanded their use of iron and silver through contact with army blacksmiths and Hispanic silversmiths. After

the government provided Hispanic-made Rio Grande blankets to the detainees at Bosque Redondo, Diné weavers also began to incorporate designs whose origins can be traced to Hispanic Saltillo blankets, which had been imported to New Mexico from northern Mexico throughout the Spanish Colonial period.

The Diné Treaty of June 1, 1868, returned the Diné to their traditional lands and granted them land, horses, sheep, seed corn, and other supplies. The Diné continued weaving with wool from their new flocks, while also acquiring commercial dyes and commercially spun yarns through contact with the army, registered Indian traders, and traders along the Santa Fe railroad. Diné women also now adopted blouses and skirts for apparel instead of woven woolen dresses.

Other weavings from the end of the nineteenth century reflect an interesting mix of aesthetic interaction and cultural independence among Hispanic, Diné, and Pueblo communities. According to conventional wisdom, when the Diné moved into the Southwest during the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries they traded with the Pueblos, who taught them to weave. Spanish explorers and colonists brought sheep to the Southwest, and by the early seventeenth century woolens were being woven in Hispanic households on treadle looms.

Traditionally, in Pueblo communities, men were the weavers. They wove cotton fabrics, but after the arrival of the Spanish they also worked with wool. Among the Diné, women were the weavers, while men tended flocks of sheep. In Hispanic communities, men both tended sheep and wove part-time (fig. 88.). Each of the three cultures used a different kind of loom, creating different structural relationships.

Garment forms, designs, and uses differed as well. Pueblo weavers, mostly at the Hopi villages in Arizona, were known for their ceremonial kilts and mantas worn by women, draped over one shoulder and pinned along the side to make a dress. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Rio Grande Pueblos had abandoned weaving altogether, instead acquiring woven goods through trade with the Hopis. Hispanic weavers were known for their wearing blankets that resembled Saltillo weavings, as well as for *jergas*, generally black-and-white twill plaids used as blankets or floor coverings. Diné weavings, prized by tribes outside the Southwest and traded as "chief's blankets" (fig. 89), incorporated striped or banded designs reminiscent of Hopi mantas or Hispanic Rio Grande weavings.

It seems all but impossible to determine with any accuracy which weavers started the styles popular during the American Colonial period. The complexities of social relationships between Hispanic, Pueblo, and Diné communities, and within Hispanic communities, suggest there was a great deal of interaction among weavers. One of the most interesting works reproduced in this study is a late-nineteenth-century blanket woven by Manuelita Sisneros, a Navajo captive raised in the *genízaro* community of Abiquiu (fig. 90). The cultural roots of this woman and her weaving are known because the blanket had remained in the family for more than a century.

The political situation in New Mexico deteriorated after the Civil War as an influx of corrupt politicians, lawyers, land speculators, squatters, and other wheeler-dealers moved to the Southwest in an effort to gain control of Native, Hispanic, and federally owned lands (Simmons 1988). New American laws did not recognize land grants or group land rights as had earlier Spanish and Mexican laws. Crooked deals that cheated Hispanos and

88

MAKER UNKNOWN
RIO GRANDE BLANKET (NEW MEXICO),
CIRCA 1870
HANDSPUN NATURAL WOOL, UNDYED
AND SYNTHETIC DYES, 88 x 53 IN. (223.5
x 134.6 CM)

89

MAKER UNKNOWN
NAVAJO (DINÉ) CHIEF'S BLANKET,
VARIANT OF THIRD PHASE DESIGN,
CIRCA 1875-1880
HANDSPUN RAVELED WOOL YARN WITH
COCHINEAL, INDIGO, VEGETAL, AND
POSSIBLY ANILINE DYES, 42½ x 57¼ IN.
(108 x 146.5 CM)





90
MANUELITA SISNEROS
(DATES UNKNOWN)
BLANKET (ABIQUIU, NEW MEXICO),
CIRCA 1880s
WOOL, NATURAL AND SYNTHETIC DYES

Pueblos out of their previously legal land rights were complicated by self-serving, government-appointed officials and judges who were driven by their own efforts to gain wealth. Many get-rich-quick schemes went bust, leading to lawsuits over bankruptcies that further complicated legal title to lands. Claims against squatters from heirs to land grants and Pueblo peoples would continue well into the twentieth century.

