

TRANSMISSION OF JEWELRY TECHNIQUES AND SYMBOLS WITHIN A HOPI
FAMILY OF JEWELERS

by

CHRISTINE FRANCES HELLYER

(Under the Direction of TRACIE COSTANTINO)

ABSTRACT

This study examined the methods in which the techniques utilized in the creation of Hopi jewelry were transmitted within generations of one Hopi family. The qualitative methodologies of ethnography and narrative inquiry were used to explore the questions: (1) How are the symbols and techniques of the Hopi overlay designs being transmitted within generations of a Hopi family of jewelers?, and (2) How can the teaching methods utilized by this Hopi family of jewelers inform jewelry curriculum in a public school setting?

The study was conducted within one family of jewelers to seek understanding of the pedagogical means utilized and to ascertain if the methods employed are applicable to a classroom setting. In an attempt to experience the teaching methods used, I became an active participant and interned with the patriarch of the family. The jeweler had also begun teaching one of his granddaughters so I was able to witness his teaching style as he conducted her lessons as well. In addition to my experience of being an intern, interviews were conducted with three family members and the lessons were also videotaped.

Analysis revealed that lessons were not usually conducted in a formal setting as we see in a traditional classroom. Instead, most of the lessons were learned by the younger family

members by observing the older family members. The setting was more akin to an apprenticeship and would be very difficult to replicate in a classroom.

INDEX WORDS: American Indian jewelry, Hopi Arts and Crafts, Hopi jewelry, Narrative, Ethnography, Apprenticeship learning, Overlay technique, Qualitative Study

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Norman and Frances Hellyer with all my love, respect, and admiration. You gave me the tools and desire to pursue education. The value you both placed on education in my formative years has stayed with me my entire life. The support and encouragement you showed when I pursued my Bachelor's and Master's degrees has given me strength to forge ahead with my doctoral studies without you. I only wish you could have been here to share this with me.

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GLOSSARY

Anneal Heating a piece of metal to free the internal stress and make it more workable by realigning the molecules.

Flux A substance applied to metal surfaces to be soldered to prevent the formation of oxides and to promote the flow of solder.

Gauge A standard of measure used to designate the thickness of wire and sheet metal. A higher number indicates the thinner the metal, for instance, 20 gauge is thinner than 18 gauge.

Ingot A mass of metal cast into a convenient shape.

Jewelers saw A frame that holds a very thin replaceable blade that can be threaded through openings in metal to allow sawing of complex designs.

Jump rings Metal rings used to form chains and joining components of jewelry together.

Kachina A doll, carved from cottonwood root, used to teach Hopi children about the katsina.

Katsina A Hopi supernatural being that the Hopi believe have control over rain.

Katsinam Plural for katsina.

Kiva An underground ceremonial chamber, typically accessible through a ladder that descends into the chamber. There are often several kivas in each village. Only individuals that have been initiated into one of the societies are allowed to enter a kiva.

Mandrel Rods or shapes used as a core around which metal can be formed.

Overlay A technique where a one layer of metal containing a design is soldered onto another layer of metal.

Oxidation A chemical reaction on metal that changes the surface color.

Pickle A chemical bath used to clean metal.

Pierced design A cutout or drilled opening in a design surface.

Rouge A ferric oxide powder used in stick form to polish metal.

Sùitapalos A shawl decorated with flowers and long fringe.

Solder An alloy of metals used to join metals designed to melt at a lower temperature than the pieces being joined.

Taapalo Hopi for shawl.

Tufa A type of limestone that is fairly soft to allow easy carving.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of American Indians began approximately between 10,000 and 8,000 B.C.E. At its height between 1,000 B.C.E. and 1,000 C.E. American Indians grew to include around 600 tribal societies (Berman, 1997). Some authorities believe the population to have been as large as 10 million or greater (Natives, North American, 2011). According to the 2010 census, there are 5,220,579 native people in the United States comprising 565 tribes (Norris, Vines, & Hoeffel, 2012). Throughout this history, objects of adornment were created. Beads and pendants made from bone and shells dating back to the seventh millennium B.C.E. were found at Hogup Cave, Utah (Tanner, 1985). Jewelry is still a part of virtually every American Indian culture in the United States (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). Given the extensive history of Southwestern American Indian jewelry, there is surprisingly little written about the design history (Baxter, 1994). Baxter (1994) further stated, “Until the mid-twentieth century, Indian jewelry [sic] was treated as an element of indigenous material culture, with ethnological data stressed above other considerations” (p. 233). Tanner (1960) stated that the entire picture is a complicated one that “desperately needs to be studied” (p. 19). Baxter (1994) echoes that opinion stating, “there is a clear need for more objective and scholarly treatments” (p. 233). Baxter and Bird-Romero (2000) reiterate that there is a lack of substantial information on jewelry created by American Indians and adds that there is “a great amount of misinformation” (p. xi). One fact is blatantly obvious; American Indian history has been ignored and dismissed throughout the literature. Understandable to a point, as Anglos, a term utilized a descriptor for individuals of European

descent, were guilty of pushing the natives to assimilate into the Eurocentric culture. Smith (1999) points out that there is almost a complete absence of information on American Indian art or art education in the Southwest in historical art educational literature.

In the Southwestern portion of the United States, there are several American Indian tribes. Included in these are the Hopi, Zuni, Apache, and Navajo. The largest of the tribes, being the Navajo, is comprised of 308,013 people (U.S. Census Bureau Detailed tables, 2010). The Zuni and Hopi are the smallest of the Southwest tribes, both with less than 10,000 members (U.S. Census Bureau Detailed tables, 2010). Little is known about either of these smaller tribes and even less about their jewelry styles which are significantly different than the stereotypical image of American Indian jewelry of the Southwest. I have experienced this stereotype, when people ask me what I am studying, and I mention Hopi jewelry, they usually tell me how they like turquoise jewelry. The use of large turquoise stones is more in keeping with the Navajo style of jewelry design. Zuni jewelry usually contains a multitude of small stones, often using an inlay technique. Hopi jewelry usually consists of designs created using the overlay technique, with very few stones or no stones at all. I chose to study a Hopi jeweler because they are understudied and often not differentiated from other tribes. My desire was to bring awareness about this small, relatively unknown tribe and their jewelry style.

Purpose of the Study

Very little is known about the teaching methods utilized within the Hopi tribe. I studied a Hopi family of jewelers to ascertain what methods have been utilized to transmit the knowledge of symbolism and techniques between generations. The metal overlay utilized by the Hopi was developed following WWII by Fred Kabotie (M. Wright, 1982), the uncle of my primary participant, Watson Honanie. Watson learned his techniques from his uncles and brothers (S.

Honanie, personal communication, September 7, 2011). I was interested in how this information has been transmitted in this non-formal setting.

My research was guided by the following questions: “How are the symbols and techniques of the Hopi overlay designs being transmitted within generations of a Hopi family of jewelers?”, and “How can the teaching methods utilized by this Hopi family of jewelers inform jewelry curriculum in a public school setting?” I sought to understand the methods utilized by the Hopi jewelers to see if there is a significant difference from methods utilized in U.S. public schools. As a jewelry instructor in a Georgia public school, I was interested in seeing if there is a difference in teaching approaches when family members teach jewelry methods in a non-formal setting.

Rationale for the Study

In an attempt to fill a small part of the void of information pertaining to the Hopi tribe and in particular, their jewelry style, I investigated a Hopi family in order to document some of the techniques utilized in the creation of Hopi jewelry as an art form. I was interested in conducting this research to record how the jeweler, Watson Honanie, was taught the jewelry techniques and symbols that he uses, and to record how he transmits this knowledge to his children and grandchildren. It was also my desire to ascertain what information gleaned from this study could be valuable for art curricula, specifically jewelry or craft classes.

Key Terms

I have chosen to use the term American Indian in my writing to represent the various tribes of North America. Many terms are used when discussing members of these tribes. Terms such as Indigenous, First Nation, Native, American Indian, First Peoples, and Aboriginal are common. These are used when speaking of the collective, including members of various tribes.

The term American Indian is prevalent in the more recent publications (Bequette, 2009; Brayboy, 2006) to differentiate between those Indigenous people residing in the United States and those from Canada and Latin American nations (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2002). The Ojibwe friends with whom I grew up, Sharon Secola, Keith Secola, and Margie Sklas prefer the usage of this term as a descriptor for their heritage. Keith graduated high school with my older sister and I graduated with his younger sister, Sharon. I came to work with Margie during my undergraduate studies. Another individual that had a greater impact on me was a friend of my father, Don Glorious. I knew Don from the time I was a very young girl. He ran a boat portage, a rail system that carried boats from one body of water to another, in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area Wilderness. His house straddled the border, half stood on Canadian soil and the other in the United States. We visited his house and the artifacts he had left an indelible mark in my memory. The influence from these friends brought me to the decision to use the term, American Indian. For many American Indians the preference is to use the tribe name whenever possible. I have used the tribe name when speaking about individual tribes and American Indian when speaking in general about a group that would include individuals from various tribes. I also use the term Anglo when referring to people who are not members of any American Indian tribe. I chose this term based on the common usage of this term by members of the Hopi tribe.

Significance of the Study

This study's aim was to understand how techniques and symbols have been transmitted within generations of a Hopi family of jewelers. Although this study was conducted within one family, many of the teaching techniques may provide understanding and insight for classroom teachers.

In this dissertation, I began with the theoretical framework influences discussed in Chapter 2. Later in that chapter, I discuss the forces that have influenced American Indian artwork, beginning with colonization. I then address symbolism and general traditions in American Indian artwork. I follow with a discussion about jewelry of the Southwestern portion of the United States including the beginning of the Hopi overlay techniques and concluding with influences on the evolving style of American Indian jewelry. In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology and paradigms and how the transformative paradigm was appropriate for this study. Chapter 4 includes a brief introduction of Hopi culture including the emergence story and a discussion of how the culture permeates Watson Honanie's jewelry designs. In Chapter 5, I describe my experiences in Arizona, from learning from Watson, to experiencing the Hopi culture, and ending with a return visit one year later. In Chapter 6, I discuss my findings and whether or not the findings are applicable to the high school jewelry classroom.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical Framework

When I began the journey of investigating American Indian jewelry methods, two paradigms, the constructivist and transformative resonated with me. Within the constructivist paradigm, community rapport, naturalistic approaches, and ethnographic studies fit the study I planned to conduct about Hopi jewelers. The tenets of the transformative paradigm outlined by Mertens (2010) that fit well in this study are: 1) it places central importance on the lives and experiences of groups that have been marginalized and 2) it analyzes how and why inequities are reflected in asymmetric power relationships. Within this paradigm, I believed that Critical Race Theory fit well into my research. Further reading has brought me to American Indian researchers that have adapted Critical Race Theory to make it more applicable to American Indians. Brayboy (2006) proposed a new theory, one that specifically addresses issues of American Indians, which he called Tribal Critical Race Theory. In this theory, Brayboy (2006) outlines nine tenets (p. 429-430):

1. Colonization is endemic to society.
2. U.S. policies toward Indigenous peoples are rooted in imperialism, White supremacy, and a desire for material gain.
3. Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space that accounts for both the political and racialized natures of our identities.

4. Indigenous peoples have a desire to obtain and forge tribal sovereignty, tribal autonomy, self-determination, and self-identification.

5. The concepts of culture, knowledge, and power take on new meaning when examined through an Indigenous lens.

6. Governmental policies and educational policies toward Indigenous peoples are intimately linked around the problematic goal of assimilation.

7. Tribal philosophies, beliefs, customs, traditions, and visions for the future are central to understanding the lived realities of Indigenous peoples, but they also illustrate the differences and adaptability among individuals and groups.

8. Stories are not separate from theory; they make up theory and are, therefore, real and legitimate sources of data and ways of being.

9. Theory and practice are connected in deep and explicit ways such that scholars must work towards social change.

I believe Brayboy's theory is more pertinent to the research study I conducted along with decolonizing methods. Iwasaki, Bartlett, Gottlieb, and Hall (2009) reported that to approach research using a decolonizing approach, the valuing and promoting of Indigenous cultural identities must be highlighted. Educators reach numerous students each year and can serve as agents of social change. The art of American Indians and other peoples are devalued. As Eduardo Galeano stated in the introduction to *Spider Woman's Granddaughters* by Alan (1989), "The Indians have folklore, not culture; they practice superstitions, not religions; they speak dialects, not languages, they make crafts, not arts" (p.1). Educators can promote the art and culture of American Indians by moving away from western notions of culture. Saccá (1993) summarized the situation, "Art teachers who recognize the political forces working against art,

community, environment, and creative work provide a great hope for the survival of all cultures” (p. 42). Art teachers can start by looking at the various art forms of American Indians and teach students to respect those objects as well as all cultures.

American Indian Art History

American Indian art has for most of history consisted of small, portable items that could easily be carried from place to place due to the nomadic nature of the people. The art form that has long been a part of the American Indian culture is that of human adornment. Throughout world history, pieces of personal adornment figured prominently in all cultures (Arsuaga, 2002; Dubin, 1999; Dutton, 2009). Early adornment items were created out of materials that the aboriginal peoples found, such as bone, wood, shell, colored stones, and seeds (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Dear, 1979; Tanner, 1985; Walter, 1989; M. Wright, 1982) and items obtained through extensive trade routes (Dubin, 1999). Tanner (1960) states that prior to the arrival of the Europeans in 1540, the American Indians had a very lively jewelry production. Some early bone and shell beads date back to the seventh millennium B.C.E. (Tanner, 1985). In addition to objects of ornamentation, useful craft items such as baskets, pottery, and blankets were woven for daily use as well as items utilized in ceremonies. Most American Indians did not work with metal until they encountered Europeans or Mexicans (M. Wright, 1982).

Traditions in American Indian art

There have been many influences on American Indian artwork, although not well documented. Harrison (2008) states:

While much has been published on American Indian arts and crafts production, products, and collecting, little material is available on the pedagogical methods and influences on

the instruction of and the maintenance of traditional methods and symbolism in Native American art. (p. 1)

This statement provides justification for this research on a Hopi family of jewelers. In Harrison's research, he found very little information about the American Indian instruction and that is what I wanted to document in my research. The teaching, use of traditional methods, and the symbols used in American Indian, particularly Hopi, are what I recorded.

Influences on American Indian Artwork

Colonization and Acculturation

Colonization played a large part in the evolution of American Indian artwork. One of the main agencies of colonization was that of the Indian Boarding Schools. The primary goal for the first schools set up for the American Indian youths was "a method of saving the Indian by destroying them" (D. W. Adams, 1995, p. xi). The schools were a manifestation of the government's desire to restructure the American Indians' minds and personalities (D. W. Adams, 1995). They were thought of as savages in need of saving. Many of the early schools were boarding schools that often times were located many miles from the students' homes. If the parents did not readily agree to the children attending the school, the children were forcibly removed from their families (D. W. Adams, 1995). This upheaval caused many students to become distraught resulting in many of the boys running away from the school. Szasz (1999) states, "The runaway was a chronic feature of the discipline issue" (p. 22). Once the students returned home, many students were ridiculed and the training they received at the boarding schools had little or no application to reservation life (Szasz, 1999).

E. C. Adams (1971) states that “some of the teachers were convinced that segregating the children would facilitate disciplining them away from tribal habits, and that the school would at the same time modify the customs of the community” (p. 86). Upon arriving at the boarding school, the students’ clothing was taken away and they were required to wear uniforms, cut their hair, and were given a new name (D. W. Adams, 1979). In the attempt to force the American Indian to assimilate into mainstream American society, students were prevented from practicing traditional religions, speaking in their native tongue, and discouraged from creating other aspects of their visual culture (Eldridge, 2001). The aim was to totally eliminate their cultural identity (Nicholas, 2005; Slivka, 2011). For the most part, art instruction was not included in American Indian education (Eldridge, 2001). In fact, Dockstader (1961) emphasized that “generally speaking, schools and the educational process have not exerted a beneficial influence on Indian art” (p.28).

Some boarding schools still exist today. However, there have been significant improvements, and the goal has changed from acculturation to education. Stokrocki and Yazzie (1997) reported on one such school stating, “The school’s commitment is to strengthen family values, motivate students to pursue advanced education, and increase tolerance, respect, and understanding” (p. 5).

Indian Schools and the Hopi Tribe

In 1887, the first Hopi boarding school was opened in Keams Canyon (Euler & Dobyns, 1971); it was aptly named Keams Canyon school. The man most influential in getting the school started was Thomas Keam (Graves, 1992; Penney & Roberts, 1999). Keam wanted to benefit from the addition of an Indian school in the Northeastern portion of Arizona. Beginning in 1884, Keam offered three rooms for free to be used for school purposes (McNitt, 1962). He included

signatures from twenty Hopi governors or clan priests expressing the desire to have a local school (McNitt, 1962). Through several negotiations over the course of three years, an agreement was reached allowing the school to open in the fall of 1887 (McNitt, 1962). Eventually in July of 1889, Keams sold the entire complex to the United States Government to be used as the Keams Canyon boarding school (McNitt, 1962). This school caused a major divide in the Hopi tribe. There was a faction of the tribe diametrically opposed to their children attending the school and refused to send them. This resistance resulted in troops being sent into the village of Oraibi to enforce attendance, first in 1890 and again in 1891 (D. W. Adams, 1979). The resisting faction led by Yukeoma left Oraibi and founded a new city, Hotevilla in 1906 (D. W. Adams, 1979). This move however did not protect them from the encroachment of the government. In 1911, troops invaded Hotevilla, and removed children forcibly (D. W. Adams, 1979).

A major change in the education of American Indians began in the late 1800's when the focus of education became vocational instruction (D. W. Adams, 1995; Hoxie, 1984). The transition from trying to assimilate the American Indians into the dominant culture continued evolving. Many people who had worked closely with the American Indians began proposing changes to the educational system for American Indians. Among them was William Hailmann who took charge of the Indian school system in 1894 (Hoxie, 1984). Hailmann's goal was to integrate American Indian children into the public schools (Hoxie, 1984). In addition to including vocational instruction, Indian arts and crafts were now encouraged amongst the students (D. W. Adams, 1995). In 1907, school superintendents were instructed to tailor programs to the heritage of the students. The transition was not easy, by 1891 there were only four school districts in the country who had contracted with the government to include American

Indian children in public schools (Hoxie, 1984). Even as late as 1926, there were still people such as C. J. Crandall who worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs who still attempted assimilation, disallowing Indian cultural items to be drawn (Bernstein & Rushing, 1995). In February of 1926, he sent a letter to all day-school teachers stating, "I recommend and trust that this free-hand and uninstructed drawing be abolished and that no pictures of Indian dances, Indian customs, warriors, etc. be permitted or encouraged" (Bernstein & Rushing, 1995, p. 9).

Those wanting the system reformed prevailed, and in the 1920's and 1930's, the curriculum began to be transformed away from assimilation to inclusion. The movement for reform began in the 1920's, however, it wasn't until the 1930's that the rhetoric of reform was transformed into action (Szasz, 1999). In 1929, the Indian Rights Association president, Charles J. Rhoads, was appointed Indian commissioner by President Hoover (Szasz, 1999). He was a champion for Indian rights, bringing about changes in the general conditions at the boarding schools (Szasz, 1999). Many of the boarding schools were closed or converted to day schools (D. W. Adams, 1995; E. C. Adams, 1971; Szasz, 1999). In the late 1930's W. Carson Ryan served as Education Director, and he oversaw sweeping changes to the curriculum (D. W. Adams, 1995; Szasz, 1999). A noted progressive, he quickly introduced courses that were part of Indian culture (Szasz, 1999). In addition, many of these courses were taught by Indian artists furthering the reform. Teaching of American Indian arts and crafts were taught as a means for the students to be self sufficient (E. C. Adams, 1971).

One of the most well-known schools for American Indian youth is the Carlisle Indian School which was founded in 1879 in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It was the first non-reservation government boarding school and was run by Richard H. Pratt (E. C. Adams, 1971). Not much is readily available about the curriculum, but the main thrust of the Carlisle school was education

for self-reliance. Courses for the young men included carpentry, tinsmithing, wagon building, and harness making, however, farming was the main pursuit (D. W. Adams, 1995). Courses for the young women focused on domestic tasks such as sewing, cooking, ironing, and child care (D. W. Adams, 1995). Carlisle was one of the few schools to offer courses in stenography, typing, and bookkeeping (D. W. Adams, 1995). The American Indian crafts were excluded from the curriculum as a further method to assimilate the Indian children into the dominant culture. Carlisle Indian school came under attack in the late 1800's for numerous reasons as more people spoke out against the treatment of the American Indian students. Near the turn of the 20th century, two Indian artists were hired (Eldridge, 2001). Courses were offered in painting, metalwork, and weaving with an emphasis on industrial design based on traditional designs found in beadwork, patchwork, and quillwork (Eldridge, 2001). This change was not enough to silence the critics and pressure from politicians about the cost of funding the Indian schools. Floundering, the school was closed in 1918 under the guise that the facilities were needed as a hospital for soldiers returning from the war in Europe (D. W. Adams, 1995).

Perhaps the most well-known of the Indian schools is the Santa Fe Indian School. It was founded in 1890 as a boarding school. As with all the schools, Santa Fe started out following the standard curriculum but readily adopted the changes set about in the 1930's which allowed teaching American Indian history, art, and language (Szasz, 1999). In 1931, Santa Fe Boarding School became the first federal school to offer art classes (Szasz, 1999). In that same year, Ambrose Roanhorse was hired as the first silversmith; he went on to become one of the most influential Navajo silversmiths in the twentieth century (Batkin, 2008). Many of his students went on to have successful careers as silversmiths. The Santa Fe school was located in close proximity to several of the pueblos which allowed students to receive instruction from artists

from their own tribe. One teacher who left an indelible mark on the arts at the Santa Fe school was Dorothy Dunn. Dunn was the director of the first Indian painting program established in 1932 known as The Studio (Eldridge, 2001, Szasz, 1999). Dunn gave the American Indian students support and encouragement in treating tribal culture as a subject matter. Dunn believed in an authentic style of painting based on wall paintings and rock art found in the Southwest (Bernstein & Rushing, 1995). Many of the painters that came out of The Studio became well-known artists such as Harrison Begay, Geronimo Cruz Montoya, and Allan Houser (L. T. Smith, 1999). In fact, Montoya replaced Dunn when she left the school in 1937 (L. T. Smith, 1999). The Santa Fe Indian School remained a viable educational resource for American Indian youth until 1962 when the name was changed to Institute of American Indian Arts (Szasz, 1999). The Institute is still in existence today and has now added Bachelor's degrees to their program.

American Indians in Curricula

Schools continue to ignore American Indians. For example, in reviewing the Georgia Performance Standards, a brief introduction to the American Indian populations is given in the social studies curriculum in third, fourth, fifth grades, and eighth grades (Barge, 2011). I chose to review the Georgia standards because I teach in a public high school located within Georgia. American Indians then reappear once in the high school curriculum within the United States history course (Barge, 2011). The situation has not improved significantly since the 1960's as evident in Dockstader (1961)'s comments:

In almost every state's curriculum, the American Indian as a subject is normally taught in the third or fourth grade. The subject is never again considered at any length other than a brief mention in U.S. history classes as part of the westward movement – itself hardly a platform for understanding. (p. 30)

The national curriculum standards of the United States written by the National Council of the Social Studies do not include any standards that specifically addresses American Indian tribes. There are ten thematic standards that guide teachers. The ten themes are: Culture and cultural diversity; Time, continuity and change; People, places, and environments; Individual development and identity; Individual, groups, and institutions; Power, authority, and governance; Production, distribution, and consumption; Science, technology, and society; Global connections; and Civic ideals and practices (Myers et al., 2002). The ten themes are intended to assure that social studies teachers possess the knowledge of the central concepts and can make the content meaningful for learners (Myers et al., 2002). There is no specification as to what cultures are to be taught, so it is left up to the individual teacher.

Art education and American Indians. Research on art teaching in American Indian schools is meager (Stokrocki & Yazzie, 1997). There has also been very little research conducted on the inclusion of American Indians in art education in public schools. Bequette (2005, 2009) reported findings from an investigation of two California schools with a dominant American Indian population. Although the school was mainly comprised of American Indian students, there was limited representation of their culture in the arts curriculum. In this study, visiting American Indian artists taught visual art lessons to the students. Bequette (2005) found that the lessons were culturally relevant rather than authentic and indicative of a “blending of American Indian cultures” (p. 65).

Stokrocki (1992) investigated cultural transmission in a Navajo public school system. She observed the art and culture teachers. The philosophy of Navajo education focus was on “development of tools and skills to live in a dual society” (Stokrocki, 1992, p. 3). The study reported on the school’s attempt to transmit culture with very little discussion of the art curricula.

Stokrocki (1992) found that the art teacher taught very little art history of any sort, the main focus being on drawing and painting. The traditional arts were taught through instruction in the culture class rather than the art class, with assistance from visiting artists.

Stokrocki and Yazzie (1997) report on a study of values in art education that also took place in a predominantly American Indian school. This study focused on how the traditional Navajo values were transmitted within an art curriculum. In general, the studio art instruction was found to be very similar to most Euro-American instruction. The main difference was in the manner in which the Navajo teachers tended to “go with the flow” (Stokrocki & Yazzie, 1997, p. 8). By this they meant that Euro-American instruction is very structured, including pre-planned, written objectives, whereas the Navajo teachers used student interest, nature, and community events to dictate what lessons they taught.

A study conducted by Stuhr (1986) in Wisconsin Indian schools showed a similar result. The teachers did not include any American Indian art history or art projects. One teacher did have a local American Indian artist teach a beading lesson a previous year, but even though the artist donated beading looms, the teacher did not repeat the lesson the following year. The teachers Stuhr interviewed felt ill-prepared to teach any of the local art forms.

In recent years, schools have begun teaching multicultural projects. These projects however, are often trivial in nature. Multicultural education often trivializes and distorts American Indian cultures with stereotypic “pseudo holiday” instruction and activities that appear around Thanksgiving or National American Indian Heritage Month (Bequette, 2005; Brayboy, 2003). If we are to teach a multicultural curriculum, American Indians need to be represented in a more complete and accurate manner. If we are to understand the importance of representing

the American Indian works accurately, we need to understand past influences. I will now conduct a thorough examination of factors that had an influence on American Indian designs.

The Influence of Trading Posts on American Indian Design

The early trading posts played a significant role in not only supporting the American Indian arts but also in the designs. Dockstader (1961) states that the introduction of new items such as cloth, metal, and decorative materials made the single greatest change in Indian art. The old techniques were applied to the new materials, especially in beadworking (Dockstader, 1961). There is no clearly defined moment when all of these materials were introduced to the various tribes across the North American continent. The Hopi people had first contact with Spanish explorers in 1540, however, the record does not indicate that the Spaniards gave the Hopis any gifts. Instead, the Hopis presented gifts to the visitors including handwoven cotton cloth (James, 1974). It was not only the introduction of new materials but also the stylistic influence from the traders that affected the designs

J. B. Moore purchased the Crystal trading post in 1897 located in Washington Pass, New Mexico. Moore played a significant role in developing a style of weaving amongst the Navajo referred to as the “Crystal rug” (McNitt, 1962, p. 254). His influence on the weaving designs ultimately had influence not only on other Navajo artforms, such as ceramic and jewelry designs, but also on neighboring tribes. The Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi all borrowed designs from one another for their artwork and still do. Many Navajo jewelers currently work in the overlay style, mimicking the Hopi style and even appropriating some symbols.

According to McNitt (1962), Moore gathered the finest Navajo weavers during the first two years. He then introduced design elements that were variants of the Greek fret, a heavy cross form with connection to a diamond pattern, and an elongated, angular hook (McNitt, 1962).

Bsumek, (2008) states that Moore is credited for:

Encouraging local weavers to use certain kinds of yarn, integrate design elements from Persian and Turkish textiles, and alter the patterns of rugs in various other ways to fit the demands of tourists, interior decorators, and other consumers who desired Indian-made rugs. (p. 27)

Two Grey Hills trading post in Tohatchi, New Mexico was founded in 1897 and is still in existence today. In 1898 Ed Davies bought a share of Two Grey Hills, and by 1912 he was the sole owner (Wilkins, 2008). Along with another trader in the area, George Bloomfield, Davies was instrumental in developing a style of weaving that is still identifiable as the Two Grey Hills Navajo style. Both men encouraged the weavers to make improvements to their techniques, including design suggestions and use of finer spun yarn, often photographing exemplary rugs to show other weavers (McNitt, 1962; Wilkins, 2008). The Navajo weavers utilized the color variants of the local sheep, white, gray, tan, and brown along with commercially dyed black yarn (McNitt, 1962; Wilkins, 2008). Another trader that affected the quality of Navajo rug designs was Juan Lorenzo Hubbell. Hubbell commissioned E. A. Burbank to create drawings of early Navajo blankets (Cirillo, 2009a). The drawings were used as exemplars for other Navajo weavers to reproduce. Some of these drawings and early weavings are still on display at the Hubbell Trading Post which is located in Ganado, Arizona. I had the pleasure of seeing some of these items on my visit to Hubbell's.



Figure 1. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Inside Hubbell trading post.