Beginning in the 1870s the “Santa Fe Ring,” a cabal of Republican politicians, land speculators, and court officials, conspired to gain lands and transform them into cash-paying mines, ranches, and real estate deals. The most notorious of these deals involved the Maxwell Grant in northeastern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado. Settlers were brought in to populate the area to prove that it was inhabited and not vacant federal land. The Colfax County War erupted when the owners acquired the patent for the grant and expelled the homesteaders so they could exercise complete control over their lands.

Other deals involved attempts by the Santa Fe Ring to control government supply contracts and acquire vast ranch lands in southeastern New Mexico, unscrupulous efforts that led to the Lincoln County War when locals, including William “Billy the Kid” Bonney, opposed the Ring’s activities and fought to maintain control of the area.

The opportunists in New Mexico gained political control at the same time that the federal government conducted the great surveys, four major expeditions that examined the local mineral deposits and geography of the West and Southwest to determine possible railway passages to the West Coast. Photographers on these expeditions included Alexander Gardner and William Henry Jackson on the Francis Hayden Survey; John K. Hillers on the John Wesley Powell Survey through the Grand Canyon and Utah; and Timothy H. O’Sullivan on both the George Wheeler Survey west of the Hundredth Meridian and the Clarence King Survey of the Fortieth Parallel. Their photographs, and the lithographs drawn from them, were incorporated into the published survey reports.



91
TIMOTHY H. O'SULLIVAN
(CIRCA 1840-1882)
SOUTH SIDE OF INSCRIPTION ROCK, 1873
ALBUMEN SILVER PRINT, 11 X 13 IN.
(27.9 X 33 CM)

Perhaps most memorable are O'Sullivan's photographs, which capture aestheticized, romantic views of western landscapes that transcend their intended scientific purpose. For example, O'Sullivan's 1873 photograph *South Side of Inscription Rock* (fig. 91) offers a spellbinding view of the rock walls where, nearly three centuries earlier, Juan de Oñate and other Spanish explorers inscribed messages into the soft sandstone and where Pueblo Indians had etched petroglyphs even earlier. His large-format contact print was tipped onto a printed sheet featuring an engraved description of the scene. These types of photographs were the most modern images available to elite Victorians, who found their warm tones truly affective.

THE RUSH TO DOCUMENT LIFE IN THE SOUTHWEST

The transformation of New Mexico from a Spanish colony to an American colony accelerated in 1879, when the Santa Fe Railway crossed from Colorado into New Mexico at Raton Pass. Connecting the Southwest first to the Midwest and then to Los Angeles,

California, the railway expanded the trade in tools, canned goods, and other American materials imported to New Mexico.

Shipping crates, tin cans, and packing materials were reused and reconfigured by locals. Sheet metal from used cans was flattened, punched with designs, and soldered into frames for photographs and other utilitarian objects. The best-known tin artist of the period, the Isleta Tinsmith, created rather baroque punched and cut designs that often incorporated panels of reverse painting on glass and sometimes printed information from his source materials, such as a label from a can of lard (fig. 92). Labels would be hidden as engravings of saints or photographs of family members were slipped into the frames. While glazing protected heirloom photographs and images (fig. 93), other items were often slid, unprotected, between the glass and the edge of the tin frame.

Tin buckets and cast-iron Dutch ovens imported by rail quickly replaced ceramic water jars and cooking pots in New Mexico kitchens, and inexpensive printed cloth, such as calico, was adopted by Native and Hispanic families. With such changes, handmade utilitarian items fell into disuse and were discarded, traded, or sold for supplies.

Yarns imported from the Germantown section of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, proved to be particularly popular with Diné weavers during the period from 1880 to 1890. Germantown weavings could be made from pre-dyed yarn, or the weaver could dye wool carded and spun from local sheep. Both yarns were colored with aniline dyes made from coal tar and were noted for their intense hues, primary colors, and uniform size. Unlike dyes made from local plants, aniline dyes did not fade.

The resulting Germantown “eye dazzlers”—brightly colored weavings featuring strong contrasts of hue and tone—found a ready market with many European-American

92
ISLETA (NEW MEXICO) TINSMITH
(DATES UNKNOWN)
TIN FRAME, CIRCA 1910
TINPLATE, GLASS, AND WATER-BASED
PAINT, 31 x 21½ IN. (78.7 x 54.6 CM)

93
ISLETA (NEW MEXICO) TINSMITH
(DATES UNKNOWN)
TIN FRAME, EARLY 1900s
TIN, GLASS, PAPER, SOLDER,
AND PHOTOGRAPHS, 9 1/16 x 12 5/8 IN.
(25 x 32 CM)



buyers. Nonetheless, the weavings ultimately struck most buyers as gaudy and cheap, in contrast to the more restrained designs and subdued colors found in earlier wearing blankets (fig. 94). Consequently, the style only lasted for little more than a decade.

Around 1880, potters at Cochiti Pueblo began making and selling figurines to travelers, often depicting barnyard animals and other creatures from the Southwest or circus performers who traveled through on the train or performed in Santa Fe. An untitled 1890s Cochiti sculpture (fig. 95) demonstrates the mixing of sources that informed such work.

94
MAKER UNKNOWN
NAVAJO (DINÉ) GERMANTOWN DOUBLE
SADDLE BLANKET, CIRCA 1880-1890
COTTON STRING, GERMANTOWN WOOL
YARN, AND ANILINE DYES, 47 x 31 IN.
(119.4 x 78.7 CM)





95
MAKER UNKNOWN
COCHITI FIGURINE, 1890s
CLAY AND PIGMENTS, 11¼ x 6½ x 3 IN.
(28.6 x 16.5 x 7.6 CM)

The figure is simplified in form, with painted designs taken from late nineteenth-century pottery, except for its tall lace shoes.

As Native artists experimented with new art forms, such as secular sculptures, the Hispanic *santero* tradition came to a temporary end. José Benito Ortega, who was the last commercial *santero*, worked at the end of the nineteenth century, creating his last religious art in 1906. Ortega's works, such as *Nuestra Señora del Carmen / Our Lady of Mt. Carmel* (fig. 96), continued the sacred tradition that was over a hundred years old. But with the availability of manufactured religious images the Hispanic community largely lost interest in works made by hand in a vernacular style.

Many Americans thought the completion of the transcontinental railroad fulfilled America's manifest destiny and would result in the demise of indigenous cultures, hoping, as had the Franciscan missionaries before them, that aspects of New Mexico culture they considered pagan would give way to Christianity and other mainstream lifeways. But the belief that Southwest cultures were rapidly disappearing also brought an influx of anthropologists and artists to New Mexico.

JOSÉ BENITO ORTEGA (1858–1941)
 NUESTRA SEÑORA DEL CARMEN /
 OUR LADY OF MT. CARMEL, LATE 1800s
 GESSO AND WATER-SOLUBLE PAINT
 ON WOOD, 18½ x 11½ in. (47 x 29.2 cm)



Serious ethnographic research in the Southwest began in 1879 when James Stevenson led an expedition to document lifeways, collect artifacts, and photograph daily activities at Zuni Pueblo. Self-styled anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing was a member of the Stevenson Expedition and wrote “My Adventures in Zuñi,” an illustrated, three-part tale that appeared in *Century Magazine* in 1882–83. Cushing’s sympathetic view of Pueblo life was published at the same time as racist articles depicting Plains Indians unfavorably during the High Plains Wars. His report demonstrated the basic humanity of the Zunis to readers accustomed only to negative stereotypes and inflammatory depictions of Indian warriors.