Perhaps the most influential trader, especially for the Hopi tribe, was Thomas Varker Keam. Keam ran a trading post from 1875-1902 in Peach Orchard Spring, AZ, the area which was eventually renamed after him, Keams Canyon (Graves, 1992; M. Wright, 1982). Keam first arrived in the area as a soldier serving under Colonel C. 'Kit' Carson. After his service, he returned to the Southwest as an Indian agent where he met and married a Navajo woman. He stepped down from his post as Indian agent and opened the trading post that still exists today. When he first opened the doors, Navajo weavings were not created for floor decorations, rather they were used as wearing blankets and the only outsiders that purchased these weavings were a few cowboys (Graves, 1992). Keam originally took in artwork from the locals to help them get through tough times. He allowed the trade of handmade items for goods. At the time, he did not

know if there was a market for these items. However, when visitors to the area started purchasing these craft items, he began in earnest to market and sell them. Although the Hopis were creating silver jewelry and other items such as concha belts, Keam focused only on the weavings, pottery, baskets, and kachina dolls (M. Wright, 1982). A kachina doll is a carving of the likeness of the various katsinam. A katsina is a spirit being that the Hopi people believe have control over rain and various ceremonies feature the beings. He worked to develop a market for these items outside of the Hopi tribe. Graves (1992) said of Keam, “by 1902, Keam had singlehandedly modernized the Indian trade business” (p.152).

Keam not only worked with the American Indians to market their work, he also worked closely with anthropologists and museums to document and display articles related to the American Indians of the area. Although, some of the other traders in the area helped the American Indians develop weaving patterns, Keam did not (McNitt, 1962). Keam worked with the anthropologists to document the history of American Indian arts in the area. In the 1890’s discovery of ancient artifacts in the area of Sikyatki unveiled various designs that were used 300 to 400 years earlier. These artifacts included stylized designs of birds, bird parts, dragon flies, and tadpoles (Graves, 1992). Keam’s work with the anthropologists resulted in a resurgence of prehistoric designs of stylized birds and bird parts that are still present in Hopi art. Keam sold the trading post to Lorenzo Hubell in 1906. In 1938 it was sold to the McGee family. The McGee family still owns and operates the trading post. It is in the same location, but it has been modified. One of the first changes made was the creation of McGee’s Indian Art Gallery, which is still in operation.



Figure 2. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Road sign in front of McGee's Gallery.

They have also added a restaurant, gas station, and a small market. It is a thriving business and, on my visit to the location, I witnessed the hustle and bustle that is prevalent today. It is one of the few, if not the only, store in town. The nearest store I saw was 30 miles away in Kykotsmobi Village on third mesa.

Another phenomena that was developed within trading posts was that of artist demonstrations, which was initiated by the Fred Harvey Company (Bsumek, 2008). The Harvey Company in Albuquerque began employing silversmiths and other artisans as early as 1903 (Batkin, 2008). Weavers also demonstrated and often traveled to various locations of the Fred Harvey Company (Wilkins, 2008). Herman Schweizer was manager of the Indian Department,

and he encouraged the silversmiths to make changes in their traditional designs (Adair, 1944). A major change was in the weight of the jewelry items to make them more wearable (Cirillo, 2009a). Originally, the designs were very thick and heavy which did not appeal to the average visitor. Schweizer suggested scaling down the size and weight of the jewelry pieces, once they were changed the appeal was greater (Adair, 1944). Having the American Indian artists provide demonstrations of their craft increased business and served the purpose of conveying information about the techniques to the visitors.

Museum exhibits. Proponents of American Indians, beginning with the traders, were instrumental in getting American Indian artwork known outside of the reservations. The traders of course were first driven by the possibility of profit from the sale of these artifacts. Along the way they inadvertently promoted American Indian artwork resulting in museums collecting pieces and exhibiting them. One of the marketing strategies that the traders used was the creation of illustrated mail-order catalogs (Wilkins, 2008). These catalogs allowed people to experience and buy the American Indian artworks without having to travel to the unsettled west.

There were some private collectors in the 1870's that traveled and assembled collections (Wilkins, 2008). It is believed that from these collections a new trend began, that of the "Indian Room" (Wilkins, 2008). Articles about Navajo-made products began to appear in the early 1900's in periodicals that were popular among middle and upper class Americans such as Good Housekeeping, House Beautiful, Good Furniture Magazine, Scribner's, Outlook, Cosmopolitan, Travel, and National Geographic (Bsumek, 2008). This exposure increased the desire to possess and display Indian artifacts in Victorian homes.

American Indians and their culture were introduced to the main populace of the United States and some European visitors in 1876 at the Centennial Exhibition which was held in Philadelphia. Shortly following the exhibition, the Smithsonian Institute began collecting articles pertaining to American Indian tribes. The first collecting expedition was in conjunction with the Bureau of Ethnology in late 1879 (Parezo, 1985). The members included Frank Hamilton Cushing, Washington Matthews, James and Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Garrick Mallery, and James Moone. This expedition set out to collect and document ethnological objects in a systematic manner from primarily the Zuñi and Hopi (Parezo, 1985). The documentation of each artifact was thorough. Under the direction of John Wesley Powell, the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, the following information was collected on each item: 1) form of use, 2) materials and manufacture, and 3) decoration (Parezo, 1985). Further documentation was recorded from the American Indians themselves. The research expedition started off well, receiving cooperation from the Zuni tribe. This was not the case when Cushing moved on to the Hopi settlement of Oraibi in 1882 (Parezo, 1985). At this same time, there was significant upheaval within the Hopi tribe regarding the forced schooling of the children, which led to the Oraibi split in 1906 (D. W. Adams, 1979). This distrust of Anglo men led the Hopis to refuse Cushing's request for artifacts, which nearly resulted in violence with both sides drawing weapons (Parezo, 1985). Instead, Cushing resorted to removing objects from shrines resulting in appropriation of rare pieces of protohistoric and prehistoric pottery, items highly prized by the Hopi (Parezo, 1985). The Smithsonian continued to collect American Indian artifacts and over a 25-year period a total of approximately 41,000 pieces were collected, some of which were destroyed en route (Parezo, 1985). Even today, collectors are still attempting to acquire Hopi ceremonial items which are considered sacred. In April 2013 a Paris auction house auctioned close to 70

Hopi items (Locke, 2013). The Hopi people worked with a lawyer citing the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act as a means to have the items returned, however, that is not recognized in Paris. In July 2013 one of the katsina Kwaatsi was returned to the Hopi people after having been auctioned in Paris (Nahsonhoya, 2013). Kwaatsi means friend in the Hopi language and the katsina Kwaatsi is a part of the spirit beings. Out of respect for the Hopi ceremonies, I will not elaborate further. The return of these items was not brought about by legal action, rather, the lawyer purchased one of the items and returned it to the Hopi people. Two other objects were returned to the Hopi tribe by an art dealer that had purchased them at the auction (Hendricks, 2013). Many of the items collected over the centuries are still housed in museums.

The Brooklyn Museum, under the direction of Stewart Culin, hosted many exhibits featuring American Indian artifacts. The Brooklyn Museum opened in 1897 with the intent of building a permanent ethnological collection; six years later they hired Culin (Bsumek, 2008). To build the collection, he started purchasing from Anglos who had collected whilst living in the Southwest (Bsumek, 2008). Culin often relied on the traders for artifacts. Culin had made the acquaintance of Frank Hamilton Cushing in 1893, and they quickly became friends. Culin honored Cushing after his death by hiring artist Thomas Eakins to paint a life-sized portrait of Cushing and using the portrait as a backdrop for Southwest material from 1905 until sometime in the 1910's (Bsumek, 2008). Culin took advantage of the pawn system at the various trading posts to obtain some of the items for the museum. Traders had engaged in allowing the American Indians to pawn valuable items in exchange for short term loans (Bsumek, 2008; McNitt, 1962; Wilkins, 2008). Some traders allowed a significant period of time before considering selling the pawned items. The items left well past the pick up deadline had passed

were known as dead pawn (Wilkins, 2008). One trader in particular never sold any of the pawned items, that being John Lorenzo Hubbell. The Hubbell Trading Post Historic Site still houses a significant collection of Navajo jewelry from the early trading days (Wilkins, 2008). The Navajos had made a pact amongst themselves not to buy one another's pawned items but Culin ignored the pact and purchased numerous items from the pawned pieces (Bsumek, 2008). Another practice Culin employed that was called into question among ethnologists was that of commissioning copies of items he desired but could not obtain (Bsumek, 2008). Although this practice was questionable, the displays appeared authentic to the general public, creating an awareness and possibly an understanding of American Indians.

American Indians as a subject matter became popular in the art world in the early 20th century as witnessed by an exhibit in 1918 at the Babcock Gallery located in New York City. The announcement touts the artist William R. Leigh as "master in representing the far west and the fast disappearing race of the peace-loving Hopi Indians" (Exhibits now on, 1918, p. 2). The first national exhibit to attract the attention of the general public was the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts held in 1931 in New York City (Szasz, 1999). Szasz (1999) reported that, "Response to the New York show indicated that white Americans had been almost totally unaware of the unique beauty of Indian art" (p. 68).

The fascination with the American Indians still holds appeal to the general public. The National Museum of the American Indian opened in Washington, D.C. in September of 2004, welcoming 820,000 visitors that year and each subsequent year the number of visitors is over 1 million (News Desk of the Smithsonian, 2011). I believe that symbolism plays a significant part in that attraction.

Symbolism in American Indian Art

Upon exploring Hopi artwork, one must take into account the use of symbols. Symbols within the Hopi tribe have been handed down from their earliest ancestors through petroglyphs, ceremonial garments, and images depicted on useful objects (M. Wright, 1989). Colton and Colton (1931) documented many petroglyphs including some of which are still used today to represent various clans such as the Badger, Bear, Cloud, Corn, Coyote, and Eagle. Fewkes (1898) revealed that early Hopi pottery fragments were replete with figures that were often realistic but many were “highly symbolic and conventionalized” (p. 1). These stylized symbols are utilized in contemporary paintings, pottery, baskets, weaving, and jewelry. These different symbolic forms of representation address different aspects of the world (Solomon, 1997).

There is great difficulty in analyzing the symbols utilized in native designs. Some traditional motifs are used; others have evolved in direct correlation with the tourist market. Many designs are only for use in ceremonies of the tribe, not meant for Anglo consumption.

One of the most prevalent symbols, one indicating the four cardinal directions, appears in nearly every American Indian tribe. The symbol has been called by different names, but the overall significance indicates the four cardinal directions. The characteristics of this symbol change according to individual, but the meaning remains intact (Glenn, 2008a; Willis, 2005). For instance, the individual may include different colors for the various directions or include a central section to indicate an additional attribute or direction. Anglos tend to interpret this on the simplest of terms that being a compass rose. In fact, the medicine wheel symbolizes much more. Members of some American Indian tribes infer seven different points, north, south, east, west, above, below, and center.

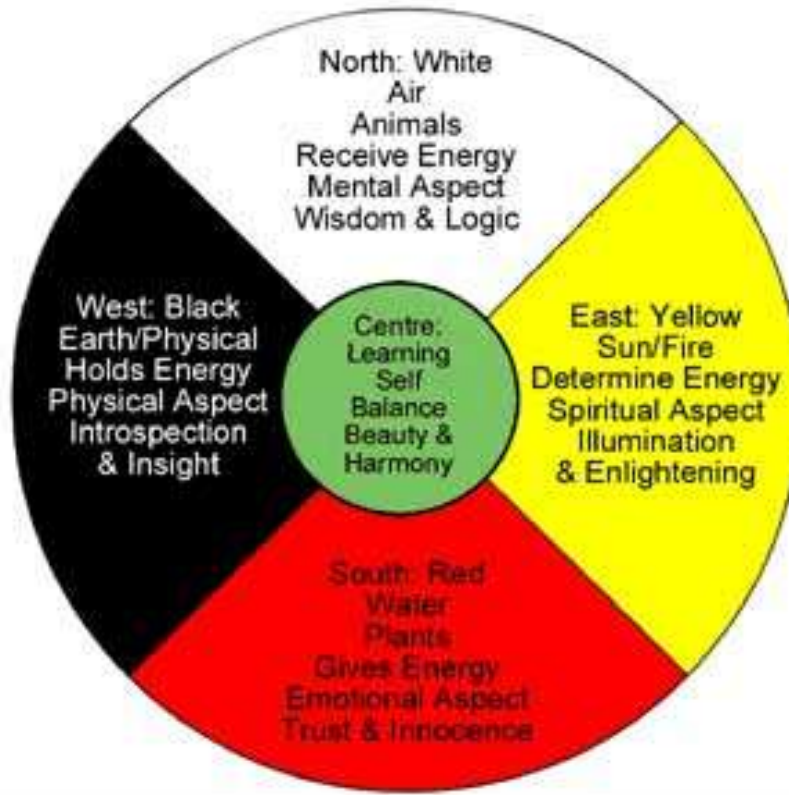


Figure 3. Hopi Medicine Wheel. Retrieved from <http://www.crystalinks.com/hopi1.html>

The center stands for the human heart and the heart of the earth, depending on which tribe. Colors and attributes symbolize each of the directions, but the positions vary between tribes. Even with the variations, this symbol universally represents a depth of individual and communal interactions (Willis, 2005).

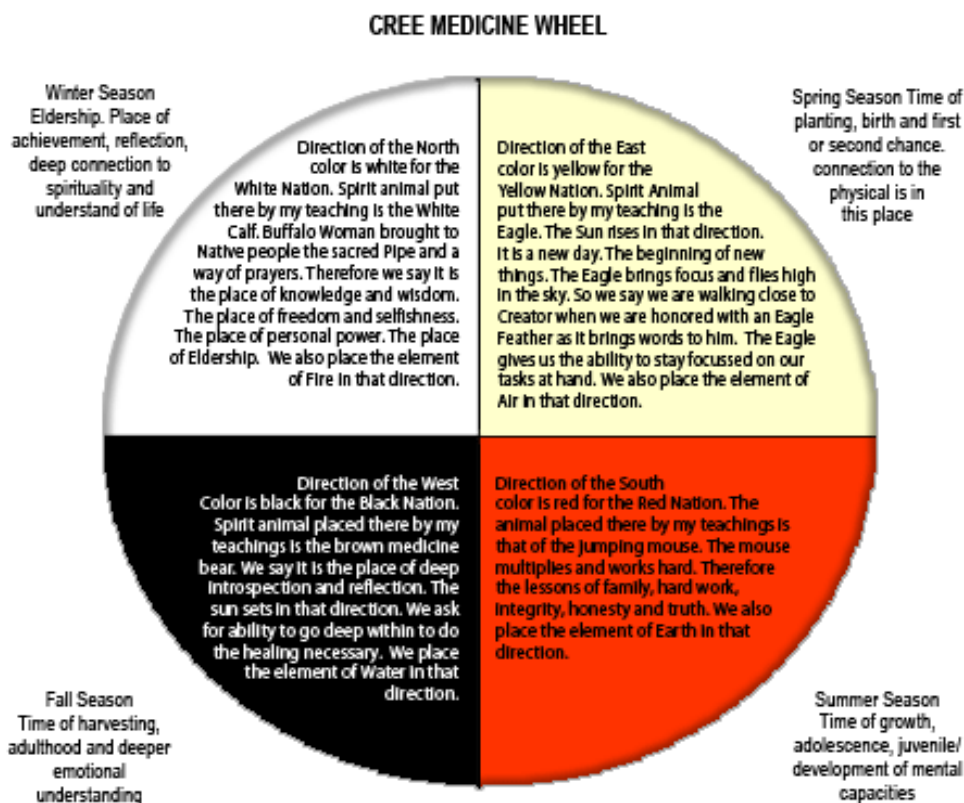


Figure 4. Cree Medicine Wheel. Retrieved from

<http://www.dancingtoeaglespiritsociety.org/medwheel.php>

Until the mid-20th century, symbols would have been a necessary element in American Indian jewelry designs. However, the more native jewelers were exposed to Anglo artistic ideals, the more experimental the designs became. The main difference at that juncture was that the American Indians were choosing how to alter their designs, which was opposite to the forced assimilation attempts in the late 19th century. New materials such as gold, ironwood, corals, sugalite, lapis lazuli, opals, and diamonds have become a part of the American Indian jeweler's vocabulary allowing for a wider palette from which to create richer designs. Chalker, Dubin, Whiteley, and History (2004), state that, "the best work remains recognizably rooted in its original cultural forms, imagery, and in its emphasis upon the importance of high quality" (p. 147).

Symbols of lizards and frogs utilized in current jewelry designs have been a part of Southwest Indian culture for centuries and serve as emblems of desert survival (Dubin, 1999). Animal figures such as butterflies, ladybugs, dragonflies, snakes, tadpoles, and frogs are water messengers. They are the ones who foretell the coming of rain (Chalker et al, 2004).

While looking at artwork created by American Indians, the symbolism is often lost on Anglos who are not educated in its meaning. The Anglo viewer can only perceive the artwork for its aesthetic value, as they are unable to read the pictographic language as it relates to the tribe in which it was made (Glenn, 2008a). Symbolism is a way that American Indian artists convey their message. Unless the viewer is well versed in the symbol language, it may be difficult to access the artwork's hidden meanings.

Numerous symbols are common between different tribes, but each tribe has variations on the meanings and use of those symbols. Adding even more layers to usage of symbols is that within each tribe there are smaller groups, known as clans. Each of these clans has a variation on the significance of these symbols. Given the large number of variations, this study will mainly focus on the symbols as used within the Hopi tribe. The Hopi tribe is small in number, less than 7,000 according to the 2000 United States Census (U.S. Census Bureau Detailed tables). With a rich history that has been likened to the hub of a wheel with many spokes, each spoke represents influence from many different cultures (Ancestral Art, 2003). Fewkes (1898, 1910, 1916) reported that symbols on early Hopi pottery included feathers, frogs, lizards, snakes, butterflies, spiders, and dragonflies. Traditional symbols are still utilized today in Hopi jewelry designs (Jacka, 2001). One of the important symbols Fewkes (1916) reported finding on pottery from Mimbres is an ear of corn. Mimbres is the name of ruins located in the isolated mountain valleys and hot deserts of southwestern New Mexico (Brody, 2004). The Hopi people believe that the

Mimbrenos people were their ancestors due to the stylized designs and depictions of stories that have been found on pottery unearthed in the region where the Mimbrenos people had lived. Many of the designs and stories depicted on the pottery shards are still a part of the Hopi people. Fred Kabotie (1982) wrote about many of these connections having been a part of interpreting designs found in the Mimbres ruins. Corn is sacred in the Hopi tribe and is pervasive within their culture. Wall and Masayesva (2004) stated, "For the people of the mesas corn is sustenance, ceremonial object, prayer offering, symbol, and sentient being unto itself" (p. 436). During my visits to the reservation, I witnessed corn being used in many of the ways described by Wall and Masayesva. Cornmeal is used to lead the katsinam into and out of the Plaza, used to symbolically feed them, and used to pray once the katsinam have been fed. Katsinam are spirit beings that the Hopi people believe control rain. During the katsina dances, offerings are made to the katsinam during the ceremony and members of the tribe also deliver food to the kiva. The kiva is an underground ceremonial chamber. Kivas are important places and individuals who are not initiated into a society are not to enter. The katsinam often rest in a kiva during breaks in the dances. Corn itself is part of the dances, being carried in by the katsinam and given to those in attendance. Including corn and corn symbols on pottery, in jewelry designs, and other art forms, pays homage to its importance to the Hopi culture.

Defining Styles of American Indian Art

Neperud and Stuhr (1993) reported three categories of American Indian art: traditional, transitional, and transformative. Bequette (2005) designated four categories, traditional, derivative, modern, and pan-Indian. Neperud and Stuhr (1993) and Bequette (2005) used different titles for the categories, but they are based on the same qualities. The traditional category is included by both researchers and the definition is the same: an object that is made in

the same manner and with the same materials before contact with Europeans. The next category, transitional or derivative, is when traditional objects are made incorporating modern materials. The third category, transformative or modern, is when artists create artwork that reflects contemporary values and aesthetics. Bequette's (2005) final category, pan-Indian, is based on the cross tribal blending of art forms through contact and inter-tribal marriages.

Bequette (2009) reported that in his study of incorporating American Indian artists in the arts program of off-reservation schools, the younger American Indian artists tended to teach pan-Indian lessons more than the elder artists. This pan-Indian artwork has become integrated within artisans from all tribes and some of this could easily be linked to the Indian Boarding schools where children from all tribes were forced to cohabitate, which would not have occurred otherwise. Bequette (2009) also attributes this pan-Indian art to Anglo teachers that homogenize the various tribes into one unit. One such example is teaching students to make totem poles and attributing that craft as belonging to American Indian culture without further explanation of what region and tribe carves totem poles. Another is the proliferation of the dream catcher. Dream catchers originated in the Ojibwe tribe but now they can be seen throughout the United States created by a number of tribes. Having been raised around the Ojibwe people, I grew up seeing dream catchers along with their beautiful bark baskets and beadwork. Well-meaning teachers add these lessons to include a multi-cultural approach in the classroom. However, they do not research the true origin and so the pan-Indian art stereotype is perpetuated.

Influence of the Coltons

Harold and Mary-Russell Colton discovered the Hopi tribe in the early 1900's before they had married. Mary-Russell Ferrell was an artist who had the fortune of attending college, graduating in 1908. Following her graduation, she obtained a post-graduate degree in 1909

having been the recipient of the John Sartain Post-Graduate scholarship (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Shortly after completing her post-graduate degree, Ferrell was offered an opportunity to travel to the west. She and the others in the party began their sojourn July 4, 1909 in Rogers Pass, British Columbia under the direction of Dr. Charles Shaw (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). The Shaw expedition lasted until the end of the summer, however, Mary-Russell extended her journey traveling through Yellowstone National Park. Mary-Russell returned home to Philadelphia in late September 1909, but not before she had fallen in love with the American West (Mangum & Mangum, 1997).

Mary-Russell met Harold Colton in 1910 on another trip with Dr. Shaw. Although the trip was ill-fated with Dr. Shaw disappearing and presumed dead, the two had bonded. Upon returning to Philadelphia they corresponded and were engaged in May of 1911. They were married in May of 1912 and embarked to the west shortly after the wedding (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). The trip took them through New Mexico, Flagstaff, Arizona, and the Grand Canyon where they collected several Hopi artworks including blankets and a basket. After visiting the Grand Canyon, they traveled to Los Angeles then began winding their way through Canada, down through Yellowstone, and then back to Pennsylvania where they settled into a home in spring of 1913 (Mangum & Mangum, 1997).

In the summer of 1913, they traveled to Arizona and they visited the Hopi reservation for the first time. They traveled to first mesa, specifically the villages of Polacca and Walpi. During this visit, Mary-Russell collected more Hopi crafts to augment those they had already collected during their honeymoon trip. Shortly after returning to Philadelphia, Mary-Russell put the Hopi crafts on display. The show was well received, bolstering her interest in Hopi crafts even further (Mangum & Mangum, 1997).

The Coltons did not return to the west again until 1916. This time they stayed in Flagstaff and ventured to Tuba City and third mesa villages of Hotevilla and Oraibi. It took three days of traveling by wagon to reach Tuba City, which today can be driven in ninety minutes. Once again they collected artworks from the Hopi artisans for a show that would be delayed due to several circumstances, first, World War I, the death of Mary-Russell's mother, the death of their second child, Sabin, and the death of Harold's father. The show titled "Aboriginal American Crafts" opened in 1925 and was received well, receiving praise in the Philadelphia newspapers (Mangum & Mangum, 1997).

It wasn't until 1926 that Flagstaff became the permanent home for the Coltons (M. Wright, 1989), having purchased 100 acres of land north of Flagstaff. In 1927 they purchased an additional 318 acres of land adjacent to the original 100 acres (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). This land would eventually house the Museum of Northern Arizona.

The Coltons' interest in Hopi artists caused them to establish the annual Hopi Craftsman Exhibit in 1930 (Cirillo, 2008; Schiffer, 1990; M. Wright, 1982). They founded the Exhibit to perpetuate Hopi crafts, provide an outlet for the artists to sell their wares, and establish standards of excellence (Cirillo, 1992). To establish these standards, pieces of Hopi artwork were judged and monetary prizes were awarded. The show was a success and Colton further pushed for high quality pieces and to establish a significantly different jewelry style for the Hopi jewelers.

Emergence of the Hopi Overlay Technique

Until the 1930's much of Southwest Indian silver was very similar in design and was often treated as a singular entity, there was no tribal distinction in jewelry at this time (Cirillo, 1992; L. Jacka, 2001; M. Wright, 1989). Given that the techniques were transmitted from one tribe to others, this is understandable. In 1938, the staff of the Museum of Northern Arizona

encouraged the Hopi jewelers to utilize designs from their own history, instead of following the other tribes (Tanner, 1960; M. Wright, 1989). It was at this time that Mary-Russell developed the Hopi Silver Project, the goal of which was to encourage a new, tribally distinctive silverwork style (Bassman, 1997; Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Eaton, 1994; Mangum & Mangum, 1997; M. Wright, 1989). This project was instrumental in creation of the Hopi overlay technique. The new technique was vastly different from other metalworking techniques utilized in the southwest. The overlay technique consists of layers of metal soldered together. A design is cut out of a flat piece of metal, typically sterling silver, using a jewelers saw and then soldered to another piece of metal (Bassman, 1997; Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Cirillo, 1992; M. Wright, 1982). The lower level of the design was textured and then oxidized and the top level was polished for contrast (Bassman, 1997; Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; M. Wright, 1982). It was Colton's aim to bolster the Hopi jewelers, in order to gain prominence in the field by creation of a unique jewelry technique, utilizing motifs from Hopi pottery, basketry, and textiles (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; M-R Colton, 1939; Dubin, 1999; Kaboutie & Belknap, 1977; M. Wright, 1982). She discussed her idea with Virgil Hubert who was the museum's assistant art director. Hubert created designs for pieces of silverwork using authentic Hopi symbols (Bahti, 1980; Cirillo, 2008; King, 1976; Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Hubert found that designs from pottery and weavings were best suited for metal techniques (L. Jacka, 2001; M. Wright, 1989). Hubert also suggested the use of appliqué techniques, where a shape is cut from silver and then soldered on top of the piece of jewelry (L. Jacka, 2001; M. Wright, 1989). The designs were based on the overlay technique. Mary-Russell Colton (1939) stated:

The museum, having worked for the preservation of Hopi arts and crafts for many years, has undertaken a project to encourage Hopi silversmiths to develop a type of silver design

using typical Hopi forms, which are indigenous and fundamental. As the Hopi smith is without tradition, other than that borrowed from the Navajo and the Zuni, the Museum feels that it is quite legitimate to encourage him to set up a distinct and characteristic art of his own. Their beautiful flowing pottery designs, and distinctive textile and basketry patterns, offer great possibilities for adaptation to silver. (p. 2)

In the spring of 1939, Mary-Russell wrote a letter explaining the design plan to eighteen silversmiths, encouraging them to make jewelry utilizing the new technique (Mangum & Mangum, 1997; M. Wright, 1989). The reaction to the letter varied, one of the main issues was that the new techniques required tools that some of the jewelers did not possess (M. Wright, 1982). Only four silversmiths created pieces that met Mary-Russell's standards by the 1939 Hopi Craftsman Exhibition (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Every one of the jewelry pieces utilizing the new techniques sold at the show and the artists took orders for more (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Her idea was a success and due to that success, more of the Hopi jewelers adapted the new techniques.

By the Hopi Craftsman Exhibition of 1940, Paul Saufkie of Shungopavi on second mesa, had become a leader in the overlay technique (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). He not only created many pieces for the show, he also demonstrated the technique during the show (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Paul Saufkie was responsible for bringing in the idea of oxidizing the background layer (M. Wright, 1989). A friend of Saufkie, Glen Lukens, gave him different formulas for oxidizing the background silver (M. Wright, 1989). Just as the overlay style was beginning to gain acceptance from the Hopi jewelers, the United States was thrust into World War II. The Hopi Craftsman Exhibition was held in 1942 but was discontinued until after the war ended. The main reason the show was canceled was due to the shortage of materials. This

shortage was due to materials being diverted for the war effort. The Exhibition was revived in 1947 with a recordbreaking attendance of 2,400 (Mangum & Mangum, 1997).

It was not until after World War II before the new Hopi jewelry style was fully adopted (Tanner, 1960). In 1957 overlay became the official Hopi style of jewelry design (Bassman, 1997). This technique is still associated with Hopi designs, however, other native jewelers having seen the success of the overlay technique also employ overlay in their creations (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000).



Figure 5. Snow, Milton. (1944-1950). *Display of Hopi pottery and jewelry.* Copyright The Hopi Tribe [Cline Library Special Collections and Archives]. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 6. Saufkie, Lawrence. (n.d.). Pin with corn plant and Mudhead Katsina [sterling silver].

Retrieved from <http://www.heardmuseumshop.com/browse.cfm/4,12052.html>

Silversmithing Classes and the Hopi Guild

Early in 1947, the G. I. Bill of Rights provided an opportunity for the Hopis to set up a silver business, that being a school for jewelers (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Cirillo, 1992; Tanner, 1960). The classes were offered to World War II veterans from 1947 -1951 (Cirillo, 1992; Clemmer, 1995; M. Wright, 1982). The G.I. Bill paid for the cost of the eighteen months of training, tools, and living expenses for the veteran and his family (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977; M. Wright, 1982). Sadly, less than half of those trained under the provisions of the GI Bill created jewelry after completing their training (M. Wright, 1982).