The most powerful image in the Cushing series was *Dance of the Great Knife*, a wood engraving produced from a gouache painting by Willard Leroy Metcalf (fig. 97) that was created from several photographs taken by expedition photographer John K. Hillers. The engraving illustrates a tense confrontation in Cushing’s tale when a Zuni “warrior,” probably a Pueblo sacred clown, staged a mock attack on the gullible anthropologist, probably in an effort to make him stop documenting Zuni religious events. The frail Cushing defended himself and believed that his bravery had foiled the attack. In all likelihood, the attack was a practical joke that Cushing did not fully understand, but it caused him to be more respectful of the tribe’s wishes.



97
WILLARD LEROY METCALF (1858-1925)
DANCE OF THE GREAT KNIFE, 1882
GOUACHE ON PAPER, 19 3/4 x 15 3/4 IN.
[50.2 x 40 CM]

Century readers responded enthusiastically to the narrative and illustrations, the combination of New Mexico landscape, Pueblo architecture, and unfamiliar rituals exotic and provocative. Because the Zunis were well removed from Hispanic settlements, ethnologists and painters considered them to be more authentically Puebloan than the Rio Grande Pueblos, who by then had closely interacted with Hispanic colonists for three hundred years.

Cushing's essay brought the last vestiges of the western frontier into the cozy parlors of staid Victorian readers. Its acceptance reflected changing attitudes in society that refuted negative stereotypes about Native Americans in mainstream culture. The article's words

and illustrations were so persuasive that it became a model for presenting a liberal interpretation of Native peoples at the end of the nineteenth century. Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona*, and her political protest *A Century of Dishonor*, also reflected this changing view of Native Americans and the history of European-American conflict with Indians.

Charles Craig was one artist who raced to the Southwest to find scenes of Native lifeways unaltered by contact with the modern world. His circa 1883 *Interior Courtyard of Pueblo, Santa Clara, New Mexico* records the mood and foreign qualities of Pueblo architecture, which was then unknown to non-southwestern audiences (fig. 98). Craig's depiction of a block of residential rooms at Santa Clara Pueblo presents a warm, homey view of Pueblo life and another sympathetic portrayal of Native Americans.

Although *Interior Courtyard* illustrates the endurance of Native architecture and lifeways that were expected to disappear with manifest destiny, this and other paintings of the genre should not be interpreted as ethnographically realistic. Instead, they reflect the artist's control of composition, color, and tone in presenting an idealized view of the Pueblo villages intended to distinguish the "good" agrarian Indians from the "bad" Plains warriors. Ironically, after Plains tribes adapted to the constraints of reservation life and governmental domination, Craig painted equally nostalgic pictures of the nomadic lifeways of Plains Indians of the past.

Craig's quaint view of Santa Clara Pueblo is at odds with Charles F. Lummis's 1889 cyanotype *Dance, Pueblo of Santa Clara, N.M.* (fig. 99). Initially, the photograph, which depicts tourists in black dresses and suits observing a Pueblo dance, seems like any other dance image from the late nineteenth century. However, the key to understanding the photograph is the series of dark, horizontal forms in the near background, which reveal a slightly out-of-focus Denver and Rio Grande train stopped on the tracks behind the pueblo.

Dance, Pueblo of Santa Clara is one of the earliest southwestern photographs to document the complex interrelationship between the railways, tourists, and Indian tribes in the Southwest. Whether the train happened to stop at the dance or coaches were specially chartered to bring tourists to the religious event is an intriguing question that the photograph does not answer, although the dearth of Pueblo participants implies that this was a staged tourist encounter.

Lummis also introduced New Mexico Hispanic culture to national literary circles in 1889 when *The Cosmopolitan Magazine* published his essay "The Penitent Brothers." This sensationalist narrative detailed the rites of the brotherhood in rural areas of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Lummis photographed the rituals against the group's wishes, even threatening them with a pistol in order to photograph a mock Penitente crucifixion (fig. 100). Lummis's descriptions and photo-based drawings created false, negative stereotypes about Hispanic lifeways. The popularity of his Southwest narratives and photographs, however, underscored the public's interest in exotic scenes from New Mexico.