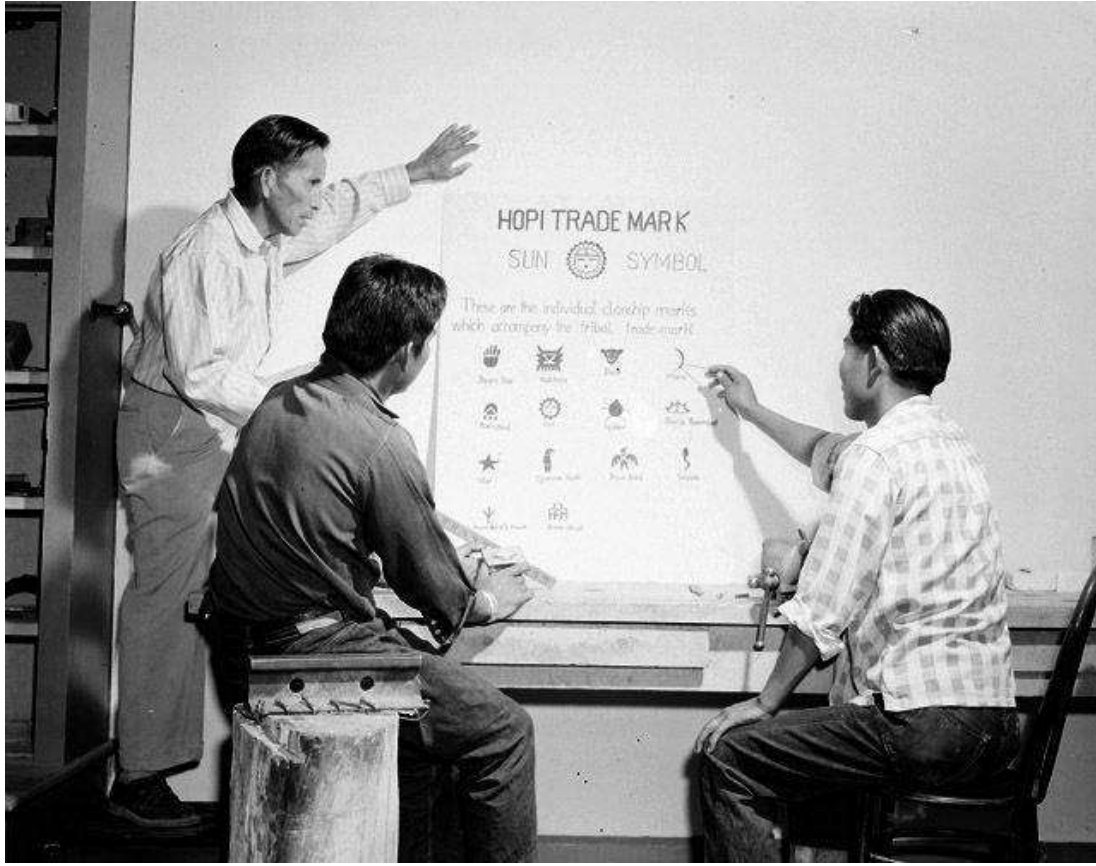


Figure 7. Snow, Milton. (1944-1950). GI silversmithing class on use of traditional Hopi design in modern jewelry. Copyright The Hopi Tribe [Cline Library Special Collections and Archives]. Reprinted with permission.

Two Hopi artists, Paul Saufkie and Fred Kabotie were hired to teach the classes (Cirillo, 1992; Cirillo, 2008; Clemmer, 1995; M. Wright, 1982). The classes were first held at Hopi High School in Kykotsmovi (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977), but later were moved to a Quonset hut a short distance nearby (M. Wright, 1989). Saufkie was a trained silversmith, having learned the trade from his father, Andrew Hermequaftewa (Clemmer, 1995; L. E. Jacka, 1998; Kabotie & Belknap, 1977). Saufkie was hired as the technical instructor (L. E. Jacka, 1998; Jacka & Jacka, 1998; Wright, 1989). Kabotie was a well-known painter and art teacher. Kabotie was hired as the design instructor (Cirillo, 1992; Koyiyumtewa, Davis, & HCPO, 2009; L. E. Jacka, 1998;

Schiffer, 1990; M. Wright, 1989). In addition to the designs created by the Museum of Northern Arizona staff members, new designs were created using the Hopi culture as inspiration (M. Wright, 1989). Kabotie was instrumental in incorporating native designs from pottery, basketry, and weaving into the jewelry (James, 1974; Tanner, 1960). The designs on Hopi bowl interiors were asymmetrical and they served as the inspiration for cast bracelets (Tanner, 1960). A further source of symbols was pottery unearthed from the Mimbres area (M. Wright, 1989). Many of the figures on the Mimbres pottery were very similar in designs on Hopi pottery from the late 19th century, including images of girls with the traditional butterfly whorl hairstyle worn by Hopi girls who are unmarried (Brody, 2004). Fred Kabotie had been involved in identifying the symbols found on the pottery excavated from the Mimbres valley (Kabotie, 1982). The Mimbres figures were utilized as they made simple and attractive designs suited to the overlay technique.

Until the veterans' classes in 1949 very few Hopi jewelers signed their work (M. Wright, 1989). A few jewelers began marking their jewelry in the 1930's after Mary-Russell Colton suggested that they should mark their work (M. Wright, 1989). Hopi artists were not in the practice of signing their work. The first record I could find of a Hopi artist signing his work was that of Jimmie Kewanwytewa (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). Kewanwytewa began working for the Coltons in 1930 as a custodian. Mary-Russell Colton soon discovered that Kewanwytewa was a skilled kachina carver. At that time, Hopi artists did not sign their carvings. Mary-Russell convinced him to sign his kachina carvings by showing him how other artists signed their artworks (Mangum & Mangum, 1997). The traditional Anglo practice of signing artwork spread amongst Hopi artists, once again colonization altered Hopi tradition. The practice of signing artwork spread to jewelers and Fred Kabotie taught the veterans to develop hallmarks for their jewelry, a practice that remains to this day. This adaptation of a traditionally Anglo practice

reinforces the primary tenet of Brayboy's TribalCrit (2006) that colonization is endemic to society. Before the influence of the Anglo colonizers, Hopi artists created kachina dolls to teach Hopi children about the katsina spirits and to reinforce tribal customs. Now many of the artworks depict subject matter that once was considered sacred. Sharing these sacred topics with the Anglos for a profit, which is an Anglo construct.

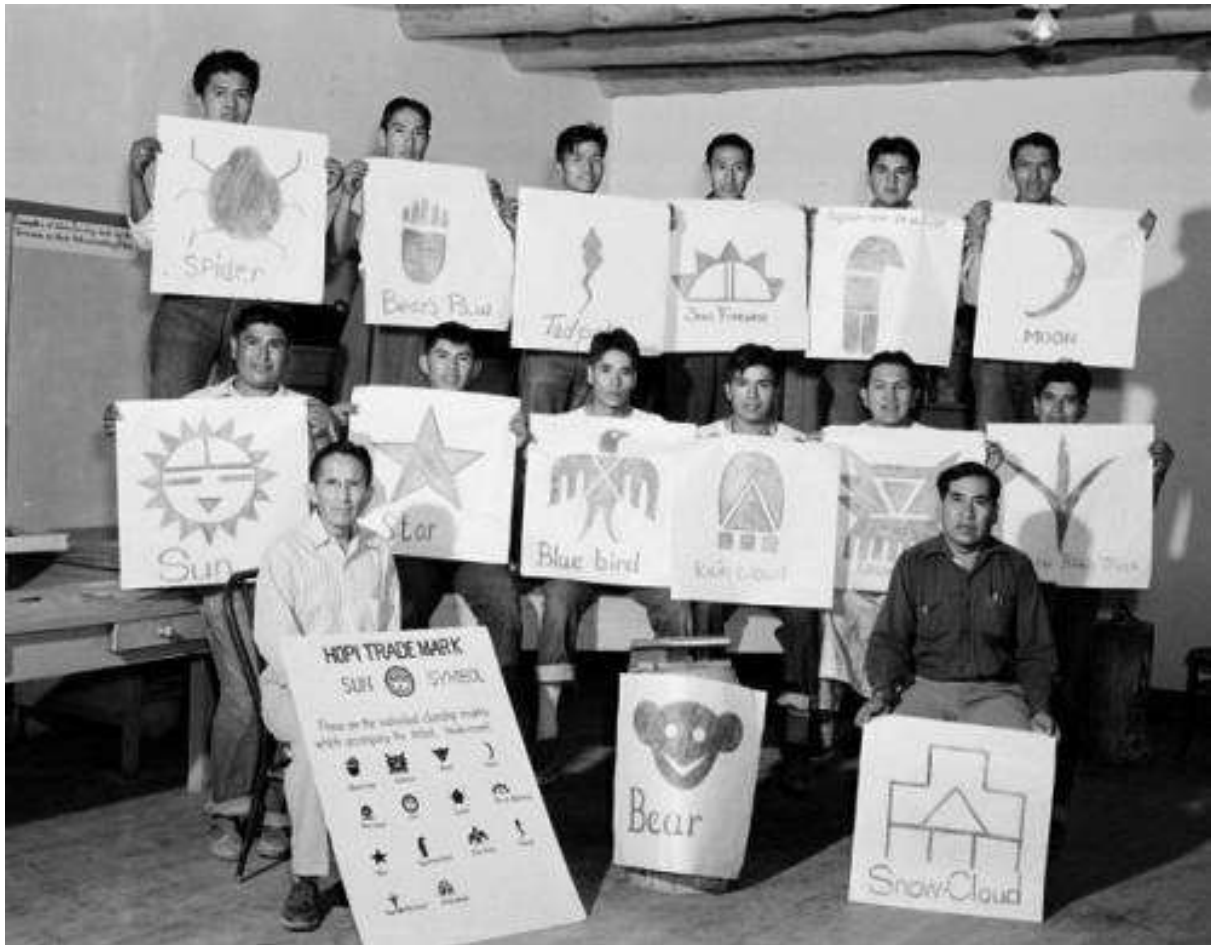


Figure 8. Snow, Milton. (1944-1950). *Hopi Clan symbols used in silver designs*. Copyright The Hopi Tribe [Cline Library Special Collections and Archives]. Reprinted with permission.

In 1949, the Hopi Craftsman Exhibition was so well attended that there was a need for another venue to provide access to the jewelry. Six of the students taught through the GI Bill program along with Kabotie and Saufkie founded the Hopi Silver Craft Cooperative Guild to

perpetuate the Hopi jewelry style (Cirillo, 1992). The Guild first operated out of the Quonset hut where the Veteran's classes were taught. Fred Kabotie became the manager and was responsible for overseeing the day to day operations. The Guild did not have a permanent building until 1962 (Cirillo, 1992; M. Wright, 1989). The building was erected a mile from the entrance to Shungopavi (M. Wright, 1989). Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, the Hopi Guild is scheduled to close in the near future. According to Merle Namoki, a Hopi jeweler, the guild was closing due to mismanagement; the guild was failing financially (M. Namoki, personal communication, July 21, 2013).

In 1963 the Hopi Cultural Center was built nearby Hopi Silver Craft Cooperative Guild (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977; M. Wright, 1989). In 1972 the Hopi Cultural Center Restaurant and Hotel were opened (Kabotie & Belknap, 1977) and are still operational. Local artisans set up tables in the parking lot to sell their artwork on the weekends, especially on weekends when dances or races are being held in the villages. This is a valuable venue for the artists. The artists can generate interest in their work and many of the booths I visited had two or more generations of artists selling their work.

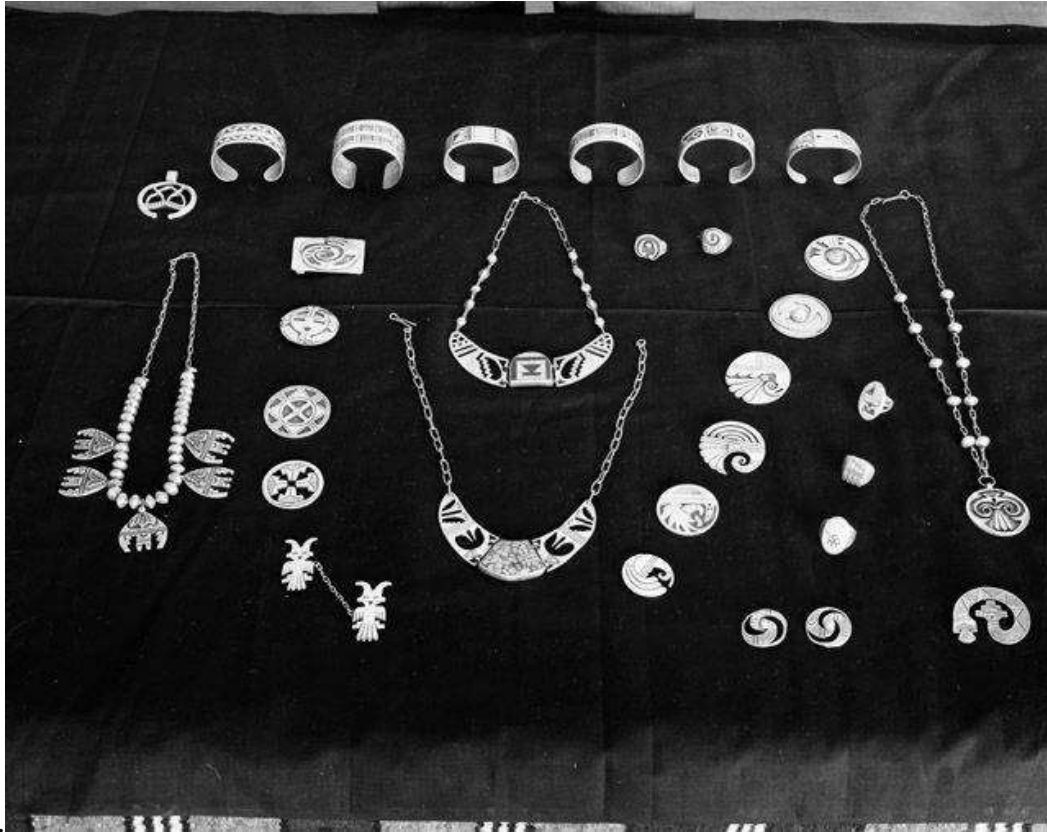


Figure 9. Snow, Milton. (1944-1950). *Hopi Arts & Crafts Guild-Hopi silver [Bracelets, necklaces, belt buckles, etc.]*. Copyright The Hopi Tribe [Cline Library Special Collections and Archives]. Reprinted with permission.

It was refreshing to see that there were some younger tribe members continuing to create traditional artwork. Some of the artists were carving kachina dolls in between talking to customers. Even though there have been many changes and advances in tools, the artists were often seen carving using a pocket knife.

Tools and techniques

Given that beads have a rich history and are still prominent in American Indian jewelry, it is imperative to discuss the changes in bead manufacture. Beads were worn as early as 8800 B.C.E. (Dubin, 1999). The process of making beads for the early necklaces was tedious and time consuming. They began by breaking a shell into smaller pieces and rubbed it on a stone until the

desired thickness was achieved (Stevenson, Ahlstrom, & Perez, 1987). Any irregularly shaped pieces were also rubbed on stone until the desired shape was achieved (Stevenson et al., 1987). Once the beads were shaped, holes were bored and they were strung into a necklace (Stevenson et al., 1987). Necklaces consisting of strings of olivella shell, long enough to be wrapped around the neck several times, with turquoise and shell pendants have been found in ancestral settings (Dubin, 1999).

Extensive trade routes elicited a change in adornment items among the Hohokam people. The influx of new materials brought about changes in types of adornment created. Large shells allowed for the creation of bracelets (Dubin, 1999). The trade routes reached as far as Mesoamerica and brought inlay mosaics to the Hohokam people of the southwest, who readily adopted the technique and passed it on to the ancient Pueblo peoples (Dubin, 1999).

Spanish settlers introduced tools used by Southwestern Indian silversmiths (Dear, 1979). Tools and techniques utilized by early silversmiths were adapted from blacksmiths. For the most part, the American Indians manufactured the necessary tools at home with the exception of old Mexican blowpipes, carpenters files, and hammers (Stevenson et al., 1987). Early metal jewelry contained designs stamped into the metal with dies created from discarded pieces of iron (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; M. Wright, 1982) and leather tools.



Figure 10. Artist unknown (1930's). [Sterling silver]. Retrieved from http://www.icollector.com/Early-Navajo-Silver-Bracelet-ca-1930-s-Hand-Chiseled-and-Hand-Stamped-with-Old-Leather-Stamps-35-3_i10778567

The early silversmiths between 1870 and 1920 used open hearths or fire pits to heat metal to create jewelry (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). Sheet silver was unavailable until 1910, but became more readily available after World War II (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). The early Indian silversmiths had to form ingots of silver and hammer them into sheets before shapes were sawed (Hill, 1937). Between 1920 and 1940, gasoline blowtorches were utilized allowing ease of soldering (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). This period saw the addition of many tools designed for metalworking, drawplates, needle-nose pliers, rolling mills, soldering frames, and the jeweler's saw (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000).

Two techniques, casting and hammering, were utilized by the Navajo in the 1930's (Hill, 1937). The type of casting used was tufa, often referred to as sandcast. Artists carve the design into tufa, which is a type of volcanic material, and then pour molten silver into the mold. In this technique, the molds are typically destroyed in the process of removing the cast item. Once the molten metal cools, the artist removes the object, cleaning and filing as needed. Often the artist leaves the texture created by the tufa as enhancement of the design. Many American Indian jewelers continue the technique of Tufa casting today.



Figure 11. Artist unknown. (1880-1900). *Tufa cast Concho belt* [Sterling silver]. Retrieved from <http://nativetreasuresblog.blogspot.com/>



Figure 12. Darryl Dean Begay. (n.d.). *Contemporary tufa cast bracelet* [sterling silver, turquoise, black jade, and opal]. Retrieved from <http://waddelltradingco.com/product/sterling-silver-tufa-cast-bracelet-2/>

Many advances occurred after 1940, including the acetylene torch, different gauges of sheet silver and wire, mandrels, and anvils (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). Tools continued to evolve, bringing more advanced polishing and lapidary tools, which were used for cutting and shaping stones, made the work easier (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). Advances in stone setting allowed the American Indians to set complicated patterns of stones. This advance alone allowed the Zuni to set numerous stones within one item, a technique called cluster setting, which in turn led them to develop the needlepoint and petitpoint techniques (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000).

Jewelry of the Southwest

The jewelry most often identified as Southwest American Indian consists of turquoise set in silver. This style, however, developed many years after European contact. American Indians have a long history of fashioning objects of adornment, and jewelry is a part of virtually every

American Indian culture in the United States (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). The early adornment items were created out of materials that the aboriginal peoples found, such as bone, wood, shell, colored stones, and seeds (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Dear, 1979; M. Wright, 1982) and items obtained through extensive trade routes (Dubin, 1999). Shells transported through the trade routes, arrived into interior portions of the continent from coastal areas as early as 3000 B.C.E. (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). Tanner (1960) states that prior to the arrival of the Europeans in 1540, the natives had a very lively jewelry production. The American Indians created beads, bracelets, and pendants from shells (Tanner, 1960). The prehistoric Hohokam peoples even developed a method of etching onto these ornaments with acid from local cactus fruit predating the earliest evidence of etching in Europe (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Fontana, 1978). The Hohokam people are believed to be Hopi ancestors who lived approximately 900 to 1200 C.E. before disappearing. Other ancestral peoples in the southwest also used stones, such as turquoise and jet (Pardue, 2007). They incorporated trade items such as shell and coral into their designs, often creating mosaics on the back of shells, a technique still utilized today (Cirillo, 2009b; Pardue, 2007). Archaeologists discovered mosaic earrings and pendants in the Zuni ancestral home of Hawikuh (Tanner, 1960). Beads and pendants made from bone and shells dating back to the seventh millennium B.C.E. were found at Hogup Cave, Utah (Tanner, 1985). Rings made from shells were discovered at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (Cirillo, 2010).

Early Metalwork in the Southwest

Prior to the introduction of silver, some of the tribes, such as Zuni and Navajo, used copper and brass to create objects of adornment approximately from 1830-40 (Tanner, 1960). The source of these metals was old pots and kettles discarded by the Spanish or Mexicans (Cirillo, 2010; Tanner, 1960). Some copper ornaments arrived in the southwest as early as 1000

to 1300 C.E. from the Great Lakes region or Meso-America (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000).

The objects created out of these metals were rings, bracelets, crosses, bowguard (maponi) mountings, and buttons (Tanner, 1960).

The first American Indian silversmiths. The actual date and origin of the introduction of silversmithing in the Indian cultures of the southwest is elusive. The earliest date proposed is between 1853 and 1858, but it is possible that the Navajo's learned to work with silver while at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, between 1864-1868 (Tanner, 1960). Silver craft was introduced between 1850 and 1860 when a Mexican silversmith trained a Navajo blacksmith (Hill, 1937; Tanner, 1985). It is reported that the first Southwest Indian to learn silversmithing is believed to be Atsidi Sani, a Navajo (Adair, 1944; Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Bedinger, 1973; Dubin, 1999; Schaaf, 2003; Tanner, 1960; Woodward, 1971; M. Wright, 1982), who was a blacksmith (Chalker et al, 2004; Tanner, 1960). Atsidi Sani then instructed other Navajos in the techniques. One of the Navajos taught by Sani, Atsidi Chon, traveled to Zuni where he taught the art of silversmithing to a Zuni Indian by the name of Lanyade in 1898 (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Chalker et al., 2004; Cirillo, 2008; Dubin, 1999; Schaaf, 2003; Tanner, 1960). Lanyade in turn taught the first Hopi, Sikyatala, the techniques of working in silver (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Cirillo, 2008; M-R Colton, 1939; Dubin, 1999; L. E. Jacka, 1998; Schaaf, 2003; Tanner, 1960; M. Wright, 1982). Sikyatala in turn taught silversmithing techniques to two Hopi men, Tawá-nimp-tewa and Tawá-hong-niwa, from the Second Mesa (M. Wright, 1982). Silversmithing continues as a significant art within the Navajo, Zuni, and Hopi tribes.

The early source of silver was American coins, until approximately 1890 when melting these coins was made illegal (Dear, 1979; Tanner, 1985). Southwest Indians then began using Mexican coins (Dear, 1979; Hill, 1937; Tanner, 1960; Tanner, 1985). In order to create sheets

of metal from which to fashion designs, the Indian silversmith had to first melt the silver coins and pour it into a mold to form a solid ingot (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; M. Wright, 1982). The ingot then had to be repeatedly hand-hammered and annealed until the desired thickness was obtained (M. Wright, 1982). The use of coin silver decreased in 1930 when silver slugs and then sheets of silver became available (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000).

Silver quickly became a favorite both esthetically and economically in the Navajo tribe (Tanner, 1960). The earliest silver jewelry had no stones; the beauty of the metal was sufficient as ornament (Hill, 1937). Stevenson et al., (1987) reported that the Navajos were the first to set turquoise in silver, that being a ring created in approximately 1880. The result generated an interest from other Navajo silversmiths in setting stones, followed by the Zuni (Stevenson et al., 1987). The Zuni tribe originated two jewelry styles, needlepoint and petitpoint, both of these techniques involve the setting of many small stones in one piece of jewelry (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000). This technique is still utilized by Zuni jewelers.



Figure 13. Artist unknown. (1900). *Early Navajo bracelet with turquoise settings* [Sterling silver and turquoise]. Retrieved from

http://www.durangosilver.com/antique_navajo_turquoise_bracelet_907_prd1.htm



Figure 14. Peina, Lorena. (n.d.). *Miniature squash blossom necklace* [sterling silver and turquoise]. Retrieved from <http://nativeamericanjewelrytips.wordpress.com/2011/06/29/navajo-squash-blossom-necklace-what-is-its-history-and-meaning/>

In the next section I discuss influences on American Indian metal designs that brought the art form to where it is today.

Influences on American Indian Metals

Techniques utilized by American Indian jewelers have changed significantly since the first contact with Europeans and Mexicans. Techniques for creating jewelry have evolved, but in itself, techniques did not have a significant influence on designs. However, numerous other factors have influenced designs.

Artifacts brought from Europe had strong influence on the Indian metalwork (Dear, 1979). The native artisans copied buttons, belts, bits for horses, knives, and other items (Dear, 1979). Smiths located near military forts and railway depots created items desired by army officers and other visitors. These items were new items not previously normally created by the native smiths, such as spoons, letter openers, and watch fobs (Batkin, 2008).

Mechanization that allowed for copying the designs began in 1910, causing an influx of cheaply made “Indian” silver. By the 1930’s a wide range of businesses and individuals were producing “Indian” silver, much with the aid of machinery (Batkin, 2008). This resulted in undermining native traditions and economy. This led to the formation of organizations and agencies to protect Indian art and Indian traders, and a lawsuit filed by the federal government against Maisel’s Indian Trading Post of Albuquerque, which housed the largest mechanized silversmithing shop (Batkin, 2008).

American Indian Boarding schools also played a part in artistic development in the southwest. At first, the schools’ intent was to squash any of the native ways, including the traditional arts and crafts (Eldridge, 2001). As discussed earlier, as more Anglos spoke against the inhumane treatment of the Indians at boarding schools at the beginning of the 20th century, a change in attitude and curriculum began (D. W. Adams, 1995). Change happened gradually and by the 1920’s and 1930’s more schools were encouraging and teaching art and craft techniques to the students (Szasz, 1999). Although many students rebelled against the schooling, others completed high school and went on to receive further training. One of those students was Charles Loloma, who was instrumental in leading American Indian jewelers into a new direction.

The most significant changes in Southwestern American Indian jewelry came about in the 1950's and 1960's. Several American Indian jewelers working in Scottsdale, Arizona began working in new and exciting ways. These artists included Charles Loloma (Hopi), Kenneth Begay (Navajo), Preston Monongye (Mexican/Mission), Larry Golsch (Pala Mission), and Charles Supplee (Hopi). Scottsdale was beginning to attract a variety of artists, possibly fueled by Frank Lloyd Wright founding an artist enclave, Taliesin West, which continues to the present day.

One artist that relocated to Scottsdale was Cherokee artist Lloyd Kiva New. New was a graduate of the Art Institute of Chicago and he taught at Phoenix Indian School, it was during this time he met Fred Kabotie and Charles Loloma (Pardue, 2007). New left the area to serve in the U.S. Navy during World War II, returned to Scottsdale and opened a fashion design business in 1946 (Pardue, 2007). New believed that creative expression should not be hindered by conventions and encouraged experimentation. In 1956, Loloma and his wife joined New and began designing buttons and pendants for New's clothing line (Pardue, 2007).

Loloma utilized the traditional methods to create jewelry, but often combined them with newer techniques. Loloma had the ability to seamlessly blend traditional and contemporary aesthetics (Dubin, 2002). The geometric patterns and colors in his bracelets recall the ancient pueblo walls and mesas (Chalker et al., 2004). One very unusual feature Loloma incorporated into his designs was a hidden mosaic on the interior or reverse of the jewelry, that was intended only for the wearer (Baxter & Bird-Romero, 2000; Chalker et al., 2004).



Figure 15. Loloma, Charles. (1975). Bracelet [14k gold, lapis lazuli, wood, fossilized ivory, coral, and malachite]. Retrieved from <http://www.ganoksin.com/borisat/nenam/charles-loloma.htm>

Many of the changes Loloma implemented in his designs reflected the influence from attending college in a predominately Anglo world. His work has had an effect on traditional techniques and aesthetics.

Aesthetics. The term aesthetics has a variety of uses (Barrett, 2008). Within this writing, aesthetics refers to the American Indian's "sensibilities regarding things artistically" (Barrett, 2008, p. 5). The early American Indians reacted strongly to colors of objects, regarding various colors as possessing differing spiritual qualities. The significance of colors led the natives to react strongly to glass beads, metal implements, and other trade items offered by the Europeans. Washburn (1966) states, "the Indian had no particular economic need for the products first offered by the Europeans - items like beads, mirrors, bells, and caps – but received

them gratefully for their decorative, aesthetic, magical, curiosity, or amusement value” (p. 198). These items were not utilized in traditional European fashion. Often fragments of majolica and delft were reworked into gorgets and pendants, in a similar fashion as shells (Miller & Hamell, 1986).

The American Indians did not perceive the European offerings as something new, instead they assimilated the items into traditional ideological systems (Miller & Hamell, 1986). Glass beads bore a resemblance to highly prized crystals and the luster of the pottery was similar to shells. Crystal and shell was imbued with supernatural or “other-worldly” origin and the new selective items introduced to the Indians were perceived in a similar manner (Miller & Hamell, 1986). These items quickly became components of ritual significance and were included alongside traditional materials in ceremonies, rituals and burials (Miller & Hamell, 1986). These items held magical qualities for many years until they became commonplace and tainted by offerings made to entice the natives into alliance with the Europeans to attain control of the New World (Miller & Hamell, 1986).

Aesthetic considerations within the Southwest tribes focus on color, especially the Hopi people. Even the Hopi language emphasises outlines, shapes, colors, movements, and processes (Chalker et al., 2004). Names often refer to appearance of colors and the way they appear in nature, referring to the painterly aspects of the way items appear in different light. In certain aspects, their beliefs recollect the way in which Impressionist artists treated color and light. According to Chalker et al. (2004), “In the instance of Hopi silver overlay, where color is absent, the painterly approach may still be seen in the juxtaposition of light and dark, background and foreground” (p. 155).

Given that a significant amount of artwork created by American Indians from the southwest is purchased by Anglos, aesthetic appeal is paramount. The item must appeal to the Anglo on appearance alone, since the average Anglo consumer does not understand the symbolism contained in the pieces. Heyd (2003) states, “aesthetic appreciation makes the way things appear to us its subject matter” (p. 39). This visual appeal of the artwork can be conveyed through Eisner’s (2002) modes of treatment an artist utilizes. In the following section I discuss the modes of treatment that convey the American Indian artist’s meaning.

Robustness. Judging the robustness of a work of art created by a Hopi would include looking for inclusion of traditional symbols, spiritual connotations, and a story. Since Anglos are uninformed to the true meanings, judging completeness would solely be based on aesthetic response. Hopi life-style revolves around ceremonies and the artwork reflects the spirituality of their culture. Jacka (2001) pointed out that it is rare to find a Hopi artwork that does not include spiritual connections. Artwork that communicates traditional symbols and the spiritual would be considered a true representation within Hopi tradition. Many of the symbols may not be changed, but the artist is open to present them in their own way after reflection. Artists draw upon traditions as the source of their symbols, however, these symbols are transformed within the mind of the artist. The artist using mental manipulation then forms a new non-linguistic mental image. The artist has grown up immersed in the Hopi culture and all the memories from experiences are fodder for the artistic creations formulated within this non-linguistic expression. Experiences are collected through the senses and embedded in the mind. The artist then formulates a concept, based on all the experiences that have accumulated through the senses (Efland, 2004). These stored memories are then translated into a medium of the artist’s choosing, creating a corresponding form of representation (Eisner, 1983; Siegesmund, 2004).

The Hopi visual artist has the choice of traditional or contemporary media. Once the concrete artifact has been inscribed in the chosen media, the artist then enters the next phase, that of editing. Through editing, the artist reviews what they have created thus far. At this point, the artist decides whether an adjustment to the artwork is necessary to ensure communication of the intended message.

Once the artist has deemed the artwork complete, it is ready for the final cognitive function according to Eisner (2002), that of communication. The artwork is made public. The communication stage is where the message of the Hopi artwork is often times misinterpreted by Anglo viewers. Willis (2005) states, “I do not believe that anyone can understand cultural nuances without significant experiences in the cultural belief systems” (p. 32). As stated earlier, each tribe has differences in similar symbolic representations, which can also cause misinterpretation.

Mimesis, expression, and convention. American Indian artwork often uses mimesis. The American Indian artist does create artworks that “take us to the scene” (Mansilla & Gardner, 1997, p.386). The most utilized of these types of treatment is that of convention, including traditional symbols and ceremonial images (Jacka, 2001). American Indian artists that use expression within their artworks do so as a background to the conventional symbols of their tribe. In examining a contemporary artwork created by Hopi artist Lomawiyesa (Michael Kabotie) entitled *Migrational patterns*, traditional images are juxtaposed with contemporary colors.



Figure 16. Lomawyesa. (1975). *Migrational patterns* [acrylic].

Emergence and migration are common themes within the Hopi culture, expressed in both ceremonies and artwork (Glenn, 2008a). In Lomawyesa's painting, he tells the story of the various migrations of the Hopi people throughout history. A Hopi viewer can easily decipher the painted patterns, finding identities to clans and societies, tribal ancestors, priests and deities, rituals and ceremonial paraphernalia, astronomical signs, directional codes of travel, and evidence of departed Hopi (Glenn, 2008a).

In contrast the painting *Emergence* by Dawakema (Millard Lomakema) is very traditional in both subject and color choice. The painting is replete with American Indian symbolism. Anglos could enjoy the balance, colors, and recognize that symbols are present. However, unless the placement and meaning behind the symbols are explained the overall meaning is lost.



Figure 17. Dawakema. (n.d.). *Emergence* [acrylic].

According to Glenn (2008a), the painting, *Emergence*, recounts the journey of the Hopi from the three previous worlds in which they believe they existed. The lower left of the painting shows a room, filled with tribal leaders and a prayer stick adorned with feathers. The figures across the bottom that are bent over, leaning on a cane represent the Hopi wish for a long life. It was explained to me that this symbolic figure represents an elderly person because as we age, our posture fails and we often need the support of a cane. Ascending from this room is a hollow reed, similar to an elevator shaft with four compartments. Each of these compartments represents the journey from the three previous worlds into the present world of the Hopi, the fourth world. The entire painting is a narrative of the emergence from darkness in the third world into the brightness of the current or fourth world utilizing sacred symbols.

This can explain the appeal that American Indian jewelry holds to those who do not fully understand the symbolism and meanings conveyed. Many Anglo tourists purchase Indian jewelry out of novelty, simply choosing items that appeal to them or out of appreciation of the

materials and the craftsmanship. Given that purchases of American Indian jewelry made by Anglos are usually based on the aesthetic appeal rather than the meaning imbued in the symbols, craftsmanship is extremely important. In order to create well-crafted jewelry pieces, the jeweler needs to acquire skills. These skills are typically acquired from observing a master jeweler. Therefore, in the following section I relate exemplary teaching techniques and how they correlate to the transmission of jewelry knowledge.

Comparison of Eisner, Project Zero, and the Hopi Teaching Style

While much has been published on American Indian arts and crafts production, products, and collecting, little material is available on the pedagogical methods and influences on the instruction of and the maintenance of traditional methods and symbolism (Harrison, 2008). However, many artists teach family members the technique of their given medium, similar to the apprentice approach. Given there is little published information regarding pedagogical styles and beliefs within the Hopi transmission of knowledge, one can only use conjecture based on teaching experience in general. In this study I found correlations to Eisner's nine skills in the teaching style of my research participants.

Eisner (2002) discussed nine skills that teachers must know and possess in order to teach well. The researchers from Project Zero identified three flexible teaching formats and eight habits of mind that are reminiscent of Eisner's thoughts. The three teaching formats identified by the Project Zero researchers include 1) demonstration-lectures, 2) Students-at-Work, and 3) critique. The eight habits of mind are 1) develop craft, 2) engage and persist, 3) envision, 4) express, 5) observe, 6) reflect, 7) stretch and explore, and 8) understand art world. Eisner's pedagogical skills include 1) ability to engage imagination, 2) technical requirements of material utilized, 3) ability to read the quality of a student's work, 4) model language, 5) modeling skills,

6) knowing when to back off to enable a student to experiment, 7) appropriate and arrange materials, 8) how to set up a problem, and 9) making connections. What follows is a comparison of Eisner's nine pedagogical skills with those identified by the members of Project Zero as reported in *Studio Thinking* (Hetland, Winner, Veenema, & Sheridan, 2007).

Engaging imagination is one of the most difficult tasks at this time in our culture. Students are used to instant gratification with the variety of electronic means for accessing information in a nanosecond, fast food on nearly every corner, and texting. The *Studio Thinking* habits of mind that this correlates with the closest would be envisioning and expression. To encourage students to develop imagination, teachers use a variety of techniques. Some of these include giving the student a fantasy assignment, causing them to create creatures, planets, aliens, mythological characters, reminding them of the creative play they engaged in during their youth. Students often say that they are not creative or argue that creativity is not needed in their future. Explaining the variety of careers that need creativity can serve as inspiration. Hetland et al. (2007) offer some other suggestions such as imagining how their artwork would look if they made certain changes and imagine the implied forms within a drawing to name a few. Once the student has been encouraged to imagine, they need to be encouraged to express their own vision, or voice. Within the American Indian culture, this step is often difficult as tradition dictates the use of traditional symbols. The way that these aspiring artists can pay homage to their ancestors and traditions while expressing themselves is by the arrangement of traditional symbols and use of colors. In jewelry design, varying materials utilized would be a method of self-expression.

The pedagogical skill Eisner (2002) referred to as use of materials links with the *Studio Thinking* habit of mind, developing craft. Use of materials is an intrinsic element of any studio setting. Learning the use of materials begins with the demonstration portion of the lesson.

Within the setting of my study, this skill was acquired more informally through observation of the master jeweler. The more extensive use of tools required for a particular media, the more time should be allotted for demonstration and experimentation to enable the student to learn correct techniques. Teachers can also give students a project that utilizes some of the techniques needed for a more complex assignment. For instance, teachers may ask students to learn to cut simple, straight cuts on metal using the jeweler's saw before they undertake more complex designs requiring curves and pierced areas. Once the students have gathered an understanding of the materials, they should be given a chance for experimentation. The studio structure of student-at-work is the most common and most time-consuming portion of artistic creation, and focuses on working with materials. According to Eisner (1993, 1997, 2002) an artist must be skilled in the material so that the material becomes a medium, which mediates the representation. This skillful employment of the material allows the viewer to interpret the meaning within the artwork (Eisner, 1997). Learning to use materials properly will allow the student to create an artwork using proper techniques, save money by not wasting materials, and lead to experimentation within the medium.

Eisner's concept that the teacher be skilled in reading student works equates most closely with critique. Critiques are an underutilized technique in many K-12 classrooms. In critiques, students and teachers discuss artwork at various stages of completion. It is important that the teacher model the correct way to discuss artworks, supplying the proper terminology. Critiques can be conducted in a formal manner or in this case, informally. During my internship with Hopi jeweler, Watson Honanie, I witnessed his very informal manner of critiquing a piece of jewelry. Watson took the time to carefully examine work that was created and provided feedback about areas needing improvement. Students also need to learn to be objective and reflective of their

own work so that they can edit the artwork, bringing about a richer result. Once the skills are acquired, they will then understand that critique is a process enabling them to further develop their own work.

Modeling language is a necessity to enable students to identify materials and increase their vocabulary of art terms. The teachers should model language throughout many portions of the lessons. The students should be encouraged to use correct terminology while in the studio and especially during demonstration, reflection, and critique. While demonstrating the teacher should utilize and stress the terminology. Students should, for example, be able to ask for the exact type of pliers they need and understand the multitude available and the different purposes they serve. Watson consistently used jewelry terminology while working in the studio, effectively modeling the language for students.

Teaching skills by means of modeling are a necessity in the art room so that students learn how to use the tools and media properly, as well as various techniques. Eisner states this is also known as demonstration. This is clearly linked to Hetland et al.'s (2007) demonstration-lecture studio structure. The components of the demonstration-lecture are: group focus, visual emphasis, immediate relevance, brevity, and connection. The main focus of a studio class is production. Group demonstration is the most effective method to impart techniques and materials needed for an upcoming assignment. Large class sizes preclude individual demonstrations of techniques, having 34 students sitting and waiting while demonstrating to students one by one is a pedagogical choice, a choice that could lead to total chaos. Demonstrating for the entire class helps keep the students focused and enables the teacher to impart knowledge in a more effective manner. However, if the class is too large the teacher may employ a pre-taped lesson or use a document camera to enable the entire class to see the lesson

projected on a screen. Once the demonstration is complete and students begin their work, the teacher can then circulate and assist individual students needing additional instruction. In a small setting with only one or two students, such as is typical in the American Indian tradition, instruction would be more individual than time allows in the average classroom.

The pedagogy that Eisner refers to as knowing when to back off relates to the habit of mind, stretch and explore. During this phase the student is encouraged to find their own artistic voice. Students expect to be told what to do because there are so many rules to be followed throughout their day, both at school and home. Exploration allows freedom from strict dictates and encourages students to be risk takers, to learn how to ask, ‘What if?’ Exploration pushes the student to think beyond the obvious applications of a media. Watson encouraged his daughter to create her own designs, often asking her permission to create a piece of jewelry using her designs.

Acquisition and arrangement of materials are skills pertinent to teachers in general, but crucial for art teachers. This skill discussed by Eisner does not equate to any one of the eight habits of mind or the three studio structures identified by Project Zero. Learning how to acquire materials necessary for the proposed assignments is often learned in a trial by fire means. A beginning teacher must learn the procedures, budget, and timeframe for ordering. Each school has differing policies and it is imperative to understand these guidelines in order for supplies to be available when needed. Given that art projects require significant supplies, the teacher needs to plan how the students will access the materials. Teachers must survey the layout of the classroom to decide where to set up materials, where to store works in progress, thereby facilitating students to maximize class time without causing disruption. Teachers should also provide knowledge of where students may purchase their own supplies. This is especially

important to the student learning a skill requiring specialized equipment, such as jeweler's saws and silver plate. Students cannot pursue these endeavors if they are not informed about where to secure necessary items. Watson's daughter related how he took her to purchase her jewelry supplies when she first began and he took me to Indian Jewelers Supply in Gallup, New Mexico so I could purchase the materials needed for the projects and ensured that I obtained a catalog of supplies.

Knowing how to present the problem within an assignment is a necessity for art teachers. The assignment needs to be stated such that the students have a focus, but also possibility of personal interpretation. Posing the problem correlates with Project Zero's demonstration-lecture and students-at-work studio structures. It is during the introductory phase of an assignment that students learn not only what the teacher has proposed but also the techniques and materials available. Once the demonstration is complete, students become engaged in solving the proposed problem, which includes a personal interpretation of the assignment.

Finally, Eisner states that making connections between earlier and current work and current work and the world outside the classroom is important. The habit of mind, understand art world, from Project Zero correlates the best with this pedagogical skill. The researchers of Project Zero agree with Eisner that connecting art to the student's world outside of the classroom is important. However, they include more connections than Eisner. Connections should be made to historical and contemporary works of art. When possible, connect processes that students are utilizing to exemplar works of art. Using exemplars not only introduces them to well-known works of art, but it also helps students envision the processes undertaken by the artist. In Arizona, there are many opportunities to view exemplary American Indian jewelry, including visiting the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff and the Heard Museum in

Scottsdale or Phoenix. During my trips to Arizona I took advantage of the opportunity to visit these museums to view many American Indian artworks to increase my knowledge. In the next chapter I will discuss the methodology of my research on the transmission of knowledge, including the importance of reviewing available documents.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Paradigm and Assumptions

My research has its foundation in the constructivist paradigm with influence from the transformative paradigm. The constructivist paradigm fits well into this research as it supports researchers using observations, and there is a belief that research can only be conducted through interaction between and amongst investigator and respondents (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The transformative paradigm has influence as this research involves a marginalized population, the Hopi Indians. The two paradigms fit well together and Mertens (2010) states, “constructivists’ writings on ethical principles are moving closer to alignment with those of transformative researchers” (p. 18).

Constructivist Paradigm

Constructivism holds that each individual mentally constructs the world of experience through cognitive processes (Young & Collin, 2004). Constructivism focuses on meaning making and the constructing of social and psychological worlds through individual, cognitive processes. Thus, meaning is constructed in a social, historical, and cultural context, through relationships and community (Young & Collin, 2004). Within constructivist qualitative research, new meanings and insights are generated. These insights come about from the interactive process between the inquirer and the subject of the inquiry. The focus is on the values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of individuals (Creswell, 2005). According to Magoon (1977):

The constructivist perspective holds as a chief assumption about much complex behavior that the "subjects" being studied must at a minimum be considered knowing beings, and that this knowledge they possess has important consequences for how behavior or actions are interpreted. (p 652)

The constructivist paradigm grew out of the philosophy of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and the study of interpretive understanding called hermeneutics (Eichelberger, 1989, as cited in Mertens, 2010). Mertens (2010) explains that the basic assumption guiding the constructivist paradigm is that knowledge is socially constructed. Different societies form various meanings, and even within a given society there is often a difference in meanings. Constructivism seeks to understand reality and its meanings as it is understood by the subjects of a study.

Transformative Paradigm

The main tenant of the transformative paradigm that is congruent with my research is that the lives and experiences of marginalized groups are valued and promoted. The Hopi Indians are a very small group, even within the American Indian populations. There has been much written about many of the larger tribes such as Cherokee, Navajo, and Ojibwe, but there is little to be found about the Hopi tribe. Much research places all American Indians into one group, when in fact there is significant difference between the different tribes and within each tribe and clan. Adopting the transformative paradigm may help rectify the lack of inclusion of the Hopi tribe in the literature and provide focused and respectful attention to its distinctions.

Mertens, Farley, Madison, and Singleton (as cited by Mertens, 2010, p. 21) list four characteristics common to the transformative paradigm:

- 1) It places central importance on the lives and experiences of diverse groups that traditionally, have been marginalized
- 2) It analyses how and why inequities based on gender, race or ethnicity, disability, sexual orientation, and socioeconomic classes are reflected in asymmetric power relationships
- 3) It examines how results of social inquiry on inequities are linked to political and social action
- 4) It uses transformative theory to develop the program theory and the research approach

The transformative paradigm helped inform my research while studying an indigenous population. The American Indians have suffered greatly at the hands of the dominant society and I was very aware of how they might perceive me because I am an Anglo. I proceeded with extreme respect, care, and awareness of this fact. I had read enough and spoke with a few of my Ojibwe friends to ascertain how to proceed. When I met with them I made it clear that I wanted to learn about the teaching techniques and was not interested in any monetary gain. I also shared my experience as a jeweler showing that I knew many techniques already so I was not attempting to learn a new trade. I also helped with taking care of dishes and other preparations for ceremonies when allowed. Transparency and reciprocity were the guiding tenants to ensure trust between me and those studied. I focused on the cultural lens that helps define the knowledge of the people. The cultural lens of American Indians is definitely different from those who are looking in from outside of the culture. Cultural differences affect the way that knowledge is constructed. It was imperative for me to learn about social morays within the culture of the Hopi people to ensure inadvertent disrespect to them or their traditions did not occur. Disrespect, even

unintentional could have affected the entire study. Cultural differences, language, and traditions were considered to ensure I was not judging their culture based on my own cultural background. Having been exposed to American Indian culture growing up also guided my actions during the course of my research. I was received well as they included me in every aspect of the preparations, unless tradition prevented my participation. I helped so much that they told me I would make a good mö'wi (in-law).

Mertens (2010) provides guidelines for working with indigenous people compiled by Cram (2001, cited in L. T. Smith, 2005, p. 98). These include, respect for people, meet people face-to-face, look and listen, share and be generous, be cautious, and avoid flaunting knowledge. I believe these guidelines are applicable to any research situation, not just with indigenous peoples. These guidelines tie in to the Tribal Critical Race theory in several ways. The first is that showing respect recognizes that they have been colonized by the influence of European American thought (Brayboy, 2006), and I am a part of the dominant culture. A second way I showed my respect for their culture and knowledge was by being generous so they knew I was not seeking material gain from my interactions with them. When I first met with the family members in April of 2012, I brought some small gifts and presented them to the family, some coffee and jewelers saw blades as a token of respect, and treated them to lunch. I also purchased items for the ceremonies and cooked a dish to share on the day of the ceremonies. Lastly, I listened and watched carefully so that I understood their knowledge and way of being.

Methodology and Research Design

Qualitative design

Choosing the research method for the study of Hopi jewelers and the transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next led me to qualitative research. According to Creswell (2005):

Qualitative research is a type of educational research in which the researcher relies on the views of the participants, by asking broad, general questions, collects data consisting largely of words (or text) from participants, describes and analyzes these words for themes, and conducts the inquiry in a subjective, biased manner. (p. 39)

Qualitative design permits “the evaluator to study selected issues in depth and detail” (Patton, 1990, p. 13). According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), qualitative research focuses on interpretation of natural phenomena in their natural settings. Qualitative research involves collecting information about personal experiences, life stories, observations, historical documents, and interactions, which are significant and meaningful in people’s lives (Denzin & Biklen, 1984). According to Patton (1990), “qualitative methods consist of three types of data collection: (1) in-depth, open-ended interviews; (2) direct observation: and (3) written documents” (p. 10). All of these sources can enhance the understanding of the subject under investigation.

The strengths of qualitative research are accessing details that a survey method might not reveal. Openness of design allows for generation of new theories, and the extensive fieldwork provides a more accurate picture of the lived experience of the subject. For investigating the transmission of jewelry making techniques within generations of a Hopi family, the methodology I felt best suited for this study was ethnography. Ethnography is a naturalistic study, which

allowed me to capture the character of naturally occurring human behavior. In order to capture the actual process as it unfolded, the event and people had to be studied in their natural surroundings. Studying the Hopi family within their natural setting resulted in me being able to capture the events as they actually occurred. I sought to minimize my effect on the behavior of the people being studied by observing them in natural settings in an attempt to diminish the chances of influencing their behavior. Finally, naturalistic research dictated that the events be explained in terms of their relationship to the context in which they occur, in familiar settings and within the Hopi culture.

Ethnography. Ethnographic studies are particularly useful to the researcher who desires studying a group of individuals within the context of where they live and work (Creswell, 2005). The literal meaning of the term ethnography is “writing about groups of people” (Creswell, 2005, p. 435). The group in question has been together for a long time and has developed shared values, beliefs, and language (Creswell, 2005). The observer is interested in the interdependence of group behaviors and interactions. Hammersley (2006) states that ethnographic research emphasizes studying at firsthand what people do and say (p. 4). Ethnographic studies provide a descriptive accounting of the life and activities of the group in question. Charles Frake (1964) related a more detailed definition:

A description of a culture, an ethnography, is produced from an ethnographic record of events of a society within a given period of time...The problem is not to state what someone did but to specify the conditions under which it is culturally appropriate to anticipate that he, or persons occupying his role, will render an equivalent performance. This conception of a cultural description implies that an ethnography should be a theory of cultural behavior in a particular society. (pp. 111-112)

Ethnography has its basis in cultural anthropology (Creswell, 2005; Edgar & Sedgwick, 2008; Patton, 1990; Wolcott, 2008). Ethnographic research allows for in-depth investigation of a small population, typically representative of a culture. Culture is central to ethnography, the researcher assumes that culture exists and is important (Patton, 1990). Upon entering my study within the Hopi tribe, I had to remember that early visitors tried to eradicate the culture of American Indians through acculturation. I was constantly mindful of showing respect for all aspects of the Hopi culture.

One of the most important aspects of ethnography is location. Ethnographers are expected to travel to a location in order to conduct their research, so it is also referred to as field research (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991; Wolcott, 2008). The responsibilities of an ethnographer lie in observing, interviewing, and collecting documents about the subject in order to gain understanding of beliefs, behaviors, and language (Creswell, 2005). This entails a lengthy immersion and, optimally, participation within the culture being studied. In order to understand the culture being studied, to the extent that an outsider is able, researchers must immerse themselves into the daily lives of the participants. This immersion and participation in activities by the researcher to gain deeper knowledge has caused this type of research to be referred to as participant observation (Feagin et al., 1991). This requires extensive field observation in order to gather enough data to accurately explain the event or persons.

The main strength of ethnography is the human factor. Immersion in the culture by the researcher, and frequent interaction with the people being studied may build a rapport, leading to responses that are more candid during interviews. Researchers can use personal skills and strengths to accomplish their goals. Wolcott (2008) includes providing a rich database for further research and writing as a strength of ethnography. This human interaction also provides

the opportunity for intimate connections to the complexities of the people being studied. Given the length of time invested in the observation of the people and culture being studied, many minute details and nuances may surface that would not when utilizing other research methods. Disadvantages of ethnography would include the immensity of the task. Wolcott (2008) states that ethnography can only be partial. It is an incomplete picture because of limitations such as staff and time. Many ethnographies are conducted by the sole researcher. It also represents “one person’s view, at one point in time, based on one set of experiences, enhanced by a purposeful but serendipitous selection of experiences related by others” (Wolcott, 2008, p. 80). Due to the small size of the sample being studied in an ethnography, generalizations to a larger population may not be made. Since the data is dependent on observations made by the researcher and not on numeric information, there is no way to definitively check the researcher’s conclusion. One final disadvantage is the length of time an ethnography entails. The choice of conducting an ethnography requires a long-term commitment in order to learn the intricacies of the culture being studied.

I used an ethnographic qualitative research design in which I was also a participant observer. This design allowed me to describe the experience from the viewpoint of a jewelry student in addition to gathering information from the interviews. I conducted the research during three separate trips to Arizona over a period of 16 months.

Site and Participants

The site of this study was the home of the jeweler, Watson Honanie, in Flagstaff, Arizona. I was unable to obtain permission to conduct research within the confines of the Hopi reservation. I was truly lucky to have found a family that had a home outside of the reservation. Watson's studio was attached to the house by a carport. During my stay in Arizona in summer

2012, we traveled to the Hopi reservation frequently. While on the reservation I stayed with them at their house. We did not create any of the jewelry pieces while on the reservation. When we were on the reservation, we attended katsina dances and visited a few historical places. In July, 2013, I traveled back to Arizona. I was informed that the Honanies had moved full-time out to the reservation, giving up their house in Flagstaff. I considered myself very lucky to have conducted my research the previous year because if it been delayed until 2013, I would have been unable to conduct my research on the reservation, and I would have had to locate another Hopi jeweler with a home outside of the reservation.

Once I began to focus my research on American Indian jewelry, I contacted an acquaintance from high school who is a member of the Ojibwe tribe and very active in the American Indian community. I asked him if he knew of any jewelers that might be willing to participate in my study. At his suggestion, I focused my research on Hopi jewelry. I then contacted Dr. Mary Stokrocki from Arizona State University via email and asked if she had suggestions for the names of any Hopi jewelers with which she may have had a relationship. She gave me the names of two Hopi individuals to contact and also recommended searching Facebook. At Dr. Stokrocki's suggestion I did a search on Facebook and the Internet. As a starting point, I searched for the names of jewelers listed in the book *Hopi Silver* by Margaret Wright (1982). I checked the dates of when the jewelers began creating jewelry and started with those names. I did not find information on many of the jewelers. I did find contact information about a few jewelers, and I attempted to contact them, leaving them messages, but did not receive any responses. I continued my search and located one of the jewelers on Facebook. I stumbled upon Kara Honanie on Facebook and found that she was the daughter of the jeweler Watson Honanie. I searched the Internet and found that Watson had been taught jewelry by his

uncle, Fred Kabotie. This family was exactly what I was searching for, a family that had generations passing the knowledge down the family lineage. I carefully worded my email to Kara. I wanted her and her family to know I would be very respectful of their family and of the Hopi people in general. I composed the following message, conveying my wishes to research about Hopi jewelry and sent it August 31, 2011:

Hi Ms. Honanie,

Forgive my boldness for writing. I am a doctoral student at the University of Georgia. I am extremely interested in documenting the Hopi way of transmitting jewelry techniques from generation to generation. In researching American Indian jewelry I see that Hopi jewelry is very underrepresented. I would like to find a Hopi jeweler that would be interested in allowing me the privilege of interviewing them and members of the family that are also jewelers. I understand that this would be a great honor and I would be very respectful in my interaction with all involved. I appreciate your consideration and look forward to hearing from you after you have had a chance to discuss this with members of your family.

Sincerely,

Chris Hellyer

I received a response the next day, stating that they were interested in learning more about my study. In her response she included a phone number and told me to call her mother, Sarah. I called her mother the next day, and we talked at length. Sarah told me how things had been bad for them. She had been feeling that no one knew they even existed, that no one cared. She told me that my call was exactly what she needed; knowing someone from so far away was

interested in learning about the Hopi people. They were very interested, and we continued the discussion via email and further phone calls spanning seven months.

I then asked in an email if I could possibly do an internship with her husband, the jeweler. She talked it over with Watson, and he was in agreement so we arranged a time that I could speak with him. A few days later, I called and talked with Watson at length. We discussed the best time for me to visit, and Watson suggested that I come in June so that I could witness the katsina dances. As our conversation came to a close I asked Watson about hotels in the area, and he provided a few suggestions telling me to book the room as soon as possible because they tend to fill up when the katsina dances take place. We said our goodbyes and ended our call. A few minutes elapsed, and my phone rang; it was Sarah calling back. She and Watson had discussed the possibility of me staying with them during my visit, and she was calling to ask if I would like to stay with them. I readily agreed, and she asked if I had any family that I would be bringing. I told her that I had no family but I had two little dogs, and she said they were also welcome as well. Sarah then asked if I could visit before the summer so we could meet. I told her that I could come out during my spring break in April, and I would communicate the details once I had booked my flight. I flew to Arizona in April 2012 and met Watson Honanie the jeweler, Sarah Honanie his wife, two granddaughters, Shawna and Sabrina, and their infant great-granddaughter, Alaina. I visited with Sarah and Watson while the girls were in another room. After about 15 minutes, Sarah left Watson and me alone to talk. Watson shared how he got started creating jewelry because of his uncle, Fred Kabotie. After visiting and sharing a meal, Watson agreed to participate in my research.

Data Collection Methods

Interviews. In the ethnographic tradition, I used informal and semi-structured interviews using an interview guide (Appendix A) to interview the three participants, Watson Honanie, Kara Honanie, and Shawna Honanie. I interviewed Watson twice and both interviews lasted 20 minutes. Kara was interviewed one time, lasting 1 hour 20 minutes. Since Shawna had just started learning how to make jewelry, her two interviews were brief, lasting less than 15 minutes. The flexible nature of semi-structured interviews allowed for a degree of interaction between the two parties.