Paintings of Penitente rituals as well as the Hopi Snake Dance of Arizona remained popular subjects throughout the first half of the twentieth century—despite objections raised by the groups depicted that the images were insensitive and inaccurate portrayals of their communities.

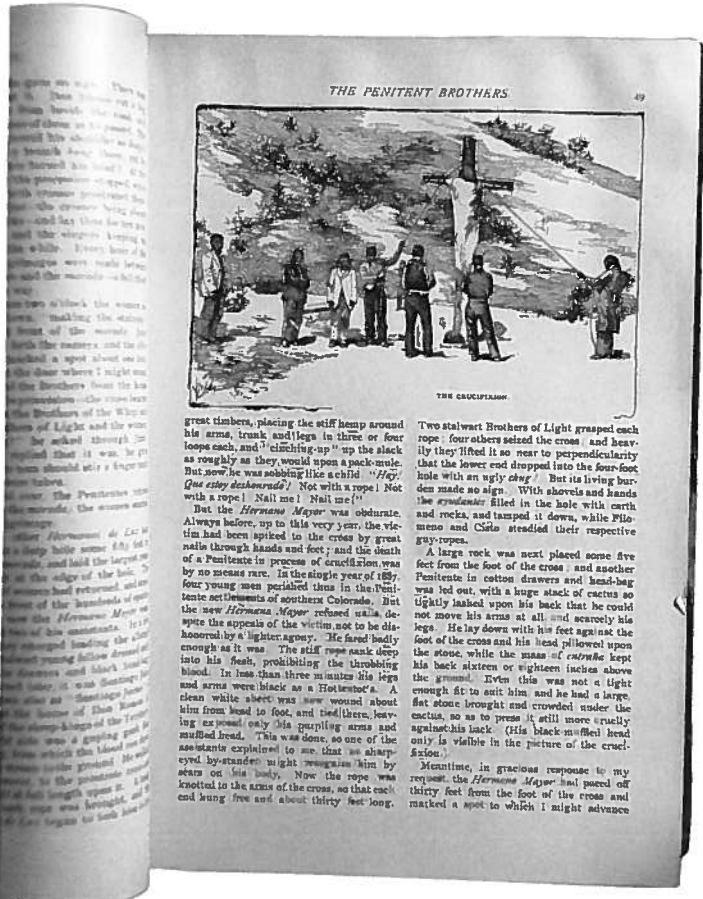


98
 CHARLES CRAIG (1846-1931)
 INTERIOR COURTYARD OF PUEBLO,
 SANTA CLARA, NEW MEXICO, CIRCA 1883
 OIL ON CANVAS, 21½ x 39½ IN.
 [54.6 x 100.3 CM]



99
 CHARLES F. LUMMIS (1859-1928)
 DANCE, PUEBLO OF SANTA CLARA, N.M.,
 1889
 CYANOTYPE, 4½ x 6¾ IN. [11.4 x 17.1 CM]

W. MARTIN JOHNSON (DATES UNKNOWN)
THE CRUCIFIXION, 1889
PHOTOENGRAVING OF A PEN-AND-INK
DRAWING AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY
CHARLES F. LUMMIS, 3¼ x 5 IN.
(8.3 x 12.7 cm)



THE PENITENT BROTHERS

THE CRUCIFIXION

great timbers, placing the stiff hemp around his arms, trunk and legs in three or four loops each, and "climbing up" up the block as roughly as they would upon a pack-trail. But now he was sobbing like a child. "Hoy, Que esay deshouvado? Not with a rope! Not with a rope! Nail me! Nail me!"

But the *Hermoso Mayor* was obstinate. Always before, up to this very year, the victim had been spiked to the cross by great nails through hands and feet; and the death of a Penitente in process of execution was by no means rare. In the single year of 1887, four young men perished thus in the Penitente settlements of southern Colorado. But the new *Hermoso Mayor* refused such a death, and the victim was to be dis-honored by a lighter agony. He fastened the stiff rope sank deep into his flesh, prohibiting the throbbing and arms were black as a *Hotentot's*. A clean white sheet was sew wound about him from head to foot, and tied there, leaving exposed only his gasping arms and muffled head. "This was done, so one of the assistants explained to me that an always-eyed by-stander might recognize him by scars on his body. Now the rope was knotted to the arms of the cross, so that each end hung free and about thirty feet long.