Observations. As part of the study, I made video recordings of the patriarch of the family, Watson, when he taught techniques to his granddaughter and myself. I recorded 16 lessons ranging in length from 15 minutes to 30 minutes in length. I also took notes during these lessons when I wasn't assisting Watson. Having the recordings allowed me to review and compare to my notes. The video recordings also captured nuances I had not noted. One of the common sights in the videos which I had not noticed was Shawna intently watching Watson. On one occasion I had left the recorder on after Watson had finished showing me how to proceed with making the links. Given the candid nature of this recording, I was able to observe the interaction between Watson and Shawna. He patiently helped her sort through links, showing how to separate them. I also noticed how often Sarah had quietly entered unnoticed.

Internship. To become an integral part of the study, I interned while learning and assisting the patriarch in creating jewelry objects. I video recorded the sessions while I received instruction, as I was not always able to take thorough notes.

Document review. In keeping with ethnographic tradition, I sought documents relevant to the study. There was a serious lack of written material available for my use. Watson

recommended a number of books for me to read. Many of the books he recommended had to do with Hopi history, such as *Hotevilla: Hopi Shrine of the Covenant* (Mails & Evehema, 1995), *Book of the Hopi* (Waters, 1977), and *The Hopi Survival Kit* (Mails, 1997). He also recommended books on jewelry including *Contemporary Southwestern Jewelry*, *Art of the Hopi* (Pardue, 2007), *Art of the Hopi: Contemporary Journeys on Ancient Pathways* (Jacka & Jacka, 1998), and *Jewelry by Southwest American Indians Evolving Designs* (Schiffer, 1990).

I also was able to spend some time at the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. The museum archives contained many articles about the Hopi people, including an important article written by Mary-Russell Colton for the Museum notes about Hopi silversmithing which was published in 1939. The museum bookstore also had a book on Mary Russell Colton, *One Woman's West: The Life of Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton* (Mangum & Mangum, 1997) which provided information on the Hopi Silver Project that I had not found previously. I also had occasion to visit a used bookstore in Flagstaff which resulted in locating two important books, *Pages from Hopi History* (James, 1974) and *The Fourth World of the Hopis* (Courlander, 1971).

Table 1

Research Questions & Data Collection Methods

Research Question	Interviews	Observations	Internship	Document Review
1. How are the symbols and techniques of the Hopi overlay designs being transmitted within generations of a Hopi family of jewelers?	x	x	x	
2. How can the teaching methods utilized by this Hopi family of jewelers inform jewelry curriculum in a public school setting?	x	x	x	x

Data Analysis

I began by transcribing the video and audio recordings. Once transcribed, I read the transcripts as soon as possible, writing notes and memos on what I saw in my data (Bryman, 2008; Maxwell, 2005; van den Hoonaard & van den Hoonaard, 2008). I then used codes to identify emerging themes (Maxwell, 2005) across all data sets, interview transcripts, lesson observation notes, and field notes. I revised the codes as needed (Maxwell, 2005; Mertens, 2010). Linking themes between the various data sources allowed for triangulation (Creswell, 2009). Once I coded all data sets, I organized them into themes. The main themes that developed were: 1) learning by observing, 2) family encouragement, 3) experimentation, and 4) return to tradition. Having these overarching themes helped me sort the data for further analysis (Maxwell, 2005; Wolcott, 2008). After analyzing the data, I used member checks (Creswell,

2009; Mertens, 2010) to ensure that I accurately depicted the events that transpired in the lessons and in the interviews. I shared the transcriptions of the lessons with Watson to ensure I had captured the essential information he had taught. After transcribing the interviews with Watson, Kara, and Shawna, I asked clarifying questions about passages of the interviews to ensure I had recorded the information correctly.

I used thematic narrative analysis (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Mertens, 2010) to tell the story of the jewelers studied. The context (Maxwell, 2005) and cultural setting was important to this study, and I sought to describe all of these facets of the jewelers' lives. I described how these facets affected or interacted with the creative work of this family. I wrote many memos and notes to assist me in recalling all details, as writing is also a form of analysis (Bryman, 2008). In writing, I included detailed, thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973; Mertens, 2010; Wolcott, 2008) along with photographs to help bring the reader into the scene. I believe these descriptions allow the reader to understand the way in which the Hopi jewelers have transmitted the jewelry techniques and in what context.

Protection of Human Subjects (IRB)

Participants stood to benefit from participating in this study by contributing to the knowledge of Hopi jewelry. There was a possibility of risk for the family because they allowed me to live with them during the study. I conducted myself in a professional manner and respected the family's privacy and the Hopi tribe in general. When I was a witness to any of the ceremonies, I conducted myself professionally and followed the guidelines the family members provided. I dressed in the appropriate attire, including a skirt and shawl as is custom for women in attendance.

As part of the approval process, I had to agree that I would not conduct research on the Hopi reservation. The interviews were conducted at the Honanie's home in Flagstaff, Arizona. Any time spent on the reservation was not utilized for research purposes. No interviews were conducted during the duration of stays on the reservation.

The interviews and observations were audiotaped and access to these tapes was restricted to the researcher. The files of the audio were stored in a secure location. These files will be destroyed two years after the completion of the study, in accordance with the IRB approval.

The table below indicates the implementation data collection techniques. The data was collected over a period of 18 months in total. The internship the took place during June and July of 2012 provided a venue that allowed for some of the data to be collected simultaneously.

Table 2

Implementation of Data Collection Measures

	April 2012	June 2012	July 2012	July 2013
Interviews		X	X	
Observations		X	X	
Internship		X	X	
Document review	X	X	X	X

Subjectivity Statement and Limitations

I became interested in studying Hopi jewelers for many reasons. I grew up around American Indians of the Ojibwe tribe in northern Minnesota, attending school with members of the tribe. There was one Ojibwe family living in our school district, they had several children but I was more familiar with Keith and Sharon. They lived in a house a few blocks down from

one of my closest friends. We lived in a rural area and attended a very small school. Keith graduated with my older sister, he was active on the football and hockey teams. Sharon and I played on the volleyball team together for one season and she played in the school band with my sister. Our school mascot was the Red Raiders. I never saw them react to the mascot, in fact Keith was one of the candidates for homecoming king. The king was called Chief Red Raider and wore a feathered headdress at the coronation. At the time I never considered if they found the mascot offensive and I never thought to ask. The school consolidated with a neighboring school around 1980 and a new, less offensive mascot was created.

I attended many powwows and was fascinated by the traditions, dances, and the artwork. The beauty of the artwork attracted and interested me. I learned how to weave at a young age, often mimicking the circular designs of dream catchers. I did not witness any metal jewelry created by American Indians, however, as members of the Ojibwe tribe do not create with metal. The Ojibwe tribe is well known for their ornate beadwork and delicate baskets made from the bark of trees, particularly Birch trees.

I became interested in metalworking while pursuing my undergraduate degree at the University of Minnesota, where I was a teaching assistant in the jewelry department. I learned a variety of techniques, including that of overlay. At that time, art history was not a part of the jewelry program. I continued with my jewelry designs and when I pursued my masters' degree, I took a jewelry class to further my learning. This course once again did not include historical information, only technique.

When I secured a high school art teacher position, I became a jewelry teacher. At that time, I was confronted with the concept of teaching historical information about jewelry. As a jewelry teacher, there were historical trends and styles that I was required to teach. Having had

virtually no formal art history training in the jewelry area, I had to read and research many of the historical developments. In my reading, I discovered the Hopi overlay technique and became intrigued. The Hopi designs called to me because they incorporate the overlay technique that I learned many years ago.

As I have experienced American Indian culture since a young child, my biases lead me to champion that culture. I believe that in this ever-changing society, it is imperative that we do not allow the subjugation of the American Indian to continue, especially within education. As the population in schools continues to change, educators address many cultures. I teach in a culturally diverse school where the population is continually changing. It seems as if we acknowledge all cultures other than American Indian. We need to be cognizant of this and ensure that we are not continuing to ignore this population that has not only been overlooked but also colonized.

CHAPTER 4

HOPÍ CULTURE

In order to understand the deep connection of the Hopi artist and his/her artwork one must understand the depth of and connections to traditions within the Hopi culture. I cannot possibly fully explain the history and traditions in this context. I can only share a brief introduction to Hopi history, culture, and knowledge I gained from interacting with the Hopi family members and members of the Hopi tribe that I had the distinct pleasure of encountering during my study.

The Hopi people never developed a written language, relying on storytellers to pass on the knowledge. Due to the history being retold by numerous individuals, there are many versions of the emergence story. The emergence story is the story of how the Hopi people came to be in this world, the forth world. During the latter part of the 19th and early 20th century, some of the stories were written down by visitors to the Hopi reservation. In reading about the emergence, visitors recording the stories began referring to it as the emergence myth, which seems demeaning. Goldfrank (1948) stated “at least fourteen versions have been recorded between 1883 and 1936” (p. 242). Vecsey (1983) wrote that there were many possible versions of the myth and that he chose parts from various versions. There is no one exact telling of the emergence story, and it varies between mesas. Although the mesas are within driving distance from one another, they were worlds apart when the area was first settled. In my accounting of Hopi beginnings and the four worlds of the Hopi, I include an account that is blended with information from the following sources: Courlander (1971), Cushing (1923), Glenn (2008a),

Goldfrank (1948), James (1974), Mails (1997), Mails and Evehema (1995), Mullett (1979), Nequatewa (2008), Stephen (1929), Todd (2008), Vecsey (1983), Waters (1977), and Yava (1978).

Hopi Beginnings

First world. According to Hopi belief, the Hopis are currently living in the fourth world. The first world was Tokpela, which means endless space. Only Tawa, the Sun Spirit, existed in the first world (Courlander, 1971). Tawa did not like how barren the world was so he fashioned a helper, her name was Kókyangwúti, Spider Woman. Spider Woman was instructed to create mankind, she gathered earth of four different colors and created four races; one from yellow earth, one from red earth, another from white earth, and a fourth from black earth. These were the First People. Each race was given a different language, respect for one another, wisdom, the power to reproduce, and they traveled to different directions across the earth (Waters, 1977). The first world came to an end when the people forgot what the creator had told them about living harmoniously with one another and the earth. Those that had remembered the plan of creation were sent to live underground and the rest of the world was destroyed with fire.

Second world. Spider Woman led them to the second world which was known as Tokpa, or Dark Midnight (Waters, 1977). The Creator told the Hopi people when it was safe to come out of their underground hiding spot. Once again the people were provided with everything they needed, they now had the ability to build homes and make handicrafts (Waters, 1977). They soon got greedy wanting more items and traded for goods they did not need. Acquiring these goods pulled them further and further away from the Creator. This greed led to fighting amongst villages, ending in total wars (Waters, 1977). Although the majority of the people forgot to pay homage to the the Creator, there were faithful people that had not forgotten

to praise the Creator. Once again the faithful people were rewarded and protected underground when the Creator flooded the world and destroyed the world by ice (Waters, 1977).

Third world. Spider Woman again led them, and the third world was called Kuskurza, and it was a world harsher than those that had come before (Waters, 1977). Spider Woman taught the people to weave and how to make pots from clay to help them survive the harsher climate (Courlander, 1971). Even though they developed more skills, the people once again became corrupt, stealing and attacking neighbors to possess more and more material goods. Once again, the creator looked upon the people he had created and was displeased with what the people had done. Spider Woman was called upon to save the faithful. Spider Woman prepared hollow reeds to house the faithful individuals and protect them as the Third World was destroyed in a great flood.

Fourth world. The Hopi people believe that they are currently living in the fourth world, it is known as Túwaqachi which means World Complete (Waters, 1977). The protector of this fourth world is Máasaw. This story is one of the most common stories about the Hopi emergence available today. There is much written about the emergence into the fourth world. The people emerged from the third world through a hatchway in the ground known as Sípàapuni through a hollow reed (James, 1974; University of Arizona, Hopi Dictionary Project, 1998). This Sípàapuni is believed to be located on the floor of the Grand Canyon and it is fenced to protect this sacred site. Many of these stories of the emergence serve as inspiration for Hopi artwork.

Hopi Artwork

Upon exploring Hopi artwork, one must take into account the use of symbols. As with other American Indian tribes, symbols within the Hopi tribe have been handed down from their

earliest ancestors through stories, rock carvings, ceremonial garments, and images depicted on useful objects. These different symbolic forms of representation address different aspects of the world, allowing an opportunity to learn something different (Solomon, 1997). According to Eisner, a “representation stabilizes an idea or image into a material and makes possible a dialogue with it” (2002, p. 6). Therefore, any artwork could be considered a representation because creating an object in durable form is an act of inscription. Each inscription should then be evaluated and edited. Within the Hopi tradition, many symbols are represented in the traditional fashion. The editing by the Hopi artist comes in the organization of the overall artwork and the placement of traditional symbols within the artwork. The Hopi jeweler, Watson Honanie, exemplifies representation of Hopi symbols and traditions in his craft.

Hopi Jeweler Watson Honanie

Watson Honanie is a Hopi Indian metals artist. First and foremost, however, he is a member of the Hopi tribe. This fact permeates his life and his jewelry designs. He mainly works in silver with a gold overlay. He uses traditional symbols in his designs. He was one of the first American Indian jewelers to incorporate gold into his designs, since then a number of other American Indians have incorporated gold into their artwork. Watson learned his techniques from his uncle Porter Timeche, his uncle the late Fred Kabotie, and his brother Phillip (S. Honanie, personal communication, September 7, 2011). Phillip no longer creates jewelry after suffering a stroke. Watson’s hallmark is a stylized bear paw with two crescent marks on the palm, this is the Hopi sign of friendship. His brother Phillip used the friendship marks as his hallmark. Watson incorporated the friendship marks into his hallmark out of respect for his brother Phillip.



Figure 18. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Watson's hallmark.

Watson was encouraged to use gold in his designs by Bruce McGee from McGee's Indian Art, located at Keams Canyon on the Hopi reservation. McGee's was one of the first outlets to buy Watson's silver pieces. Watson was hesitant to incorporate gold into his work, but McGee told Watson that he would buy all the jewelry he produced so long as it was gold over silver.

Watson incorporates many of the traditional Hopi symbols in his jewelry much like his uncles before him. I never once heard him teach his granddaughter what the various symbols meant. Symbols permeate the Hopi culture. Kachina dolls like the ones that decorate the walls of the Honanie home are given to young children to teach them about the various katsinas. The term kachina is in reference to the dolls and katsina is the spirit embodied in the dancers. The symbols appear on the kachina dolls, and mothers refer to them as readily as we teach children how to speak. It is ingrained as an inseparable part of the culture. The symbols are on pottery, included in weavings, on the kopatsoki (headdress) of the butterfly dancers, and carved into rocks left as a message from the ancestors. The children grow up knowing the symbols. It is only outsiders like myself who need to be taught the meaning of the symbols.

In his belt buckle, Watson features many of these symbols, such as an eagle, corn, water waves, clouds, kiva ladders, and Kokopelli. The figure of Kokopelli has existed within the Hopi

nation for at least 3,000 years. Kokopelli is a Hopi word meaning humpbacked flute player (Lambert, 1967). Most of the familiar depictions of Kokopelli are copied from Hopi art, which in turn is derived from ancient Anasazi glyphs (Welker, 2008).

The eagle represents truth, majesty, strength, courage, wisdom, power, and freedom. The eagle also figures prominently in the story of the emergence of the Hopi tribe. As the people emerged into the present world, they met an eagle and asked his permission to occupy the surrounding land. The eagle put the Hopi people through several tests, which they passed. At that point, the eagle said:

Any time you want to send a message to our Father Sun, the Creator, you may use my feather. For I am the conqueror of air and master of height. I am the only one who has the power of space above, for I represent the loftiness of the spirit and I can deliver your prayers. (Waters, 1977, p. 132)

This particular eagle appears as part human, which could indicate that this is indeed showing an eagle katsina. The Hopi tribe is well known for carvings of katsina spirits that take the form of kachina dolls. Beginning in June, they hold sacred katsina dances in which humans dress up as representatives of these spirits (S. Honanie, personal communication, September 7, 2011).



Figure 19. Honanie, Watson. (n.d.). Belt buckle with Eagle Katsina, Kiva ladders, and Kokopelli [Sterling silver and gold].

The ladder rungs shown on both sides of the eagle katsina are symbols of ceremonies held in sacred places known as kivas. Kivas have been a part of American Indian history since prehistoric times, and many ancient kivas have been discovered throughout the United States (Waters, 1977). These are underground areas that hold many members of the Hopi tribe for various ceremonies. During the ceremonies, murals are painted on the walls, and sand paintings are often created as well (Waters, 1977). The kiva is the most sacred of places to the Hopi, it is considered central to the Hopi way of life (Honvanteewa, 2008).

Corn plays an integral part of the Hopi community. Several varieties of corn are grown to provide cornmeal for daily use but also for ceremonies (Waters, 1977). Glenn (2008b) states, “A single ear of corn symbolizes the universal mother-of-all image, the originator of all life, who brings to living beings the life-essence of creativity” (p. 55). Honanie utilizes the ear of corn in many of his works, sometime featuring the corn by itself.



Figure 20. Honanie, Watson. (n.d.). *Corn Maiden* [gold].

The turtle is a feminine animal in the Hopi community, symbolizing fertility, long life and perseverance (S. Honanie, personal communication, September 7, 2011). Shown within the design of the turtle pendant, a sun is visible. The sun is an important part of the Hopi essence, providing energy for all living things (Honvanteva, 2008). Also in the center of the turtle pendant, a mudhead katsina is walking onto the top of a kiva where we see the top portion of the ladder which is how kivas are entered. The borders of many of Watson's jewelry pieces also include a stylized designs. The spiral which signifies water and a stepped design which is a stylized cloud grace many of his designs. The border unifies all the other elements of the design, reminding us that everything on this earth is interconnected (S. Honanie, personal communication, September 7, 2011).



Figure 21. Honanie, Watson. (n.d.). Turtle pendant [sterling silver and gold].

I admired Watson's jewelry prior to my stay in Arizona, however, I did not truly understand all of the symbols he included until after experiencing the Hopi culture. I had misinterpreted a few of the symbols, and I had not grasped the importance of the symbols until after being immersed within the Hopi culture. In the next chapter, I share my experiences during my time with the Hopi people while learning more about the Hopi way of life.

CHAPTER 5

LEARNING THE HOPI WAY

First Visit

In April 2012 I flew to Phoenix, Arizona, rented a car, and traveled the 150 miles to Flagstaff. As I neared Flagstaff, I was taken with the sight of the snow-covered peaks of the San Francisco Mountains. As soon as I entered Flagstaff, I stopped and called to get the final directions and then drove to the Honanie's house. I knocked on the door and waited for someone to answer. As I waited I saw someone walking across the room towards the door. As I watched this individual cross the room, I believed that it was a young girl based on her height, however, when she opened the door and spoke, I realized this was the face behind the voice of Sarah, Watson's wife. I was surprised by her slight stature. I was finally able to meet the woman I had been speaking with for nearly a year. As we walked through the kitchen, I placed my gifts on the table and waited until Watson joined us. We shook hands and I then presented the gifts, I brought as a token of my appreciation: coffee, dog food, and jewelers saw blades for Watson.

They then led me to the living room. I was taken by the beautiful works of art that surrounded us including paintings and kachina dolls hanging on the walls and standing in glass display cases. Nearby was a work surface prepared for Watson, on this table were several gold pieces already sawed from sheet with intricate scenes of Hopi ceremonies. Watson told me he worked there especially during the winter to save on the cost of heating the studio. Also on the table was a pair of earrings already on a card ready for display. Watson, Sarah, and I talked for a little and then Sarah went to care for their young two month old great-granddaughter.

Watson told me how he began hanging around the Hopi guild in summer where his uncles created overlay jewelry. The guild provided the metal to each jeweler, and the jewelers had to turn in the scrap metal along with the completed piece. The scrap metal and completed pieces were weighed to ensure that the jewelers were not keeping any of the metal. His uncle, Fred Kabotie, told him that since he was hanging around he should learn how to polish the jewelry. Polishing was one of the dirtiest jobs and so they left it up to Watson. He was not taught how to polish the pieces, he had to watch others and learn from observation. As Watson returned the next summer his uncle gave him some small scrap silver pieces and told Watson to create some post earrings. The smaller items required practice and if he messed up the amount of material lost was not significant. As Watson became more skilled, he was given more challenges and responsibilities. When Watson and I took a break from talking, Sarah returned holding the baby. Watson took the baby and sat on another sofa leaving Sarah and me to talk. We talked getting to know one another when I noticed Watson had fallen asleep holding the baby. It was such a tender moment for me to see him sleeping with his great-granddaughter asleep on his shoulder.

When Watson awoke, we left the house and headed to lunch. To ensure I didn't get lost, they directed their 18-year-old granddaughter, Shawna, to ride with me. Shawna is not actually Watson and Sarah's granddaughter. Shawna and her sister were taken in by them when they were small children, one and two years of age. They were the children of Sarah and Watson's nephew who they had also raised as their son. He had a terrible accident and is still in a residential setting. The little girls needed a place to live so Sarah and Watson took them in and raised them as their own just like they had raised the girls' father. She and I talked about her classes at high school and how much she enjoys writing. She was going to be graduating high

school in June. Shawna directed me to the restaurant they chose, which was a Chinese restaurant. As we ate we all shared food and conversation. The conversation often slipped into a mixture of English with a smattering of Hopi. As we discussed my visit for the summer, Watson suggested that I should volunteer to assist at the Hopi show held at the Northern Arizona Museum while I am there. The show is held yearly the weekend before the fourth of July. After eating I said my goodbyes, complete with hugs in the parking lot and headed back to Phoenix. I was once again taken with how tiny Sarah was, as I had to bend down significantly in order to give her a hug.

I drove back to Phoenix and spent the next few nights staying with a friend. I visited the Heard Museum and was delighted to see some of Watson's jewelry pieces in the collection along with some pieces created by his brother, Phillip. I also spent time reading and researching in the Billie Jane Baguley Library and Archives located on the second floor of the Museum. I found some articles about Hopi jewelry, but was disappointed that there wasn't very much on file. I expected a greater amount of information given that the Museum is dedicated to American Indian art. I also toured the gift shop, which is currently run by Bruce McGee, the man who encouraged Watson to create jewelry pieces utilizing gold overlay on silver. Although I did not get to meet Mr. McGee, I did get to see some additional pieces of Watson's jewelry for sale in the gift shop. After a few days of sightseeing in Phoenix, I returned home. I spent the next few months preparing my prospectus. Once I defended and passed my prospectus defense in early June 2012, I packed my car and headed to Arizona.

The Adventure Begins

The drive was long, a total of 1,740 miles from my house to Flagstaff, Arizona. This was the longest drive I had ever made. I was determined to arrive in Arizona in only two days. I

pushed myself to drive as long as I possibly could without stopping for the night. The fact that I was driving with my two dogs aided my ability to continue driving. Having to stop and walk the dogs refreshed me and enabled me to push through. My goal was to drive 1,000 miles the first day, and I achieved my goal even though I had to drive through some bad weather along the way. I stopped in Shamrock, Texas having traveled 1,040 miles. I arrived very late, or I should say very early in the morning, and my stay was cut short due to a faulty smoke alarm. After only being asleep a few hours, the smoke alarm in my room began chirping, indicating a low battery. The staff responded very quickly, however, I was unable to fall asleep again because I was so excited to get to Arizona. I packed up, grabbed a cup of coffee, and headed towards Arizona. Due to my unexpected early departure, I arrived in Flagstaff while it was still light. I made my way to the hotel and settled in for a well-deserved night's sleep.

Hotevilla

The second day of my arrival in Arizona I met up with Sarah, Watson, and a few other family members at Sam's Club as they were purchasing a few last minute items for the weekend. Once they had finished purchasing the items I followed them to Hotevilla. Hotevilla is located on the third mesa on the Hopi reservation. There are three mesas, and they are named in the order of how settlers found them as they traveled from the east to west. The drive from Flagstaff to Hotevilla is just over 100 miles through desolate areas on mainly two lane twisting roads. The Hopi reservation is a small area encircled by the Navajo reservation. The land is very flat with occasional mesas in the distance. We had barely crossed into the Navajo reservation when the wind picked up and with the wind came sand. In the distance to the right there was a curtain of dust hanging, obscuring the view in the distance. The sand storm didn't last long, and I had to rush to catch up with Watson. Being so familiar with the roads allowed him to comfortably

travel at higher speeds than someone who was making their first journey to Hotevilla. We turned onto a road that led us past the historic city of Oraibi as the road became steeper with more twists and turns as we climbed steadily up the third mesa. At times the road seemed to barely cling to the edge of the rapidly rising elevation of the mesa, the twists and turns adding to my trepidation and wonder of how these roads must have been constructed.



Figure 22. Snow, Milton. (1953). Keams Canyon Hill road construction. First past March 1953. Copyright The Hopi Tribe [Cline Library Special Collections and Archives]. Reprinted with permission.

Finally we turned onto a dirt road and the road narrowed until we passed in-between small houses, many of them made from stone. We wove our way through the village and finally arrived in front of a modern house set on the edge of the village. The house had beautifully designed wrought iron windows that included symbols that are important to the Hopi people, frogs, turtles, corn, and a flute player. I was told that Watson had created the designs and had the wrought iron windows custom made.



Figure 23. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Window design on house.

We entered the house, and there were so many beautiful works of Indian art that it overwhelmed me. The walls were covered with kachina dolls, baskets, paintings, and a taxidermied bear head. Watson is a member of the Bear clan, and there were many decorations that have a bear motif, including a small statue of a bear that is decorated with strands of turquoise beads. Sarah is a member of the Corn clan, and the decorations reflect this affiliation also. The Hopi tribe is matrilineal, so the children also belong to the Corn clan. A large number of the decorations feature water symbols, such as frogs and turtles. Water is extremely important to the Honanie family and all who live in Hotevilla because of the desert like conditions. There was so much artwork that I couldn't absorb all of it immediately.



Figure 24. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Bear sculpture with adornment.



Figure 25. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Wall with Kachina dolls and baskets.

The house is designed with a large, open living room and a very large kitchen complete with a long table to accommodate all family members and friends. Sarah informed me that they had to special order the roof joists due to the width of the house. There is also a large bathroom,

which is very unusual for a house in Hopi. Most homes do not have indoor bathrooms, they have outhouses because the tribe does not believe bathrooms should be indoors. Sarah told me how the members of the village protested when the workers were digging to run the water lines to the house.

We all gathered in the kitchen where the family had been preparing cookies and popcorn for the dance. The cookies were beautiful with colors swirled together and very different shapes than the typical cookie cutters. The cookies were made without the use of cookie cutters and many of them were three-dimensional. The popcorn was also unlike the typical popped corn, it had a sweet, colored topping mixed in. It reminded me of caramel corn, only sweeter. The corn had been wrapped in small packages so that they could be given out during the dances. I asked if I could help with the preparations but was informed that I could not help because I am not a member of the tribe. There were many boxes stacked in the kitchen containing fruit, bread, sweets, and a variety of other treats for the katsinam to hand out over the next two days.

When the preparations were complete, we ate around the long table and then prepared for sleep. I was told that I would sleep in the living room and Sarah prepared the pull out sofa for me. Everyone repaired to their sleeping area and I took time to write before I slept, my thoughts were whirring recalling all of the sights and sounds of the day.

Breakfast. In the morning we took our turns in the bathroom preparing for the day. Sarah prepared coffee utilizing a drip coffee maker that was heated on top of the gas stove. The coffee maker looks like a regular drip coffee maker, so it was an odd sight to see it sitting atop a ring of fire on the stove. The coffee maker she informed me was purchased at a camping supply store. They use gas for cooking and the refrigerator is run on propane. Sarah told me that the electricity for the house is supplied by solar panels and a generator and a regular coffee maker

puts undue stress on the electricity. Breakfast began with the traditional hominy stew (that is served throughout the village during the katsina dances. Hominy stew is made mainly of dried white corn that has been soaked in soda to soften it. The soda is caustic so it serves its purpose but the hominy then needs to be rinsed numerous times to cleanse the soda. The other main ingredient is mutton. It is a very bland dish in my opinion. I tried some of the stew but I was not a fan, Sarah offered me more of the hominy, but I declined. Cantaloupe melon was also served along with other choices such as oatmeal. Other family members dropped in and were immediately directed to sit and eat. Once breakfast concluded, we prepared to attend the dances, which included donning our shawls and walking toward the Plaza.

Katsinam

As we walked to the Plaza to see the katsinam dances, it was hot and dusty. After all, we were in a desert in which these people settled and have called home for generations. It was foreign to me because of being raised in a cold, wooded area of Northern Minnesota. Adding to the heat was the fact that no head covering is allowed at the ceremonies in Hotevilla, and women are to wear a shawl, taapalo, to cover their shoulders. Many of these are beautifully decorated with intricate flowers and long fringes, those are known as sùitapalos. I knew that women wore shawls to these ceremonies but I had no idea how beautiful their shawls would be and my plain black shawl seemed to stand out because it was so different in its lack of decoration.

As we neared the Plaza, we could hear the songs of the katsinam, a rhythmic blending of male voices, all of the Kyash (Parrot) katsinam are men. Blending with the voices were the sounds of rattles and bells caused by the movement of the katsinam, as they have these items tied to their legs. We found our way to our seats. My Hopi family had planned a place to sit; they had placed chairs earlier to ensure that they would have a place to sit near the dancers. They had

added a chair for me to sit with them so that I would be included. They had placed the chairs so that we were seated close to the dancers and the aisle.

The dancers formed a spiral in the Plaza. The Plaza is bordered by houses and the chanting reverberated off of the houses. People were sitting and standing on the rooftops of the houses. Seated in the center of the Plaza was a drummer. The drummer was a Koyemsi katsina, commonly called Mudhead. A Mudhead katsina is one who acts as an enforcer and sometimes a clown. The Mudhead katsina was dressed in a loin-cloth, and the head gear covers the wearer's head completely. The head covering is made from brown leather with spheres of gathered leather attached at the back of the head, on the top of the head, where the ears would be and cylindrical protuberances where the mouth and eyes would be. He beat the rhythm on a very large drum as the katsinam sang and danced in place. The leader of the katsinam is called the father, he was wearing jeans, a long sleeved pullover shirt, a string of turquoise beads and a pouch that holds cornmeal. His job is to care for and lead the katsinam throughout the day. He leads them to and from the plaza and when he calls out the katsinam change directions, they move their feet in unison. The movement of their feet results in a symphony of bells. The katsinam take very short breaks in-between the songs.

The first weekend the dance was performed by the Kyash (Parrot) katsinam. The katsinam wear a head covering that is made from leather that has been painted and small Douglas fir branches were attached around the bottom edge. Each of the katsina's head covering vary in colors and all are stylized, but the eye slits are very similar on all the katsinam. The colors, beak shapes, and ear adornments vary between each katsina. Some wore strings of beads, earrings, and feathers. All wore a strap with several round bells about two inches in diameter strapped to the upper calf, some having bells on both legs. In addition, some of the katsinam have a turtle

shell rattle attached to the back of the leg at the knee. They all carry a rattle in one hand and a white hook about twelve inches in length made from a branch in the other hand. Some of the rattles were decorated with painted designs and symbols. The rattles were made from gourds. The gourd is flat in nature, about three inches thick and six inches in diameter, and I wondered if they were a special type of gourd grown just for this purpose, as I had never seen any of this shape before. The katsinam also had a red sash, some were hand woven and some were a piece of plain cloth. They all had woven items attached at the waist that include designs. They all wore brown leather boots about six inches tall with white soles. The boots also had woven strips of cloth tied around the ankles and the designs vary amongst the katsinam. The beaks were all very unique. On top of the head was a carving of a bird. The carvings of the parrots were all in a variety of poses, some had their wings outstretched, and some were perched. All of the carvings had long, colorful tail feathers that reached well beyond the back of the heads of the katsinam. These long feathers often undulated in the wind.

All of the katsinam had prayer feathers hanging near the beak. They all wore leather kilts and hanging from the small of their backs there was a pelt of a fox sized animal. The tail of the pelt hung well below the kilt. Many of the katsinam wore silver arm guards on their left wrist. Some of them were decorated with turquoise stones and colorful yarn. I found it interesting that the katsinam had incorporated modern items into their attire.

As the dances continued, I observed the crowds. People of all ages ranging from very young babies protected from the blistering sun by their mother's shawl to very elderly women covering their heads with their own taapalo (shawl) in an attempt to escape the oppressive heat. I noted that I was one of the only Anglo persons, Pahanna (Hopi Dictionary, 1998), sitting in the Plaza. There were others sitting in a side area that seemed to have been set up strictly for

tourists. Although I was a tourist, I had a more intimate place because I was staying with an important family of the tribe. I realized how lucky I was to be included this intimately in this celebration.

The dances took place over a two-day period. Each day the katsinam appeared and danced seven times. The father, who is a male member of the village chosen to watch over the katsinam during the weekend, blessed the katsinam by sprinkling cornmeal on or near their shoulders. Other members of the community also did this. Those individuals that chose to bless the katsinam started in the center of the spiral and fed each katsina, working their way to the end of the spiral. After they blessed all of the katsinam, they sprinkled the rest of the cornmeal from their hand in a line stretching out from the end of the katsinam. This was a blessing to lead them when they were on their way home at the end of the second day of the dance.

The katsinam took breaks between the dances to bestow gifts on the people. They had a variety of gifts including corn on the cob, fruit, cookies, candy, popcorn, vegetables, bread, and piki. Piki is a very thin sweet treat made on a stone and rolled up. It is very fragile so the katsina carefully hand the rolls of piki to members of the audience. Piki is a special treat to receive. One katsina handed me some piki at Sarah's urging. At this time, I was taught how to say thank you in the Hopi dialect, it is askwalí if you are female and kwakwhá if you are male. Having just arrived at Hopi, I was unaware as to what a delicate treat this was and an honor to receive. Sarah taught me how frail it is and how to hold it so as not to break it. The katsinam walked about tossing the other items to the people in the audience. They threw items up to those seated on the rooftops and I was amazed at the throwing ability of these katsinam. The amount of gifts was astonishing and I wondered where all of the gifts came from and where the money came from to pay for these items. I was later told that these are donations from the residents.

Late on the first day, there was a commotion on one of the rooftops. There was a group of five men wearing white paint, with their hair in two ponytails and it was also colored white. They had black paint on their faces emphasizing their mouths and eyes. They were trying to get down from the roof and caused a commotion and disruption to the ceremony. This was all a planned event as these were the clowns. The clowns caused disruption throughout the two-day event, showing the bad side of mankind. These particular clowns ended up putting a flat board slanting down from the roof, placed a saddle astride the board and slid down on the saddle to reach the ground. This halfway worked; the saddle flipped the first clown upside down, and provided great entertainment to all present. They teased and taunted the katsinam but the katsinam didn't flinch, they continued with their dance unabated.



Figure 26. Illustration of clowns misbehaving on an apron given to me by Sarah

The katsinam took short breaks and the clowns entertained the crowds, sometimes in a very crude fashion. They served as an example of the human condition including the negative

aspects. I was told the clowns are given a drug to keep them going strong. At the lunch break, the clowns also took a break.

Lunch was served throughout the village while the katsinam were taking their lunch break. The main dish served at the ceremonies is hominy stew. It is served at all meals including breakfast during the two days of the dance. The meals are communal with a large table that can seat many, many people. Any and all passersby are invited to come in and eat. The host stands outside of the house and invites everyone to join the meal stating, “Come, eat.” There is always plenty to share with an endless pot of hominy stew available in every home during the dance weekend.



Figure 27. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Table laden with food during a dance.

We ate our meals in the house known as, “Old Soul’s house.” This is the home where Sarah grew up, and it serves as a spiritual center for the katsinam. The katsinam get their spring water from this house even though Old Soul has passed on. That role is now filled by Old Soul’s daughters. The house is located a very short distance from the Plaza and in front of the house are entrances to two kivas. Kivas are the spiritual centers of the communities; there are a total of four kivas in Hotevilla. Kivas are underground centers of worship, mainly used by the men of the village. During winter, women and children are allowed inside but only in the upper level.

After lunch the dancing continued with the clowns taunting, katsinam dancing, and giving away gifts to those observing. The katsinam danced four more times before breaking for the night. After the last dance, we once more partook of a communal meal in “Old Soul’s house.” We then walked back to Watson and Sarah’s house. Their house was not that far from the plaza but it felt like it was miles away due to the darkness. There were no street lights in the area and walking past the ancient stone houses conjured images of people and eras long since disappeared.

The dances continue. The next morning we awoke and once again partook of the stew which was a part of every meal during the weekend. I did not develop a taste for the stew, I ate a small serving out of respect for the tradition, however. We walked down to the Plaza to watch the continuation of the dances. The clowns were there at the beginning of the second day and continued to mock the katsinam. As the day progressed, more and more katsinam appeared along the periphery of the Plaza. Most of these are warriors, such as Helili (Warrior), Heoto (no translation), Kwikwilyaka (Mocking), Mongwu (Great Horned Owl), and Hú (Whipper), came and went throughout the day, they were watching and noting what the clowns were doing.



Figure 28. Honanveama, L. S. (2012). *Helili* [cotton wood root, feathers, fiber, and paint].



Figure 29. Adams, Sr., Ronald. (2013). *Broad face Whipper* [cotton wood root and paint].

The clowns had prepared a small area where they put food and drink. The clowns mocked the katsinam by eating and drinking in the Plaza. The katsinam do not drink or eat during the dances. The clowns waved the food and drink in the faces of the katsinam.

Throughout the day the clowns entertained the crowds, getting more and more outrageous in their behavior. They performed mock copulation with the katsina mana, who is a man dressed as a maiden. None of the participants in the dances are female. At one point, the clowns took out a magazine containing pornographic material and walked around showing them to very young children. As an outsider, I found this inappropriate. However, Barton Wright (1977) stated that, "Sex and all other natural functions are not taboo subjects that are recognized as a fact of life.... and Hopi clowns may perform many acts which would be considered by the non-Hopi as totally obscene" (p. 21). The clowns often involve members of the audience. Several times, the clowns singled out some of the Anglo visitors, the Pahanna, and brought them to the center of the Plaza. They called out some people to participate in their activities. I was walking away with two others and the clowns kept calling to the man I was walking with "hey white guy." They were trying to get him involved and when we kept walking they yelled "go home then." They teased and taunted and made fun of Christianity. These activities brought about much laughter among the spectators. Although some of their activities and comments seemed offensive to the visitors, they teased equally among any of the visitors, regardless of race or ethnicity.

As the afternoon progressed the clowns continued to tease and taunt the katsinam with no reaction from the dancers. All of the warrior katsinam continued to make random appearances. When the parrot katsinam exited the Plaza late in the afternoon the clowns were eating and drinking in the Plaza when they were attacked by all of the warrior katsinam. The warriors destroyed the clowns' supply of food and stripped the clowns to their underwear. The warriors then dumped buckets of water onto the clowns to purify them of their bad behavior. This serves as an example to the people to become pure of heart. I could not help but see a correlation between baptism in Christianity and the act of purifying the clowns with water. Once the clowns

were purified, they reformed and no longer taunted the katsinam. The warrior katsinam then bestowed gifts on the observers. They then went home, not to be seen until the next dance.

Visitors. During my first visit to Hotevilla, I experienced how this village attracts visitors from near and far. At the end of the first day of dances, we were partaking in a communal meal at “Old Soul’s house” where there was plenty of food for everyone who was invited to sit and share the meal. There were hamburgers, corn on the cob, salads, desserts, and of course hominy stew. A couple from Europe that Sarah had called in to eat during lunch joined us once again. After dinner we sat outside talking with Watson and Sarah. I had told them not to discuss the fact that men from the village are actually in the katsinam costumes. This is an important aspect of the katsinam societies. The identity of the members of the tribe that participate in the ceremonies is hidden, especially from the youths who have not yet been initiated. One of the very first things the man asked was about Watson having been one of the warriors. After more conversation Watson and Sarah invited them to park their camper in the yard by their house. They came in and talked for a few hours stating that they had traveled to Hopi because of a message the woman, Suzanne, had received from a spirit. The information they shared was quite accurate according to Sarah and Watson. Watson was chosen to be a chief or Kikmongwi for the village of Shungopavi when he was younger, but a jealous tribe member stole the chief’s bundle from Watson before he was able to assume the position. Watson is still looked at as a leader and one who knows a great deal about traditions and how to initiate the youths into the various societies and in fact he still conducts initiations with the new chief standing by his side. There seems to be some jealousy that caused the change and in fact jealousy runs quite rampant within the tribe.

The man, Renée, was a bit overbearing and somewhat disrespectful in some of his behaviors. Especially when it came to places that are special and spiritual to the Hopi. He wanted to take photos of everything. He also wanted to go to the place from which the Hopi had emerged, the sipapua. Watson told him that he believed it was closed off to visitors and Renée stated that did not matter and that he had climbed over a fence at one place that was closed. He also scoffed when Sarah told him about blowing bad spirits out of the door. He claimed to be a type of a spiritual healer. He had demonstrated on all of us in the room how to cleanse our spirits using a condor feather. Sarah told him then that he should blow the bad spirits outside and he sat down and blew from the sofa towards the door laughing and saying, "There, it is done." I did not like the way he dismissed many of the Hopi's beliefs. The couple stayed a few more days, monopolizing Sarah and Watson.

The couple loaded all of the family members into their motorhome the next day and went on a sightseeing tour of the reservation, a trip on which I would have liked to have been included as I was a new arrival and had not gotten to see anything other than Hotevilla. When the couple departed, Watson said they often get visitors like them. He further elaborated that in the 1960's and 1970's many of the hippies came looking for answers from the Hopis. He also stated that he believed the couple had done research about the tribe, which is contrary to what they claimed. I found Watson to be very tolerant of the visitors' actions and comments.

After having stayed in Hotevilla four nights, we packed up and traveled back to Flagstaff. Although there was plenty of room in other vehicles, Sarah had me take her two grandchildren and their dog, Nanha (corn smut), with me back to Flagstaff. I dropped them off at the house and went in search of a hotel room. I had planned on staying with them my entire trip but the house was so crowded that I would need a place to be able to write. There were days when there were

twelve people staying in a house with three bedrooms and one working shower. It felt good to unpack my car and have one place that I could call home after having already been on the road for six nights and living out of the trunk of my car. I had an early dinner and retired.

Gallup, New Mexico

The first morning in Flagstaff, I drove over to Watson and Sarah's house thinking that we were going to get started on creating jewelry, but Watson had something different in mind. When I arrived at the house he informed me that he needed some supplies and we were going to drive to Gallup, New Mexico. Watson purchases the majority of his supplies from Indian Jewelers Supply located in Gallup. He orders his gold from a supplier located in North Carolina. He says that they FedEx the gold to him COD. He says the North Carolina supplier has the most reasonable prices on gold.

We took my car and it was a long drive to Gallup, 188 miles one way. I was surprised by this as he hadn't mentioned this to me and I thought we were going to begin with my lessons. Besides, I had just driven through Gallup on my way to Flagstaff from Atlanta a few days ago and I was not looking forward to driving nearly three hours to get supplies. However, I was interested in where he got his supplies and looked forward to seeing the store. Sarah sat in the back and Watson sat up front with me. They both fell asleep on and off throughout the trip. As we approached roughly half of the distance to Gallup, Watson told me to exit and pull in to a Dairy Queen. Watson and I went inside and ordered a treat for ourselves and for Sarah, Watson paid for our treats. He then told me that they stop at the very same Dairy Queen every time they make the trip to Gallup.

Watson had me drive into Gallup using back roads so we could avoid the road construction and so I could see the center of the city. Watson directed me, and soon we pulled

into the parking lot and we all got out of the car. As soon as we exited the car, Sarah dropped her slushy on her foot. She told us to go in while she cleaned up the mess.

We entered and Watson led me to the back area of the shop. Here they had cases full of various supplies including premade findings, such as clasps and ear wires, and various cast pieces in rotating display counters that were arranged around a center cash register. Watson saw a cast gold corn pendant and asked to see it. The gentleman behind the counter took the piece out, weighed it, and told Watson the price. Watson stated that he did not want it, because it was too expensive.

I looked around at the various stones in the cases and strands of beads that were hanging on the wall. I was so surprised at such a large variety of stones. I found two stones with fossils embedded in them and I chose them for myself. I found several smaller oval cabochons that I purchased for my students. Cabochons are stones that have been shaped with a flat back and a convex top, they can be round oval, and triangular. I also purchased some crushed turquoise so I can try the inlay technique with my students. Watson was surprised that I was thinking of my students and at the fact that I spent my own money to purchase materials for them to use. While I finished selecting my stones, Watson went into the first room that we walked through when we entered the store. He was selecting some silver sheet and tools. He had selected some wheel brushes, saw blades, steel wool, and some silver. He then had me look at silver wire for me to use in creating my first piece with him. Watson had chosen my first project, a traditional Hopi chain. We chose a round sixteen-gauge wire. Watson said that four feet should be enough for the project. He had me add all of my items to his bill, so I didn't have to pay tax. As he paid, I walked over to Sarah and we looked for bags that they like to use to package the jewelry. There were no bags available like they normally used.

We placed the purchase in the trunk of my car and headed out. Watson directed me to a Mexican restaurant, and we parked and entered the restaurant. When we finished eating, I offered to pay but Watson declined stating that since we used my car it was their treat. It was some of the best Mexican food I had had in a long time.

After we ate we headed back to Flagstaff, and they both napped along the way. When we got back, I added up my portion of the bill and we realized that the salesman had failed to add in the crushed turquoise, Watson said it must be a gift. I agreed and said it must be a gift because I had gotten it for my students. I gave Watson most of the money, and I owed him \$10 because I needed to go to the bank. We called it a night and Watson told me to come at ten o'clock the next morning.

Traditional Hopi Chain

The next morning as I was getting ready I was very excited to start working with Watson. It didn't take me very long to arrive at their house. Watson's studio was connected to his house by a covered carport. The studio was a building about 10' x 10' and at first glance it appeared neat and organized. Upon entering, there was a drafting table to the left and just beyond that a very large safe. I made a mental note to sketch the layout when I got a chance. As I walked in, Watson was already hard at work stating that he had woken up early and decided to get to work. The radio was tuned to 88.1 KUYI radio station, which is the radio station for the Hopi news. Watson told me that kuyi means water in Hopi. The volume was blaring so loud to the point I often could not hear Watson and it gave me a headache. I quickly learned that Watson plays the radio loudly and continually while working. The station played an amazing variety of music; they have reggae hour, world music, country, and of course native music.

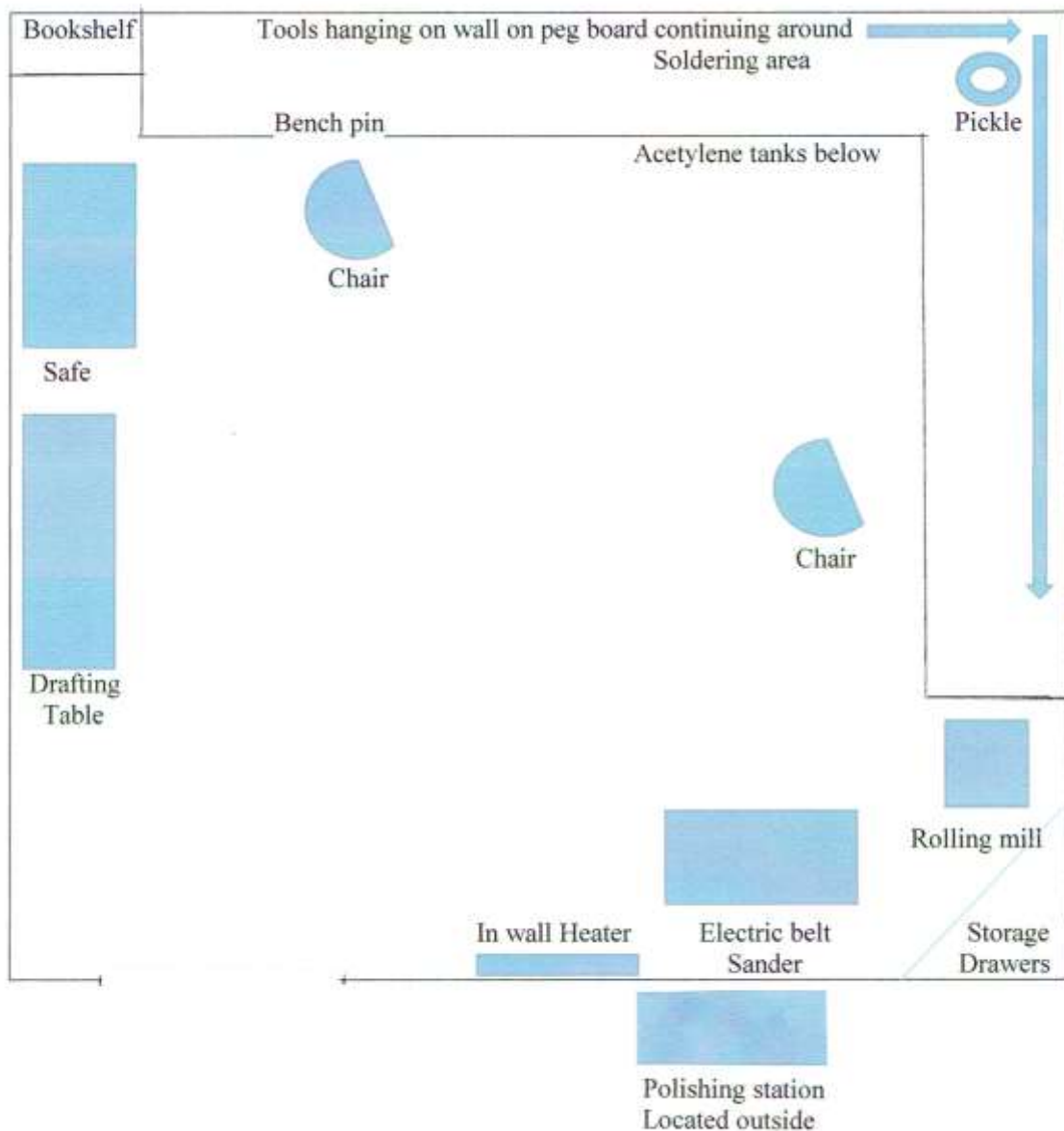


Figure 30. Hellyer, Christine. (2013). Watson's studio.

Since Watson had chosen what my first project was going to be, that being a traditional Hopi chain, I waited until he finished with what he was working on so he could give me directions. The first thing we needed to do was run the wire we purchased through the rolling mill to flatten it. A rolling mill is a tool that has two metal wheels that can be adjusted to allow metal to be thinned by rolling the metal through the wheels by means of a crank. We moved the

rolling mill into the center of the room and Watson began his lesson. He began, “we are going to make a Hopi handmade chain. We are going to use a good heavy gauge wire so to make a nice heavy chain.” Watson is a very patient teacher, very soft-spoken. Although I have used a rolling mill many times in the past I listened and watched as if I had never used one. We ran the 16-gauge wire through the rolling mill one time and Watson said that we should run it through again to get it a little thinner. When we removed it after the second time, Watson asked if I would like it wider. I explained I wasn’t sure because I had not yet seen a traditional Hopi chain. He assured me that the wire is now ready to begin forming the links of the chain. We put away the rolling mill and Watson retrieved a small tool we would be using to make the links. I had never seen a tool quite like the one he showed me. It was made from metal and shaped like an arc. I asked Watson if he had made this tool, he said that he had made it out of aluminum. The wrapping of the wire was the same basic method I have used to create jump rings. The main difference is the shape of the links, as they are rectangular. After wrapping the wire, we used a rawhide mallet to hammer them square on a metal block. Once the wire was hammered, he showed me how to saw the wire into separate links. The curved design of his jump ring tool allowed a smoother manner of sawing and removing the jump rings. I completed sawing the rest of the jump rings.



Figure 31. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Jump ring tool [Aluminum].

Once I finished sawing all of the link, we began assembling the chain. The wire was hard to bend having been work hardened from being run through the rolling mill twice, wrapped around the form and hammered. I asked Watson why we didn't anneal it, which is heating the metal to make it more workable, and he said, "There isn't any need." My fingers are not as strong as his and I had to ask for help to close some of the links. Watson was working on some of his own pieces while I was joining the links. He saws adeptly, cutting out some designs from a sheet of gold that will become the top layer for two rings.

My hands were sore from assembling my chain. The pliers left a red, irritated spot on the palm of my right hand. When I finished assembling the links, Watson inspected it, using pliers to fix some spots he felt needed improvement. Now we prepared to solder the chain. He decided to solder all of the chains that Shawna, his granddaughter, had assembled at the same time. He moved over to the soldering area and sat down. He took one of the chains Shawna had assembled. He dipped it in liquid flux, holding one end with the tweezers. Flux is a substance liquid or paste, applied to metal surfaces to be soldered to prevent the formation of oxides and to

promote the flow of solder. As he pulled the chain from the small bottle of flux, he used the torch to dry the flux. He then laid the chain on a firebrick so that the first link was hanging over the edge of the brick. He held the torch in his left hand and a pair of tweezers in his right. The tweezers contain a piece of easy solder wire. He carefully heated the link and adeptly applied the solder to the heated area and it flowed, forming a joint. He continued soldering each jump ring, moving the chain so that each link to be soldered hung over the edge of the firebrick.

Then, it was my turn. I dipped the chain into the bottle of flux, then I heated it with the torch as I slowly pulled it out of the bottle just as Watson had done. I laid the chain on the firebrick and I heated the first link, I was very awkward as I did this. I had never used wire solder and the flame on the torch was much larger than I typically use, especially when soldering something as small as a jump ring. I struggled with this two-handed method. I ended up soldering a few links together. Watson stepped in, had me move, and fixed my soldering error with ease. He continued to solder several of my links. I finally asked if I could try again. He relinquished the tools to me and I once again attempted to solder the chain links and once again I struggled. Watson stepped in once again and finished soldering the entire chain. He put it into the pickle along with the chains he had soldered. His stepping in and taking over reminded me of my father. Both men have that take-charge quality. When I faltered with Watson, he took over and fixed my mistakes. My father would do the same when I was helping him and was confronted with a challenge. It was a comforting and familiar feeling, although it was also frustrating.

We then stopped for dinner of grilled corn and hot dogs cooked on a charcoal grill. We all stood around the grill and lent a hand as the items were cooked. The corn was shucked before it was placed on the grill. I was not used to seeing corn grilled in this manner. I had seen friends

of mine grill corn but they always left the cob in the husk while it was on the grill. They carefully ensured that there are grill marks on all areas of each cob of corn. Once the hot dogs and corn were cooked we moved inside and enjoyed our meal at the table. The corn was tasty but the charred marks had a burnt texture which I did not enjoy. Then it was time for me to go back to the hotel room, write for a little while, and get some sleep.

The next morning I awoke not feeling very well. I drove over to the studio and worked on my chain. I began by using the belt sander to touch up any excess solder on the individual links. When I finished sanding, Watson demonstrated his polishing technique. Watson uses three different polishing compounds. The first polishing step he uses Tripoli compound on a bristle brush. The second compound he uses is white diamond, which he uses on a felt wheel. The third and final polishing is with red rouge on a soft felt wheel. I was surprised that he does not wash the pieces in between using the different polishing compounds. He then showed me his method for removing polishing compound from the jewelry pieces. For the first cleaning, he placed the piece in an enameled pan and poured a mixture of Parsons Ammonia and water. He mixed it in a ratio of one part ammonia to four parts of water. He also used this solution to wash the polishing compound off of his hands. He then put the pan on a burner on the stove and brought it to a boil. Once it began to boil, he carefully moved it over to the sink and added some cool water into the solution. At that point he used a toothbrush and bar soap to clean it, dipping the brush into the solution occasionally. He dried the pieces and then took them back out to the polisher and using the red rouge he polished them one more time. He then repeated the cleaning with a new solution of ammonia and water. To remove any residue of the polishing compound, he mixed Joy dishwashing detergent with water and rinsed it clean. While he was teaching me about his cleaning methods he shared with me that he uses Windex on a Viva paper towel to

remove fingerprints off of high polished jewelry at shows. He swears by the brands that he uses stating that no other brand works as well. When I finished cleaning the chains I left for the day, returning to my hotel room to get some rest. Watson and the family went to Hotevilla for the weekend, but I stayed behind due to my illness.



Figure 32. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Traditional Hopi chain and dragonfly pendant [sterling silver].

Museum of Northern Arizona

The next day I visited the Museum of Northern Arizona. I was surprised at how large the museum is as it does not look very roomy from the street. I was taken by the number of pieces

that were housed at the Museum. When I saw the Hopi jewelry display, I was surprised to read a name I was not familiar with as having played a rather large role in the creation of the Hopi overlay designs. Virgil Hubert was a designer for the Museum from 1930 – 1940. The signage on the display stated that Hubert developed a distinctive Hopi jewelry style that used designs from Hopi pottery, basketry, and other cultural art forms. This was truly a surprise given how much research I had done prior to my trip. In all of my reading, I had never come across his name. I visited the bookstore and found one book about Mary-Russell Colton that discussed Hubert's part in the design creation process.

While I was there I filled out an application to be a volunteer at the Hopi show in July. I was surprised when they informed me that they were going to do a background check. I had never encountered that when I have volunteered in the past. However when I realized that the show takes place both inside and outside of the Museum, a background check made sense. They needed to know that the volunteers were trustworthy and had a clean criminal background because they would be around many valuable works of art. It ended up that I did not act as a volunteer at the show because they did not notify me early enough to make the accommodations to be at the show. The remainder of the weekend I visited landmarks in the area to see some of the early Hopi dwellings and petroglyphs. Watson had told me he wanted me to work on a design for the next project, that being a bracelet. I wanted to see some of the petroglyphs for inspiration.

Bracelet

The next project Watson wanted me to do after I finished the traditional Hopi chain was an overlay silver bracelet. I came up with a few different designs and showed them to Watson. Although my designs were based on water designs, he really wanted me to start with a traditional

design rather than using my own design. He had some catalogs and magazines that had various jewelry designs in them and he had me take a look through those magazines. I finally found a design that had water symbols as the main design. I showed the design to Watson and he liked the idea and so we started working towards making the bracelet. Watson uses a scribe, a tool that has sharp points on each end that allows a marks to be made on metal, and templates, a previously cut-out pattern, to form the designs directly on the metal. He is very meticulous in his designs. He worked with me, often scribing portions of the design onto my metal surface, he had me use 16-gauge sterling silver for the top layer and 20-gauge for the bottom layer. Once we had the design complete he showed me how he pierces the metal. He takes the metal, places it on a piece of what appeared to be lead, and used a punch to form a hole through the silver sheet. He then handed me the silver and I started sawing the design. Sawing the design took a few days. Watson touched up a few of my areas, as they were crooked. I was used to filing after sawing my designs into the metal. Watson however does not file, his sawing is so precise that he does not need to file. Once we were done with the sawing, it was time to solder the overlay piece on to the backing.