Two stalwart Brothers of Light grasped each rope; four others seized the cross, and heavily they lifted it so near to perpendicularity that the lower end dropped into the four-foot hole with an ugly creak. But its living burden made no sign. With shovels and hands the *ayudantes* filled in the hole with earth and rocks, and tamped it down, while Filomeno and Cito steadied their respective guy-ropes.

A large rock was next placed some five feet from the foot of the cross, and another Penitente in cotton drawers and head-bag was led out, with a large stack of cactus so lightly lashed upon his back that he could not move his arms at all, and scarcely his legs. He lay down with his feet against the foot of the cross and his head pillowed upon the stone, while the mass of cactus kept his back sixteen or eighteen inches above the ground. Even this was not a tight enough fit to suit him, and he had a large flat stone brought and crowded under the cactus, so as to press it still more snugly against his back. (His black muffled head only is visible in the picture of the crucifixion.)

Meantime, in gracious response to my request, the *Hermoso Mayor* had passed off thirty feet from the foot of the cross and marked a spot to which I might advance

Lummis repeatedly utilized the picturesque as a synonym for his interpretations of the Southwest. Just as the travel literature of the 1880s and 1890s created an exotic, mythic view of North Africa and the Middle East now known as "Orientalism," Lummis created an exotic, mythic "southwesternist" vision of New Mexico, by focusing on provocative sights and by comparing the region to the Near East. Lummis utilized his photographs to assert the veracity of his articles, which express an eclectic mix of euphoric praise and condescending criticism.

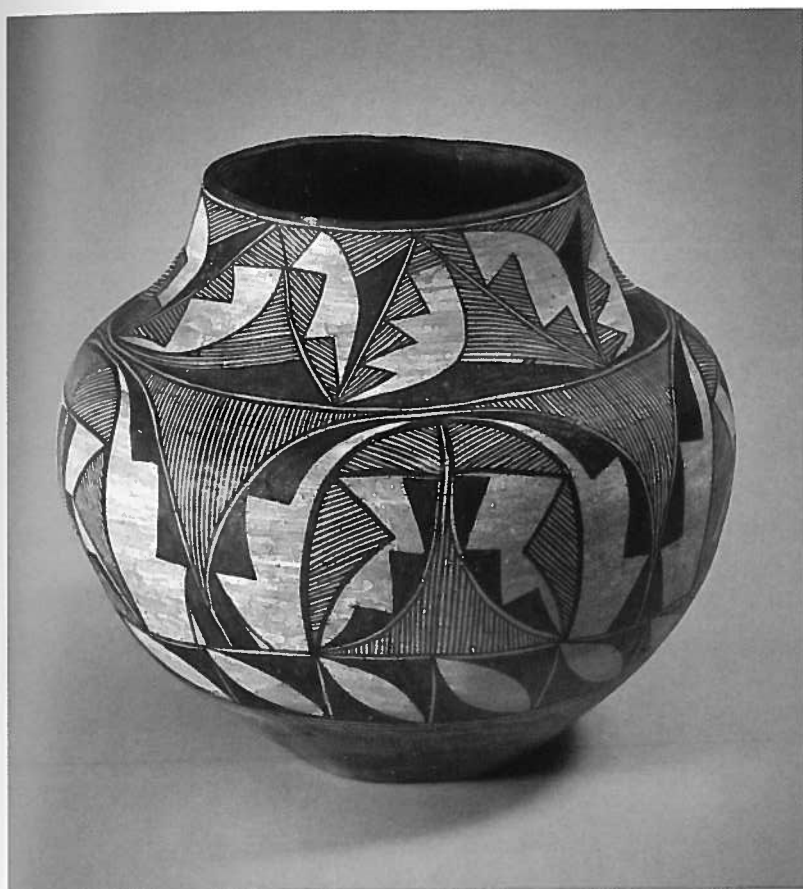
While picturesque depictions emphasized the positive aspects of the Southwest, Lummis's derogatory comments about aspects of Native and Hispanic peoples and their customs underscored his intellectual dominance. Lummis blended reverence and bigotry into a southwesternist literary genre that stereotyped indigenous peoples as exotic players in a cultural theater.