Soldering. Watson uses wire solder for all of his projects. He began by spraying flux on both sides of the bottom layer of the bracelet. He then started heating it with the torch, while heating the bottom layer he continuously sprays more flux onto the surface. He said, “On bracelets I usually put flux on both sides, so it keeps the heat marks off.” Once he was satisfied that the surface was clean enough he placed the top layer onto the base. He carefully centered the top layer on the base of the bracelet. He then began heating the entire piece. He pressed the middle area of the bracelet with a tool that looks like an awl, a sharp, pointed tool with a rounded handle. He said, “You need to press in the middle first so it will stick. Then you can move

outwards from there.” He continued heating the piece and worked his way out from the middle to one end of the bracelet, pressing down so that the flux will help keep the two parts together. He then picked up a pair of cross locking tweezers, tweezers that open only when pressure is applied, and picked up a piece of wire solder with the tweezers. He touched the wire solder to one end of the bracelet to see if the piece was hot enough for the solder to melt. He continued touching the solder to the edge of the top layer and the heat caused the solder to melt and flow between the layers of the bracelet. He had to rearrange the piece of wire solder in the tweezers as the wire got shorter as more and more of the solder flowed onto the bracelet. The first piece of wire solder became too short for him to continue using it. He put the small piece of wire solder on the bench and picked up a new piece of wire solder. While he was exchanging the small piece of solder for a new, longer piece of solder, he was continually moving the flame of the torch over the surface of the bracelet. It was easy to see the years of experience as he moved with such grace and agility, using both hands with ease. Once he felt that he had applied enough solder, he set the tweezers down and picked up the awl-like tool. He then said, “When you get enough solder on there then you go back to push it down to make sure there aren’t any air pockets.”



Figure 33. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Watson soldering on a bracelet.

Shaping the Bracelet. When the bracelet had been soldered, it was time to shape it. Watson asked me if I have a block of wood for shaping bracelets. I told him that I do not. He pulled out a large section of what looked to be a section of a railroad tie. He asked what I used to form bracelets if I don't have a piece of wood. I explained that I have two bracelet mandrels that are made from a hardened wood. He began the lesson:

What we are doing is, we are hitting all the way around back and forth just to get this out evenly as once we start (pause). If we start going all over like this (motions with finger random spots on bracelet) then we will have some dents in it and when we are sanding

you will get these areas that are kind of thinner. We are trying to get it even. That's the purpose of this (he starts pounding and forming it). Go halfway and then you start from this side (he turns the bracelet blank around). You don't really need a lot of tools (he stops and shows me the bracelet) can you see? Can you feel it? Once we get it done like this then we can start forming it. We will do it the old way. (He gets up and brings over a big vice, he has me hold the top of the vice, he starts forming the bracelet on the vice with rawhide) Leave one inch opening once you get that then we can (pause). Then you start (pauses and hits it with the mallet). See this little groove here? I use that to form a little dome. (He stops, looks at it, twists it a little with his hands, then he hands it to me) You can try it on. (I slip it on my wrist). Too small? (I tell him it is perfect).

Oh, okay, I'll see if I have some oxidation and we will oxidize it.

With that he gets up and the lesson is over for the day. No summary, no review, just the lesson is done and time to move on.



Figure 34. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Watson forming a bracelet.



Figure 35. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Forming the dome on the edge of the bracelet.



Figure 36. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). *Hopi dreaming* [sterling silver]

Badger and Corn Katsinam

On Sunday the weekend before the Hopi show, two villages were having katsinam dances. Sarah told me that we were going to take my car to go to the dances. I was shocked when I saw how many were going to get into my car. My car has four seatbelts with bucket seats in the front. However, we managed to fit six people in my car. The first village I drove to was Sichomovi located on first mesa. It is the middle village located on top of a very narrow mesa. The roads cling precariously to the mesa and are very steep and winding. Having so many people in my car added to my nerves, as I worried about the treacherous turns I had to make. We found a place to park and headed towards the Plaza. We arrived when the katsinam were entering the Plaza and we had to move to the side so as not to impede their journey. We climbed

up a ladder and found places to sit on the roof. As we climbed the ladder we heard the growls of the katsinam. This dance featured badger (Honan) katsinam and in-between songs, the badgers' growl.

The badger katsinam were dressed very similar to the others I had seen previously, they wore the white kilt, sash, brown leather boots, and the fox pelt tucked into the kilt at the small of the back. The main difference was the head gear. The head gear had a muzzle with sharp teeth as a badger would, feathers stuck up from both sides of the head to indicate ears. The bodies of the dancers were painted black. The katsinam styles do change slightly, depending on which mesa is holding the dance. Also, according to Harold Colton (1974) badger katsinam have their bodies painted white. I also noted the incorporation of modern items, such as brightly colored yarn, leather boots with rubber soles, and jeans being worn by some of the katsinam warriors. Kwikwilyaqa is one of the katsinam warriors that appear periodically during the dances. He is usually dressed in jeans and he imitates people in the crowd. Often, his name is interpreted as copycat, however, it refers to the stripes on his extremely long, striped protuberances that indicate his eyes and nose. Kwikwil means striped. His role during the dances is that of an imitator, thus, leading outside observers to believe his name means copycat or mocking (H. S. Colton, [1949] 1974; B. Wright, 1977). We stayed for a few of the dances and then Sarah said it was time to go. We climbed down the ladder and met Watson by the car.

We all piled in the car and drove back down the twisting, narrow roads towards the bottom of the mesa. I was concentrating on driving because some of the roads down were so narrow that only one car could travel some of the sections. I had to pull over and wait for a car to pass a few different times. Once we arrived at the bottom of the mesa, I relaxed a little. Once we got near second mesa, Watson asked everyone if they were ready to eat. The consensus was

that we were ready to eat. There weren't many dining options available on the reservation so we stopped at the Hopi Cultural center. They called Kara who hadn't traveled to third mesa with us and she and other family members came to meet us. In looking at the menu, I saw that it featured many Hopi dishes such as hominy stew. They also had meals that are a combination of Hopi and American fare, such as a hamburger made with fry bread instead of a bun. At Sarah's urging, I tried the fry bread burger. It was good, except fry bread is deep fried so it added additional grease to an already greasy entrée.

When we had finished eating, Sarah and the younger girls all wanted to stop in Kykotsmovi, often referred to as K-town, to see another dance, this one featuring corn dancer katsinam. I was very interested in seeing these katsinam and so I drove us to Kykotsmovi. Watson decided to go back to Hotevilla with Kara. This drive was much easier than the drive to first mesa, as the land between the Hopi Cultural Center and Kykotsmovi is relatively flat. Once we arrived at Kykotsmovi, we parked the car and found our way to the plaza and climbed up a ladder to the roof-top to watch the dance. The katsinam were once again similar in dress to the others I had seen, white kilts with a sash and pelt hanging from the small of the back, Douglas fir surrounding the bottom of the head gear, brown boots, sashes, carrying rattles and some wearing turtle shell rattles at the back of a knee. The head gear was again the main variant, this time the katsinam had a cylindrical protuberance for the nose, large red ears, feathers adorning the top of the head gear, and corn cobs painted on the cheek area. We watched the last few dances and then headed back to Hotevilla. As we were leaving, a few raindrops fell. By the time we got to Hotevilla, the rain had stopped. I asked Watson if it had rained there and he said that it had not. I told him I was surprised because I had spotted a rainbow on the drive back. He said that Hopis believe that rainbows stop rain. Mullett (1979) shared a story about a young Hopi boy searching

for water to save his village because “Rainbow comes out and eats up the water when it tries to rain” (p. 24). The Hopi people have believed rainbows stop rain from falling for centuries.

Hand injury

I had finished my pieces and would not have enough time to complete another project so the last few days before the Hopi Festival I asked Watson if there was anything I could do to help him get ready for the show. He wasn't quite sure so I asked him about the four chains that Shawna had put together. I asked if he wanted them polished for the show this weekend. He said he had forgotten all about them, but yes he would like them for the show. So I started polishing them.

I was on the first rouge polish on one of the chains and I got distracted just for a second and the chain whipped around the electric polisher and lashed my hand. I was bleeding and Watson heard the noise. I was a bit embarrassed so I hid the fact that my hand was injured from him. He came out to see what was going on and I said, “You heard that hey?” He asked if the chain had broken. I assured him that it had not. He reminded me to be careful and polish on the slower speed. As soon as he went back into the shop I continued polishing the four chains. When I finished, I did the first cleaning and while the chains were soaking I washed my wounded hand. It looked better than I had feared, at least no broken bones!

After cleaning my hand and the four chains, I polished the chains for the final time and cleaned them for the last time and took them to Watson. I asked if he wanted me to make jump rings for them and he said yes, so I made four jump rings and left them on the bench pin. It was late and time to go so I left.

When I walked into the shop the next morning Watson had the chains laid out and I noticed he had soldered the jump rings onto the four chains. I asked if he had made the clasps

and Sarah responded, “Watson wants you to do it.” So I showed Watson a hook I had made the day before and asked if that was what he wanted. He said that would be good and so I made three more and put them all on the chains. I was honored that he felt my work was good enough to go on pieces he would sell.

Cooking for Them

When it was almost time for me to return to Atlanta, I decided it was time that I cooked for this wonderful family. They had shared numerous meals and feasts with me and I decided that I would prepare a meal for them. Given that most of the time there were numerous guests I planned a meal that would accommodate many extra guests. I went shopping and bought the ingredients for one of the dishes I make often enough that I know the ingredients by heart. I prepared chicken rolls and cucumber salad. The chicken rolls are made with chicken breasts, prosciutto, provolone cheese, and Italian breadcrumbs. The cucumber salad is a recipe my mother used to make and it is made with sliced cucumbers, slices of onion, vinegar, and oil. I also purchased some yeast rolls to complete the meal. I fixed the meal and as I had expected there were numerous guests that joined us for the meal. Everyone enjoyed the meal, and several of the guests even had seconds. I later gave the recipes to Sarah at her request, she enjoyed the meal so much she wanted to make it herself.

Bread Baking

Sarah was upset that after all the time she had spent baking bread for the Hopi show, she was told that she could not sell her bread because it was not educational. I pointed out that we could easily make it educational. So on the Thursday before the Hopi show we traveled back up to Hotevilla so that Sarah could bake bread in her outdoor bread oven and I could take pictures. The bread itself is a typical yeast bread. The manner in which it is baked is quite different,

however. The wood burning oven is located outside and it is made of brick that is coated with plaster, similar to stucco or adobe. Sarah told me that Watson had built it for her.

Sarah began by mixing the bread dough in a large pan and letting it rise. She then loaded the oven with cedar wood and set it on fire. She let the fire burn while she prepared the bread pans by coating them with grease. Once the pans were greased, she formed the dough into either loaves of bread or rolls. Once the dough had been formed, it was allowed to rise a second time. The fire in the oven burned for about one hour. She kept it burning until the inside of the oven turned white. At that point Sarah cleaned all of the ash from the oven. Once the oven was clean, the pans were loaded into the oven. Sarah then wrapped the wooden door with a wet cloth and closed the door so that the air stayed trapped inside. After ten minutes Sarah opened the door and removed the cloth. She replaced the door loosely and baked the bread for approximately thirty more minutes. Sarah then removed the door and checked to see if the bread was golden brown. When the bread was golden brown the loaves were removed. Sarah baked many loaves of bread that day.



Figure 37. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). Sarah loading pans of dough into the bread oven.

While Sarah was finishing baking the bread, she sent her daughter Tiah and me on errands. We traveled east to Shongopovi on second Mesa. Tiah had me wait in the car when she went into one of the houses searching for articles of clothing for Kara's dance troupe to wear during the Hopi show performances. We then drove farther east to Keams Canyon. There we went inside of McGee's Indian art gallery to pick up some of Watson's jewelry for the upcoming Hopi show. Watson sells many of his pieces at McGee's. It was a real treat for me to be inside of such a landmark. While we were there, Tiah picked up lunch for all of us at the restaurant.

We then headed back to Hotevilla. We had one more stop to make and that was to pick up corn flour from the mill. It was interesting to find out that there was a functioning grist mill in Hotevilla.

When we got back to the house, we ate lunch and then we loaded my car with loaves of bread. Sarah then gave me a prayer feather that Watson had made me for my car. She told me that Watson had made it for me in the kiva to protect me on my journey back to Georgia. I was honored to receive a prayer feather that Watson had made. She told Shawna to hang it on my rearview mirror. With the prayer feather in place, Shawna, Sabrina, and I traveled back to Flagstaff. I took the girls back to the Flagstaff house and we unloaded the bread.

The next morning, I purchased a trifold display board to make an educational display for Sarah's bread booth at the Hopi show. I then wrote up step-by-step directions as to how the oven is prepared, the bread is mixed, and how it is baked in the bread oven. I then printed the directions and pictures at Staples. I took all the materials to Sarah and Watson's and assembled the display board. Sarah was very happy and was able to set up a booth at the Hopi show to sell her bread.

Hopi Festival of Arts and Culture

The last weekend of my month-long stay was the weekend of the 79th annual Hopi Festival of Arts and Culture held at the Museum of Northern Arizona which was founded by the Coltons. On Friday night my friend Lora came up from Phoenix so that she could attend Friday night's opening preview. At that preview Lora saw the bracelet Watson had made based on my bracelet design and she purchased it from Watson.

Lora spent the night at my hotel and attended the festival on Saturday with me. Lora got to meet several of the family members during the course of the weekend. We also enjoyed

watching the dances, trying different foods, and watching the various demonstrations. Lora also purchased a pair of silver overlay earrings from one of the vendors.

The Hopi Festival was a wonderful conclusion to my month-long visit to northern Arizona. During the festival I witnessed many of the traditions, heard native music, watched artisans at work, and sampled different native dishes. It was in many ways a brief summary of many of the things I had experienced during the month. It reminded me of so many events from my time spent in northern Arizona. The festival was started by Mary-Russell Colton to ensure the Hopi people had a venue to sell their artwork and to propagate quality in said artwork. If she was able to witness the growth of the festival and quality of the artwork, I believe she would be very pleased. It was her intention to help the Hopi people and that legacy continues today.

Return to Hotevilla

As I was writing in June 2013, I felt a bit of a writer's block and so I contacted Kara and asked when the home dance would take place. She told me she would get back to me and after two days she emailed me with a date. I booked my ticket and made preparations to travel back to Hotevilla. I communicated with Sarah, and she was surprised to hear that I was coming out to visit. Kara had wanted it to be a surprise but we couldn't hide anything from Sarah. We planned my arrival date and Sarah informed me that there were lots of preparations to be made because Watson was hosting the dance in Shongopovi. So we planned that I would drive to Flagstaff right after my flight landed in Phoenix so that I could pick up needed supplies in Flagstaff on my way to Hotevilla. Sarah also told me to plan on making a dish to feed the people. Since refrigeration might have been an issue I planned to make a pasta salad. So in July 2013, I flew to Phoenix, arriving around three o'clock in the afternoon, local time. I picked up my rental car and drove the 150 miles to Flagstaff, which took me about two hours. I went to Sam's Club and

picked up five dozen eggs and other items that Sarah had requested. I also filled up the car's gas tank. I also went by Fry's grocery store and picked up some fresh produce and the ingredients I needed to make the pasta salad. After completing my errands I headed towards Hotevilla. Hotevilla is just over 100 miles from Flagstaff and it took me almost two hours because of the twisting roads and the fact that it was dark and I needed to be cautious given the fact that I had not driven this path in a little over a year. I entered Hotevilla and got turned around. It was raining and dark. I finally saw a man getting out of his truck and I asked him for the directions to Watson and Sarah's house. I was very close but given the darkness I had taken a wrong turn. I finally pulled up in front of their house at 11:00 at night. Everyone was still awake working on final preparations for the weekend. In Hopi, it is the women who do all of the cooking for the ceremonies. We unloaded my car and I helped with some of the last-minute details. We finally turned in at 1:00 in the morning. I was exhausted as due to the time change I had been awake for 21 hours.

The next morning we awoke early and continued preparing for the dance. We loaded up several of the vehicles with supplies for the dance. We drove over to Shongopovi and unloaded the vehicles. Shongopovi is located on second mesa and is the village where Watson was raised. Watson has been chosen by the village members to host the dance. Since he doesn't have a home in Shongopovi, we used the home of his niece, Kayla and her husband, Merle. This is where we set up the food and received offerings from the village members to be given to the katsinam. We spent the majority of the day working in the house preparing food and feeding all of the people who stopped by to visit. After lunch, we returned to Hotevilla and finished more tasks in final preparation for the dance. One of the tasks that Sarah asked me to do was to sew a decorative stitch with green and red yarn on two traditional Hopi garments that were to be worn

during the dance the next day. Since Watson was hosting the dance, the women of his family were expected to dress in traditional Hopi fashion.

The majority of the family decided to go back to Shongopovi for an evening meal. I stayed behind because my friend, Lora, who lives in Phoenix decided to come up to watch the home dance. Lora had met many of the family members in July 2012 when she traveled to Flagstaff during my stay there. Sarah and Watson had invited Lora to stay at the house while she was visiting. I did not have good cell phone reception in Shongopovi so I decided to stay in Hotevilla so I could communicate with Lora. Watson was sleeping as he needed to stay awake all night in the kiva in preparation for the dance. Since I stayed behind I could also drive Watson to the kiva when he awoke. When Watson was ready to be taken to the kiva we drove over to Shongopovi and he had me stop near the kiva. Not fully understanding the traditions I tried to get out of the car to help Watson gather his items from the trunk. He told me to stay in the car that I was not to be seen. He had barely stepped out of the car when a commotion occurred in the kiva. He hurriedly got back in the car and told me to drive. We went over to Kayla's house and as soon as we stepped out of the car a man came by and told us to get into the house as quickly as possible. We hurried into the house and I was still not sure what had transpired. After a half hour, Watson determined that it was safe for him to walk down to the kiva. I described what had happened near the kiva and Shawna explained that women are not allowed near the kiva when the katsinam are there. At this point I decided to head back to the house in Hotevilla and Shawna rode with me. When I finally had good cell phone reception I heard from my friend Lora, she was fairly close by. Shawna and I pulled over and waited for Lora to arrive so that she could follow us to the house as it is already dark. Within 10 minutes Lora arrived and she followed us into Hotevilla. After she arrived we unloaded her car as she had brought some

supplies for the dance also. After showing Lora around and introducing her to some of the family members and friends we headed to bed as we had to rise early the next morning.

The next morning we awoke to find most of the family members already awake. The women were dressed in black traditional dresses and Lora and I got dressed also. It was important that we wear skirts and a shawl. When all of us were ready we loaded supplies into the vehicles and headed to Shongopovi. The katsinam appear early in the morning during a home dance and we wanted to ensure we were there to see their arrival. We went into the Plaza and sat in chairs that the family members had set out the day before. We had a great view of the dancers.

Home Dance

The home dance is the final dance of the katsina season. It is much more solemn than the other katsina dances. The clowns do not appear during the home dance as they do in other dances. Since there are no clowns, there is no need for all the warrior katsinam to appear either. So during the home dance, only two types of katsinam appear, the Niman katsinam and the Hemis mana. When I was in Arizona in 2012, I did not get to see a home dance so I returned this year to see a home dance.

The katsinam entered the Plaza early in the morning carrying sheaves of corn. The corn stalks have already formed the tassels, indicating that the ears are ready for harvest. Seeing the katsinam enter carrying this corn was beautiful. Once they circled the Plaza, they set the stocks of corn in the center of the Plaza. The katsinam were dressed in white kilts and white sashes wrapped around their waists. There were branches of Douglas fir tucked in-between the sash and the kilt; these hung down similar to a grass skirt. All of the katsinam had a rattle in their right hand and a small branch of Douglas fir in their left hand. All of them had a turtle shell rattle

attached to the back of their right leg. The rattle was attached with a leather strap at the knee. A turtle shell rattle is comprised of the entire shell with strips of leather hanging down. These strips of leather have pieces of horse hooves attached. When the dancers move the hooves hit against the turtle shell making a clanking noise. In all, there are 20 home dancer katsinam and 12 Hemis mana, mana meaning maiden. The Hemis manas wore black dresses and a white shawl. The shawls had a large red horizontal stripe about four inches wide across the bottom with a narrow black stripe on the edge of the red section. They had their hair up in the traditional maiden style, which is parted down the middle and pulled into a band high on each side of the head above the ear. The hair is then wrapped in a figure eight and held in place by wrapping the ends of the hair perpendicular to the figure eight. They were wearing white leather boots that were approximately eight inches tall.

The Hemis manas carried a container made from a dried gourd. The gourds were painted, each one decorated with different symbols. They also carried a notched wooden stick and a piece of a shoulder blade bone. The notched stick was also painted. At various intervals during the dance, the Hemis manas kneeled down and placed their gourd upside down on the ground. At the command of the katsina father, they placed one end of the notched stick on top of the gourd and held the other end in one hand. In the other hand they held the flat edge of the bone parallel to the stick. They ran the edge of the bone across the notches creating a sound similar to a frog croaking. Every gourd echoes the sound and the bigger gourds created a much deeper sound than the smaller gourds. The Hemis manas stroked the notched stick with the bone in unison, under the direction of the father. The variety of gourd sizes created a symphony of frog calls. It is believed this will summon rain. At the same time that the Hemis manas were creating the sound of the frogs, the male katsinam shook their rattles and stamped their feet in

unison under the direction of the father. All of this movement created a very rhythmic sound accompanied by songs sung by the male katsinam. I wondered what the words were as the songs were sung in the Hopi dialect and I could not understand. The dancers entered the Plaza and danced seven separate times. Each time they entered they carried various items to present as gifts to some of the audience members.



Figure 38. Honanveama, L. S. (2013). *Niman kachina doll* [Cotton wood root, feathers, paint, and corn tassel].

After their fourth appearance and dance, the katsinam took a break and Sarah and other members of the family brought meals to the kiva for all of the dancers and the father. While they delivered food to the kiva, the rest of us prepared and served lunch. Lunch was served at the house of Kayla and Merle. Once again passersby were invited to join in the feast, which of course included hominy stew, a staple during all katsina dances. When everyone was finished with lunch, we cleared the table and got ready to attend the afternoon dances. Lora and I worked

hard trying to take some of the burden off of the women who had been making preparations for months already. We set and cleared the table, making room for people who dropped in. Once again this year, the dance attracted hippie types. There was a group of four people that appeared to be in their 20's and they were dressed as if they were living in the late 1960's or early 1970's, complete with maxi skirts, patchwork hats, vests, and bell bottom jeans.

After lunch the katsinam came for the fifth dance of the day carrying cattails taller than any reeds I had ever seen. I was shocked when one of the Hemis manas handed me a cattail upon which a kachina doll is tied. At first I did not realize she was handing it to me but Shawna called my name and told me to take the reed. I was surprised and felt unworthy to receive this gift. I had become accustomed to receiving small gifts from the katsinam but this seemed like such a large gift. I was honored and humbled that I was given a kachina doll and it was a corn dancer kachina. The same Hemis mana returned and handed a reed to my friend Lora. She was even more shocked than I was to have received such a wonderful gift.



Figure 39. Honanveama, L. S. (2013). *Corn Dancer kachina doll* [cotton wood root, paint, feathers, and yarn].

During the sixth dance I was once again honored by the katsinam by being presented with a ceramic bowl containing fruit and pistachios. As we continued watching the dances, clouds started rolling in and the skies opened up and we were pelted with large, cold raindrops. We all stayed seated and the katsinam paused their dancing, they had accomplished what they wanted. They brought rain to this parched village. If we had left because of the rain, that would have been an insult. The katsinam exited the Plaza and all of us returned to the house to put our gifts away and dry off.



Figure 40. Honanie, Honwainum. (2013). Ceramic.

After drying off we went back to the Plaza for the final dance. The katsinam danced and then headed towards the kiva. They stopped at the edge of the village outside of the kiva and danced again. A family appeared at the entrance of the kiva dressed in traditional garments with their faces painted white with cornmeal. Each member of the family walked around and fed the katsinam and then the family left. Several other members of the tribe stepped forward and fed the katsinam. Then the father and other male leaders gave each katsina cornmeal and a feather. They also removed a tether from the right wrist of the katsinam. This tether was removed to release them to go home as they had done their job. Female members of the tribe gave the Hemis manas cornmeal and feathers. They also collected the gourds, notched sticks, and the piece of bone. The katsinam were left standing alone for several minutes, until some of the villagers went out to remove pieces of the Douglas fir from the katsinam. During this, the

katsinam stood still and barely moved. I noticed a few individuals also took rattles from some of the katsinam. I was told that the pieces of Douglas fir will be placed in the fields to ensure a bountiful harvest. Once all of the villagers returned to the audience, the katsinam turned and walked silently out of the village. They were returning to their home in the San Francisco Peaks. This was a very moving sight, watching them walk away disappearing into the distance as the sunlight was fading.

My Naming Ceremony

When I told Sarah that I was going to return to Arizona in July 2013, Sarah told me that she was going to adopt me and wash my hair while I stayed with them. I was surprised that she felt that I deserved to be honored in such a way. The day before I left Hotevilla I awoke to find Sarah in the kitchen mixing some suds in a basin. At the time I did not give this much thought and went about my morning ablutions. She came into the living room and said, “Today I am going to wash your hair.” I followed her into the kitchen and she retrieved the basin and placed it on one of the long wooden benches that sat alongside of the dining table. She told me to bend over the basin. I bent over and she started wetting my hair with the sudsy water. As she was wetting my hair I remembered her telling me that they use Yucca plants to create this soapy water for ceremonies. Washing the hair, naming, and presenting a child to the sun born into the Hopi tribe is done on the 20th day after the birth (Qoyawayma, 1992; Wilson, Fall 1997/ Winter 1998). As I was not born a Hopi, I was named as an adopted tribe member. This adoption fits well into the adoption model Staiidis (2006) discussed that she used while studying within an indigenous population. I lived with them, shared meals with them, attended ceremonies with them, and helped prepare meals. This naming ceremony formalizes my inclusion into their family and culture.



Figure 41. Hellyer, Christine. (2013). Yucca root from my hair washing.

Sarah spent several minutes working the soapy liquid through my hair. During this time she did not speak. Then she squeezed the excess water from my hair and handed me a towel. She then directed me to go sit in the living room. I sat down for a few minutes and Sarah came to me and told me to remove my glasses. She then patted very finely ground white cornmeal (homa) on my face. She took her time and insured that my face is coated. Once she finished, she disappeared into another room without saying a word, leaving me sitting on the sofa my hair still wet and my face covered in white cornmeal.

She returned shortly with a dried cob of white corn and a handful of cornmeal. She touched my head as she spoke in Hopi. I believe that she would have spoken words similar to what Wall and Masayesva (2004) stated are spoken when a child is named in Hopi, “Your name shall be (name). You shall carry this name through the rest of your life, in sickness and in health. You shall carry this name through your adulthood until the day that you shall sleep in peace” (p. 451-452). When she stopped speaking, she said in English “now we go and say it to the sun.” We walked outside and faced the sun. She handed me the cob of corn and said, “This is your Corn Mother.”



Figure 42. Hellyer, Christine. (2013). My Corn mother.

She then gave me the cornmeal and told me to sprinkle it on the ground. Once again she spoke in Hopi. When she finished speaking in Hopi she told me in English to stay outside and pray. She left me alone and walked back inside the house. I began to pray and a large part of what I prayed was in keeping with Hopi tradition which is to pray for the well-being of people everywhere (W. Honanie, personal communication, June 9, 2012; Kabotie & Belknap, 1977), all animals, and the earth itself. It was such a moving moment that tears came to my eyes, I fought the tears, but even now as I write this tears come once again.



Figure 43. Hellyer, Christine. (2013). Praying in the sun during naming ceremony.

After I composed myself I went inside and Sarah was sitting at the table in the kitchen. I sat down at the table next to her and she showed me the shredded Yucca from which she had created the suds to cleanse my hair. She then told me I am to take it home and bury it in my yard. From that point forward I am to pray in that spot by sprinkling cornmeal on top of the area that I bury the Yucca, even though the Yucca will eventually disintegrate.

She told me that I was now a part of Hopi, a part of this family, and I will always belong to them. She told me that my new name, my Hopi name, is Sami mana. My name means corn maiden. I felt honored since corn is all important to the Hopi people and is an integral part of their life, existence, and ceremonies.

CHAPTER 6

REFLECTIONS OF A CORN MAIDEN

As I reflect on the amazing journey that I experienced over the past year and a half, beginning in April 2012, many images come to mind. I can see, feel, and hear so many portions of events that I witnessed. I can feel the oppressive heat bearing down upon us while we watched the katsinam dance and sing. I can hear katsina father calling out instructions to the dancers. I can see the home dancers entering the Plaza carrying sheaves of corn as the stalks undulated in the breeze. These are only a few among many, many experiences that I will cherish the rest of my life. I learned much more than I ever imagined. Although all of those experiences have made my life richer, the main focus was on the creation of jewelry. I had intended to learn how the methods were being transmitted from generation to generation and if the teaching methods utilized could be applied to a public school setting. So I will begin by discussing the teaching methods I witnessed during my journey.