Such contradictory attitudes dominated New Mexico art at the end of the nineteenth century. Josephine Foard was a supporter of the 1890s arts and crafts movement who was interested in alleviating poverty in the pueblos. Foard thought that Pueblo jars would be more salable as beautiful vases for summer flowers. But there was just one problem: Pueblo jars were not watertight and ruined wooden tables as the ceramic wept. To solve the problem, Foard moved to Laguna Pueblo, a stop on the Santa Fe Railway line, to teach

pottery how to glaze their pottery and make it watertight. But it made no sense to them to seal a water jar as they believed evaporation was needed to cool the water in the vessels.

To make her case, Foard simply purchased vessels from Pueblo potters, lined their interiors with a glaze, and refired them in a wood-burning kiln that she built at Laguna. A vessel molded and painted by Queaustea from Acoma Pueblo is an example of a Pueblo jar that Foard altered (fig. 101). The interior reveals a thick clear glaze, but on the outside the refiring slightly smudged the pearly white slip so important in Acoma ceramics.

Ironically, Foard's reworked Pueblo vessels did not sell well when she took them to arts and crafts sales on the East Coast. Her efforts are another example of the inherent belief in the superiority of European Americans' cultural knowledge. Foard's modifications of Pueblo art summarized the aesthetic and cultural clash that occurred during the American colonial experience in New Mexico.



101
QUEAUSTEA AND JOSEPHINE FOARD
(DATES UNKNOWN)
UNTITLED (WATERPROOFED ACOMA
JAR), 1900-1905
CLAY, PIGMENTS, AND GLAZE,
10¼ x 12 IN. (26 x 30.5 CM)





102

FRANK SAUERWEIN (1871-1910)

ENCHANTED MESA, 1902

OIL ON CANVAS, 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ X 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ IN. (29.5 X
45.1 CM)

Frank Sauerwein produced a romantic depiction of an ancestral home of Acoma Pueblo, *Enchanted Mesa* (fig. 102). One day, according to legend, while pueblo residents worked in their fields, a massive rock fell and trapped three elderly women on the mesa top. The women perished when rescuers could not build ladders tall enough to connect the broken trail with the top of the mesa. While Sauerwein's image is one of beauty to easterners just discovering New Mexico, its underlying story is one of tragedy in the Pueblo world. Such images and their accompanying tales made New Mexico more exotic and visually intriguing to eastern audiences.

In summary, during the American Colonial period European-American painters superimposed their aesthetic views on New Mexico. Despite some efforts to present accurate descriptions of indigenous peoples in the Southwest, European-American artists and writers most often promoted the region's indigenous cultures as exotic and bizarre. Like Lummis, many photographers took photographs of indigenous peoples against their will. A snapshot of the train station and Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque, for example, shows Pueblo pottery sellers covering up so they could not be photographed (fig. 103).

The colonial period in New Mexico ended with a downturn in the production of Native American and Hispanic arts. By the first decade of the twentieth century, Pueblo potters were abandoning the production of fine wares and substituting inexpensive items

for sale to tourists. The *santero* tradition temporarily declined due to use of official Catholic imagery. Manufactured goods from the East were rapidly replacing indigenous objects made for internal use.

Images in popular publications presented misconceptions about life in New Mexico that reinforced colonial attitudes and racist stereotypes. These misconceptions became profitable as traders encouraged tourists to visit the Southwest and view unusual people and their strange practices. Ironically, the promotion of southwesternist stereotypes of indigenous lifeways would help encourage the arrival of European-American artists seeking new subjects after New Mexico achieved statehood.



103
MAKER UNKNOWN
OUTSIDE THE ALVARADO, 1905-1910
GELATIN SILVER PRINT, 3½ x 5½ IN. (8.9
x 14 CM)