Learning by Observing

Once I began my lessons with Watson and transcribed my interviews, a common theme emerged. In the interviews, the theme that emerged was that the jewelers learned by watching other jewelers. This seems to be a long held tradition. Adair (1944) recounts information from an interview with an old silversmith, Chee Dodge. Dodge related that his brother-in-law, another silversmith, when approached by individuals wishing to learn silver techniques, would say ‘you have two eyes, you can see; watch me and you will learn how for yourselves’ (p. 9). Watson began learning jewelry techniques in the late 1960’s. At that time, Watson was attending school

at a boarding school in Phoenix, Phoenix Indian High. When the students went home for summer break, there were no jobs for the youths. His uncle, Fred Kabotie, managed the Hopi Arts Guild and Fred told Watson, “you better start doing something, learn how to work” (W. Honanie, personal communication, April 7, 2012). So his uncle picked him up and took him to the Guild.

During that time, another one of Watson’s uncles, Porter Timiche, was a salesman at the guild. His oldest brothers and uncles all went to the guild and learned the art of Hopi overlay jewelry. Also at that time his brother, Phillip Honanie, was working for the guild and he started Watson finishing jewelry. Phillip told Watson, “no matter how the cutting is on the jewelry or how it’s made, what people look for is the finished product. So that’s what you have to work on, your finishing work” (W. Honanie, personal communication, April 7, 2012). So that summer, Watson learned to finish jewelry. He began by watching the other jewelers and then he finished some pieces created by the other jewelers. Although this was not a formal lesson, it falls in to the pedagogical skill that Eisner (2002) refers to as “modeling of skills” (p. 54). Watson did not witness a planned demonstration, but he watched skilled jewelers perform tasks and then he was able to repeat those tasks. In order to ensure Watson was able to finish jewelry properly, the only task Watson was allowed to do that summer was finishing work. Watson explains the process of finishing:

(Watson, personal Interview, 2012)

First you use the regular file, the real fine file, jeweler’s file. Then you would get the 220 coarse sandpaper and you file this way (he demonstrates left to right). Then you do the opposite way across. Then when you get done with all that getting all of filing off then you use a 400 to go over the 220 to get it real smooth and that's how we were finishing

our sanding. After that then you use a brush to get the sanding marks off which is more work because you don't just get the sanding marks but on the back of it you got to, you know, get the fire scales off. After that then you use a regular buffing, um [pause] what do you call [pause]. That felt which you use with a white diamond just, to really smooth it out. You know, everything is going crisscross. You know when you sand, then you use the brush the opposite way, then when you use the buffing wheel, use it the opposite way. That way you can see the scratch is getting taken off. You know after the felt buffing wheel then you can use the high polish just to get it real you know, finished.

When he wasn't doing finishing work, Watson watched the jewelers while they worked. The Guild was set up with several jewelers working at the benches, and Watson would watch over the shoulders of those jewelers. Observing the jewelers at work also allowed Watson to witness what materials and tools the jewelers used, how they used the tools, and how the work benches were set up, this fits into Eisner's (2002) pedagogy of appropriating and arranging materials. Once again, this was an informal modeling of the skills necessary to become a jeweler. He was able to witness all of the aspects of jewelry creation from sawing, to soldering, to forming, and of course, finishing. At the end of the summer, Watson returned to boarding school.

The following summer, Watson returned to the Hopi Craft Guild. His uncle, Fred Kabotie, recognized that Watson had done a good job the previous summer and so he began giving Watson scraps of silver left over from the other jewelers. He explained at that time the Guild issued sheets of silver to the jewelers and when they finished a piece they had to turn in all of the scraps along with the finished product. The gauge of the silver used for bracelets was 16-gauge for the top layer and 20-gauge for the bottom layer. Pendants were created from 18-gauge

silver sheet for the top layer and 20-gauge on the bottom. The silver was weighed by Fred Kabotie when it was issued to the jewelers and when the piece was finished, the scraps of silver and the jewelry object were weighed. The jewelers were being paid by the piece and if they lost silver scraps they would get money deducted from their pay. The scraps of silver were normally sold back to the refinery. Since Fred wanted Watson to learn how to make jewelry, he would give Watson some of the small scraps that had been turned in by the other jewelers and told him to make small post earrings. He did not instruct Watson on how to use the saw or make designs. Giving Watson this assignment easily ties in to three of Eisner's (2002) pedagogical skills, those being: engaging the imagination, setting up a problem, and technical requirements of material use. His uncle told him if he could cut the intricate designs on something as small as a post earring it would be easy when he started making bigger pieces. His uncle had set up a problem for Watson to solve, he had to create small post earrings based on all of his observations of the jewelers. Watson had to begin by creating a design that would fit the small pieces he was told to make, which required his imagination. He next had to quickly learn to use the jewelers saw so that he could saw through the silver sheets to create the design, requiring the acquisition of technical skills. I asked Watson if his uncle showed him how to saw using the jeweler's saw frame. Watson responded:

Well [pause] he didn't [pause] It was always, I was just observing, you know, because we were all in a big open place where there's silversmiths doing their thing. You just watched. Then I have a brother that I would watch and he would say okay this is how you punch a hole in there for your saw to go through.

Watson admits that when his daughter started learning how to create jewelry, he had her start with the finishing work, just like he did. She learned the finishing process by watching Watson. He has only taught a few individuals over the years. He taught his niece's boyfriend (now husband), his nephew (who was seriously injured in an accident so is no longer able to do the work), his daughter, and he was just beginning with his granddaughter. I am still surprised that he was willing to work with me, as I am the only Anglo and only female not related to him he has agreed to teach thus far. I asked his wife, Sarah, why he chose to work with me. She admitted that she was surprised that he had agreed. Sarah recounted that Watson said, 'I might as well, then we can have a new friend in another part of the country' (S. Watson, personal communication, June 14, 2012).

Kara started to officially learn jewelry techniques during her junior year in high school. However, she said that she started watching Watson in the workshop when she was in elementary school. Instead of silver scraps as his uncle had given him, Watson gave her pieces of copper and told her to start cutting designs. Kara shares her experience of learning to saw designs in metal.

(Kara, personal Interview, 2012)

When I started cutting, my cuttings were very rough. I would come home from school after sports practice then I would go into the shop and work with my dad and we started working more and more and he would teach me different things. When my cutting was kind of rough, he would say, 'you don't cut straight, you will have more work because you have to do more filing'. I didn't believe him so I was kind of doing a rush job and then it just made more work for myself because when I got done cutting I would be there filing to make the lines smooth and that's only on the outside because I couldn't get in

the inside. Other than that I started sanding them and filing them, you know I got tired so then he goes 'well you know practice makes perfect' that's all he ever told me.

After high school Kara went to the Institute of American Indian Arts and learned a variety of techniques, including charcoal casting, cuttlefish casting, sand casting, and lost wax casting. When she returned home, she showed Watson how to cast using charcoal and cuttlefish. Although he knows how to use those techniques, he typically does the overlay and occasionally sand casts parts of his designs, such as bolo tips. Kara currently is not creating jewelry, she is mainly painting at this time. Kara paints ceramic pieces with Hopi designs, which she sells and donates for ceremonies. The house holds a treasure trove of her beautifully painted ceramic pieces. She also paints the kachina dolls that her fiancé, Lester, carves. She does plan on resuming creating jewelry work at a later date.

Watson's teaching style

In general, Watson does not teach specific lessons. He allows the learner to observe and learn by watching. It seemed that he changed his style of teaching when it came to me. During my internship he taught me in a very formal way, making sure that I was recording the lessons. He took the time to instruct me using Eisner's (2002) pedagogical skill of modeling by demonstrating what he wanted me to do, which seemed to be a change from his normal manner of teaching. I am not exactly sure why he made the change, I believe it was to ensure I had recorded the lesson for posterity.

Watson is a very soft-spoken man, even in his teaching style. In many ways, he reminds me of my father. Both men often begin teaching by demonstrating. After demonstrating, he then hands over the task to the student. He keeps a watchful eye on the student and when the student falters, he takes over to correct what was being done incorrectly. He gets so involved

in making certain it is done correctly that he often ends up completing the task rather than allowing the student to complete the object. At the same time, most of his teaching is done in a very informal manner. His most important information happens in an instant often when the camera isn't running.

Danger of Losing the Hopi Overlay Tradition

The Hopi overlay designs have been transmitted mainly by observation on the part of the learner. This may or may not be working. There has been a significant decline in the number of Hopi jewelers. The two main artists responsible for the propagation of the overlay technique were Fred Kabotie and Paul Saufkie. They were instrumental in teaching many jewelers, including their sons, Michael Kabotie and Lawrence Saufkie. Lawrence in turn taught his son, Wilmer. Unfortunately all of these jewelers have passed away. Michael succumbed to a strain of H1N1, swine flu, in 2009 and both Lawrence and his son, Wilmer, were killed in a car accident in 2011, leaving a gaping hole in the Hopi community.

There are a few jewelers that are continuing the craft; however, many of the youths are not taking up the trade. Some of that is due to more abundance of other higher-paying jobs. Some of those jobs include working for the coal company and working at casinos. Although the Hopi people do not have ownership of any casino, the younger members of the tribe seek employment at the casinos. The casinos and coal mines are drawing them because of the promise of a regular paycheck. The coal mines however do have some side effects, namely lung issues. But as with most youths, they don't see the big picture, they do not worry about the future.

In July, 2013, I returned to a shop in Old Town Scottsdale where I had bought a pair of Hopi overlay earrings in April 2012. In 2012, the shop had a huge case full of Hopi jewelry.

This visit I found the case to have only about a third of the amount of Hopi overlay jewelry as opposed to the previous visit. I was surprised at the small number of Hopi jewelry designs and I asked the owner about it. He is an older gentleman with an amazing memory. He recalled my visit from last year almost to the exact date. I asked him about the scarcity of Hopi jewelry. He said that many of the youths are not continuing to make jewelry. He reiterated that many of the younger generation are choosing to do a different type of work, such as the casinos and the mines. He also talked about how the deaths of Lawrence and Wilmer Saufkie had left a huge hole in the community of Hopi jewelers.

It may only be the draw for easy money that prevents the younger members from continuing the tradition of creating Hopi overlay jewelry. But we may need to look at the transmission of knowledge and judge whether it is effective or not. In this society where technology and information is easily accessible, the old techniques may not be reaching the younger generations.

Family Encouragement

Another theme that emerged was that of family encouraging endeavors in art, unlike many Anglo families who discourage their children from entering an art related career because they do not see the monetary reward. Watson most likely would not have become a jeweler had it not been for his uncles encouraging and supporting him, going so far as picking him up and taking him to the Guild. Kara would not have been involved in the arts had it not been for her family encouraging her from a young age. When she was in elementary school, her parents encouraged her to draw and to enter art contests. As she got older her uncle, Delbridge Honanie, encouraged her to try carving. Delbridge is a well-known Hopi artist specializing in painting and wood carving. He would give her a small piece of cotton wood and she became adept at carving.

She would switch between carving and jewelry, gaining skill in each area. Further encouragement came when Watson took Kara to one of the sales and introduced her to some of his buyers. She sold all of the pieces she had created to his buyers. They wanted her first pieces because they told her they would be valuable one day. Having a supportive father and uncle helped her to become a successful artist just as the support of Watson's uncles helped him.

Experimentation and Return to Tradition

Watson had been working at the Guild for about two years, and he went to Phoenix to visit a friend, as he put it an 'Anglo'. This friend was doing sand casting and Watson learned how to do cast work. When he went back to the Guild, he made a cast belt buckle from his scraps. When he turned in the buckle to his taaha'at (uncle), Fred Kabotie, he tossed the buckle into the scrap and told Watson, 'We do strictly overlay work' (W. Honanie, personal communication, June 14, 2012). Watson told his uncle, "You can make more money by selling it as cast jewelry then taking it back to the refinery as scrap." This incident caused a big rift between Watson and his uncle Fred. Watson wanted to try different techniques, but his uncle would not allow it. Watson left the Guild shortly after that incident and branched out on his own. Right around that time he had met Richard the owner of Kópavi Gallery in Sedona, Arizona. Richard agreed to carry some of Watson's jewelry, and still does.

Kara also experimented with new techniques. Although she had learned the basic technique from her father, she learned new techniques while she was in college at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico. She learned a variety of additional techniques such as charcoal casting, sand casting, cuttlefish casting, and lost wax casting. She created jewelry pieces using techniques other than overlay with little success. Kara explained her experience of trying to sell jewelry that she had made with other techniques.

(Kara, personal Interview, 2012)

You see I tried to do a lot of my own style of work. Like I used to take the fine filings, you know the dust? I would use different things to make texture on my work. But then when I did go selling with my dad they are into the overlay, original overlay work. It was kind of hard to sell my different pieces, like the cuttlefish and the charcoal [castings]. Kind of like, people are known to buy Hopi overlay. They are known for overlay work and this other work I was trying to mix in with my Hopi, it wasn't that good of a sale. I did away with it and I went back to traditional overlay.

It is unfortunate that both Watson and Kara had negative reactions to breaking away from the traditional Hopi overlay jewelry style. Watson continues to create his jewelry in the Hopi style. He was able to make one significant change, that being using a top layer of gold rather than silver. Kara has for the most part discontinued creating jewelry and is focusing on her ceramic pieces and painting the kachina dolls her fiancé carves.

Tolerance, Understanding, and Respect

One of my research questions was: How can the teaching methods utilized by this Hopi family of jewelers inform jewelry curriculum in a public school setting? I believe that the knowledge gained in this study shows that the methods that have been used for generations within this Hopi family may not work in a public school setting. One main disadvantage in the public school setting is the number of students we have in our classroom at any given time. We cannot work on our own creations, and tell the students to watch and learn. Even if we had small classes, with very few students, we could not work on our own artwork and have them watch. We must be active teachers, monitoring the students, maintaining discipline, and trying to motivate the students. However, the other lessons I learned are very applicable to the classroom.

Over the past two years the main lesson I learned from my experiences within the Hopi culture is that of tolerance, understanding, and respect. When I look around my classroom I see a changing face of education. I see faces from a multitude of ethnicities. Gone are the days of the melting pot mentality. Unlike my immigrant grandparents, who gave up their native tongue, today's immigrants retain their individuality. We celebrate and embrace our differences, but this has not always been the case. The Hopi people, along with all American Indians, were subjected to an assimilation campaign that attempted to wipe out their culture by the colonizers, the Anglos. The boarding schools forbade the students from dressing in traditional garments, from speaking in their native tongue, or creating traditional artworks. My grandparents had the option of adapting the language and culture of their new home. The Hopi people, especially the children, did not have a choice. The Hopi didn't leave their homeland in search for a better life like most immigrants. The colonizers went into their villages, took their children away and told them that their way of life was unacceptable. They dismissed their culture and in particular the religious ceremonies. Even though the Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of religion, the United States government, under the direction of Secretary of the Interior Albert Bacon Fall, put measures into place to make the Hopi ceremonies illegal deeming them as pornographic (James, 1974). It is amazing to me that the Hopi ceremonies still exist given that practicing their religion resulted in some of the Hopi leaders being jailed.

The Hopi people held tight to their traditions despite the efforts of the colonizing forces. Many people are unaware that the Hopi people still exist. The Hopi occupy a small portion of land in Arizona of which most people are unaware. They were not removed from their land as many other American Indians were but only because their land was not seen as valuable. In his

Tribal Critical Race Theory (TribalCrit) Brayboy (2006) points out that Indigenous peoples occupy a liminal space. To Brayboy, liminal spaces are not just the physicality of the villages but also how the government has tried to eradicate their culture and to change them “to be more like those who hold the power” (Brayboy, 2006, p.430).

As educators we must be open to and aware of cultures represented in our classrooms and learn about those cultures so we can understand and appreciate them. As we choose artworks to discuss in our classes we need to include works not only from Europe but also from a variety of cultures including work from some of the students’ cultures and heretofore underrepresented cultures. As we discuss such artworks we need to tread lightly when we are judging the aesthetic value so as not to apply Eurocentric notions of beauty. Many cultures that have been considered primitive have a long history and tradition in the arts, often predating European artistic styles. We need to recognize the value of their works and take into account the lens through which they operate.

Conclusion

I began this study to learn about the Hopi teaching methods to record how the information has been passed from generation to generation. During the course of the study I discovered that it seems as if the craft is quickly disappearing. So have I tried to create a historical snapshot; a record of the overlay technique for future generations. Along the way I was affected as a teacher and as an artist.

I teach in a very culturally diverse school, which includes students comprised of 90 different nationalities, many of whom do not speak English. I recently welcomed a new student who speaks Urdu. In my 11 years at my school I have never encountered a student who only speaks Urdu so this has been an interesting challenge. I have become very familiar with free

online translation programs. Due to the variety of backgrounds and religions of my students I have to be aware of cultural morays as not to offend. I believe having taught at such a diverse school helped me honor and respect the Hopi culture during my visits to Arizona. Having said that, my experiences in Hopi caused me to reevaluate some of my lessons as well. For instance, I have a large number of students from Hispanic countries. In past years I would give generic subjects for my printmaking lesson. I typically had the students use animals as the subject matter for the printmaking lesson. This year I decided that I would teach the lesson and have the students create a print based on the Day of the Dead, which is very important to many of my students. They reacted positively to being able to create a work based on their heritage. In the process I taught a few non-Hispanic students about the holiday. A simple change that I had not considered before.

It was indeed interesting to be the student again, the artist in me was reborn after my trip to Arizona. I had gotten so caught up in the day to day struggles of life, I had stopped creating my own work. Although the skills I used with Watson were skills I already knew, working with such an accomplished jeweler motivated and intimidated me. I felt like such a novice, especially when I injured my hand. I didn't want Watson to see that I had injured myself because it was such a beginner's mistake. Since my internship with Watson, I have completed more pieces of jewelry than I had in the past five years in total. One thing that bothered Watson was that I didn't have a hallmark for my jewelry. When I was working on the bracelet he asked me how I signed my work, I had to admit to him that I didn't sign my jewelry. He asked a few times and I finally said that I sign my pottery with my initials and I guess that is how I would sign my jewelry. So, he got out the letter stamps and stamped C.F.H. in the back of my bracelet. I found this interesting because the Hopi artisans only began signing their work at the urging of an Anglo

woman and now he was encouraging me to sign my work, the roles had reversed. Upon my return home, I researched companies that made custom dies for stamping metal and found one that worked with me on creating my hallmark. I used my initials and drew up the design that I had carved into my pottery pieces. I now stamp my work with my hallmark.



Figure 44. Hellyer, Christine. (2012). My hallmark.

In closing, I leave the reader with this Hopi prayer. As is the Hopi way, it is a prayer for all to reach self-fulfillment on behalf of the whole.

Pay yeesiwni.

Sopkyawat sinom wuyomiqhaqami qatsit naavokyawintiwini. Paypu okiwa.

Emory Sekaquaptewa

(Quoted in Nicholas, 2005)

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

You have agreed to participate in a research project through the University of Georgia. The reason for the research is to investigate how the jewelry techniques and symbols have been transmitted within generations of a Hopi family.

The results from this participation will be confidential, and will not be released in any individually identifiable form without the prior consent from you. The interviews will be audiotaped and be transcribed, and your words may be quoted. If so, a pseudonym will be used to ensure that you cannot be identified in any way.

For this interview, you will participate in interviews on your own experience of learning jewelry techniques and symbols, which will last approximately half an hour.

You are free to stop the interview and withdraw your participation at any time should you become uncomfortable with it. I hope you will enjoy this opportunity to share your experiences and viewpoints with us.

Do you have any questions?

Do you agree to participate in this study?

May I begin recording?

Building Rapport:

I appreciate your help with this interview. During this interview, I may ask questions about techniques with which I am familiar. However, please be as detailed as possible as if I was unaware of the methods you are describing.

Primary Questions

1. How did you first learn to make jewelry?
2. Does life experience influence your work?
3. Does your work include techniques you were taught?
4. How is your teaching similar to the way in which you were taught?

Recommended Format for Probing questions

1. You mentioned _____. Tell me more about that.
2. You mentioned _____. What was that like for you?
3. You mentioned that you _____. Walk me through what that was like for you.

Appendix B: Interview Participant Consent Form

I agree to take part in a research study titled “Transmission of knowledge of jewelry techniques and symbols within a Hopi family”, which is being conducted by Christine Hellyer, Art Education, University of Georgia, 770-921-8374, under the direction of Tracie Costantino, PhD, University of Georgia, 706-542-1640. I understand that my participation is voluntary; I can refuse to participate or stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. If I decide to stop or withdraw from the study, the information/data collected from or about me up to the point of my withdrawal will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed, unless I make a written request to remove, return, or destroy the data that can be identified with me.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the methods in which the techniques and symbols used in Hopi jewelry design has been and is currently being transmitted within a family of jewelers.

I understand that I will not benefit directly from this research. I understand that the research may benefit teaching techniques. Understanding the techniques utilized by the Hopi jewelers to transmit the knowledge of their techniques and symbols may benefit art education teaching.

If I volunteer to take part in this study, I will be asked to do the following things over the period of one month:

- Answer questions related to how I learned jewelry techniques and symbols.
- Allow Christine Hellyer to observe while I am teaching and creating jewelry.
- Teach Christine Hellyer some of the techniques in an internship over the course of a month
- Allow my teaching to be videotaped for Christine Hellyer’s analysis

The discomforts or stresses that may be faced during this research are:

- Intrusion into personal life from having the researcher, Christine Hellyer, living in the household.

No risks are expected.

Confidentiality:

- The interviews will be audiotaped. The lessons will be videotaped and I will have the right to review the tapes. Only the researcher will have access to the tapes. The information on the tapes will be used to help the researcher write her dissertation and possibly other articles. The recordings will be kept for three years.
- The only people who will know that I am a research subject are members of the research team. No individually-identifiable information about me, or provided by me during the research, will be shared with others, except if necessary to protect my rights or welfare (for example, if I am injured and need emergency care); or if required by law.

- An exception to confidentiality involves information revealed concerning suicide, homicide, or child abuse which must be reported as required by law or if the researchers are required to provide information by a judge.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: 404-664-3192.

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, University of Georgia, 629 Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address IRB@uga.edu

SIGNATURE:

Christine Hellyer

Name of researcher

Telephone: 770-921-8374

Email: chris58@uga.edu

Signature

Date

Name of participant

Signature

Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher.

Appendix C: Timeline

April 2012	Meet the jeweler and his family
May 2012	File IRB
June-July 2012	Interview jewelers (father, daughter and granddaughter) Internship with jeweler Observe jeweler while he teaches Transcribe interviews and observations Member checking
Aug. 2012 – October 2013	Finish data analysis and complete dissertation
February 2013	Return to Arizona

Appendix D: Northern Arizona University Permission to Publish



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Special.Collections@nau.edu

Application for Permission to Publish and/or Reproduce Materials from Special Collections and Archives

Contact Information:

Name of Applicant: Christine Hellyer

Organization or Agency (if applicable): _____

Address: 612 Sweet Stream Way

City, State, Zip Code: Lawrenceville GA 30044

Telephone, Fax: 770-921-8374 (Both Fax & Phone)

E-Mail: Chris58@uga.edu

Material to be Used:

Collection name & number	Video/Film	Photograph	Manuscript	Other
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.22	87301	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.37	87312	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.7	86972	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.12	86978	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.17	87248	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HCS.16	86983	✓	✓	
HCPD.PH.2003.1.HG.6.84	88578	✓		

Intended Use of the Material:

Title or description of use: Transmission of Knowledge [dissertation]

Author/Producer: Chris Hellyer

Publisher: n/a

Projected date of completion: December 2013

Format:

Book ___
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CD-ROM/DVD ___
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The applicant covenants, represents, and warrants of the Product will not contain any feature which would permit users to distort or mutilate the image, nor will the Product be intentionally designed or prepared so as to be compatible with any computer program which is designed to manipulate graphic images.

6. The permission granted hereunder does not include the right to use the material in any printed or electronic materials accompanying the Product, or in any advertisement for the Product other than as expressly permitted below:

Solely in connection with the marketing and distribution of the Product, applicant may use the image on the packaging of the Product and in any advertisement, product catalogs, or publicity or promotional materials (a "Promotional Use"), provided that if the image is so used, the NAU Cline Library shall be given a credit in the same page as the image appears. Applicant agrees that any Promotional Use will be made solely in a manner which indicates that the image is part of the content of the Product, and the Library's name will not be used as aesthetic or design elements in such Promotional Use. Without limiting the generality of the foregoing, applicant shall not use the image or Library's name in any manner which creates any association between the image and/or the Library and applicant to such an extent that any goodwill towards the Product or applicant arises in the image and/or Library's name, and applicant agrees that it will not have right, under any circumstances whatsoever, to claim, and will not claim, that such goodwill has arisen or the applicant is entitled to the benefits, if any, thereof.

Note: Electronic applications include but are not limited to: WWW pages, CD-ROM, scanning, etc. These applications require separate permission from the repository.

7. Prepayment of all fees, including use fees, is required before permission is granted. Default in payment shall immediately revoke permission. If the size of edition or number of editions exceeds the terms specified in this application, the applicant shall immediately pay the difference in use fees. If payment is not received within thirty (30) days, the applicant agrees to pay a use fee equal to twice the originally quoted use fee.
8. The applicant agrees to send the repository one copy, best edition, of the work containing the reproduction at no charge. All expenses for shipping and handling

are to be borne by the applicant.

9. Electronic files of still images or text, sound recordings, or moving images remain the *property* of NAU Cline Library. They may not be copied, modified, or distributed (except within the confines of the product described above). NOTE: Modification includes but is not limited to cropping, filtering, color enhancement, rotation, skew, removal of content, or addition to content.
10. Electronic files must be destroyed upon publication of the product described above project.
11. *Cancellation for Conflict of Interest*: The parties agree that this contract may be canceled for conflict of interest in accordance with A.R.S. 38-511.
12. *Contract Claims and Controversies*: All contract claims and controversies arising under this contract shall be resolved pursuant to Arizona Board of Regents procurement procedures, section 3-809, in particular section 3-809(c).
13. Reproduction is permitted only from prints or transparencies supplied by SCA.
14. The permission hereby granted terminates immediately upon publication.
15. If so requested, a proof must be approved by the Curator of Photography before any reproduction of an image in color.
16. Additional conditions or exceptions to the above requirements:

ENDORSEMENTS:

By signing this application, I accept personally and on behalf of any organization I represent the conditions set forth above:

Signed, dated: Christopher Hellyer 8/10/13

When signed by an authorized agent of the repository, this form constitutes permission for reproduction as outlined in this application.

Signed, dated: [Signature] 9/3/2013
(SCA staff signature)

Revised 8/8/11

Appendix E: Letter Assuring No Research will be Conducted on the Reservation

May 31, 2012

Dear Ms. Fowler,

This letter is to assure that I will not conduct research on the Hopi reservation without permission of the Hopi Cultural Preservation Office

I will conduct my research in Flagstaff.

I will be cognizant of protecting the arts, crafts, and traditions of the Hopi people while I am studying the transmission of knowledge. It is my intent to study the teaching methods, the way in which teaching occurs.

If I receive permission from the Hopi authorities to conduct any research on the reservation, I will immediately contact you with the information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Christine Hellyer".

Christine Hellyer

Appendix F: IRB Approval



Institutional Review Board
Human Subjects Office
612 Boyd GSRC
Athens, Georgia 30602-7411
(706) 542-3199
Fax: (706) 542-3360
www.ovpr.uga.edu/irbo

APPROVAL FORM

Date Proposal Received: 2012-05-03

Project Number: 2012-10882-0

Name	Title	Dept/Phone	Address	Email
Dr. Tracie Costantino	PI	Art Lamar Dodd School of Art 270 River Road N323 Lamar Dodd 706-542-1640		tcost@uga.edu
Ms. Christine Hellyer	CO	Art Education 770-921-8374	612 Sweet Stream Way Lawrenceville, GA 30044	chris58@uga.edu

Title of Study: Transmission of jewelry techniques and symbols within a Hopi family of jewelers

45 CFR 46 Category: Administrative 2

Parameters:
None;

Change(s) Required for Approval:

Receipt of Recruitment Materials;
Revised Application;
Revised Consent Document(s);

Approved : 2012-06-05 Begin date : 2012-06-05 Expiration date : 2017-06-04

NOTE: Any research conducted before the approval date or after the end date collection date shown above is not covered by IRB approval, and cannot be retroactively approved.

Number Assigned by Sponsored Programs:

Funding Agency:

Your human subjects study has been approved.

Please be aware that it is your responsibility to inform the IRB:

... of any adverse events or unanticipated risks to the subjects or others within 24 to 72 hours;
... of any significant changes or additions to your study and obtain approval of them before they are put into effect;
... that you need to extend the approval period beyond the expiration date shown above;
... that you have completed your data collection as approved, within the approval period shown above, so that your file may be closed.

For additional information regarding your responsibilities as an investigator refer to the IRB Guidelines.

Use the attached Researcher Request Form for requesting renewals, changes, or closures.

Keep this original approval form for your records.

Chairperson or Designate,
Institutional Review Board