Creating to Compete

Juried Exhibitions of Native American Painting, 1946-1960

by

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ABSTRACT

In the middle of the 20th century, juried annuals of Native American painting in art museums were unique opportunities because of their select focus on two-dimensional art as opposed to "craft" objects and their inclusion of artists from across the United States. Their first fifteen years were critical for patronage and widespread acceptance of modern easel painting. Held at the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa (1946-1979), the Denver Art Museum (1951-1954), and the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery in Santa Fe (1956-1965), they were significant not only for the accolades and prestige they garnered for award winners, but also for setting standards of quality and style at the time. During the early years of the annuals, the art was changing, some moving away from conventional forms derived from the early art training of the 1920s and 30s in the Southwest and Oklahoma, and incorporating modern themes and styles acquired through expanded opportunities for travel and education. The competitions reinforced and reflected a variety of attitudes about contemporary art which ranged from preserving the authenticity of the traditional style to encouraging experimentation. Ultimately becoming sites of conflict, the museums that hosted annuals contested the directions in which artists were working.

Exhibition catalogs, archived documents, and newspaper and magazine articles about the annuals provide details on the exhibits and the changes that occurred over time. The museums' guidelines and motivations, and the statistics on the award winners reveal attitudes toward the art. The institutions' reactions in the face of controversy and their adjustments to the annuals' guidelines impart the compromises each made as they adapted to new trends that occurred in Native American painting over a fifteen year period.

This thesis compares the approaches of three museums to their juried annuals and establishes the existence of a variety of attitudes on contemporary Native American painting from 1946-1960. Through this collection of institutional views, the competitions maintained a patronage base for traditional style painting while providing opportunities for experimentation, paving the way for the great variety and artistic progress of Native American painting today.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Juried exhibitions of easel painting were major venues for Native American artists in the second half of the 20th century. Shows exclusively organized for painting began in art museums during the late 1940s and through these competitions, artists gained renown, won cash awards, had their work added to museums' permanent collections, and gained audience and exposure for their work. Institutions in the western United States that were associated with Native American culture held these competitions in order to acquire more paintings and to encourage the artists and this burgeoning art form to expand beyond "craft" exhibitions.¹

Three of the first art museums to hold juried exhibitions of Native painting were the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa (1946-1979), the Denver Art Museum (1951-1954), and the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery in Santa Fe (1956-1965). Their competitions are especially significant because they focused solely on American Indian painting on a national scale, inviting artists from across the country to submit work. The shows are also meaningful because analysis of their guidelines, motivations, and structures lends much insight into attitudes surrounding Native art at the time.

The following chapters will examine the history, guidelines, goals, and underlying motivations of three museums, explore the art on exhibit, and analyze the adaptations and changes made to the juried annuals. Each institution has an individual history that influenced its relationship with Native art in its juried annual. Differing approaches demonstrated the variety in attitudes that existed at the time. Such diverse outlooks resulted in different controversies, reactions, and outcomes from the museum administrators, jurors, and exhibiting artists. Because some art began incorporating new trends, the museums needed to adapt their structures and guidelines and adjust their

perspectives. In some cases, the original goals for the annuals did not align with the art that was being produced at the time.

In order to explain how changes came about during the juried annuals, a brief historical background will introduce each of the three museums followed by information that details the structure, guidelines, and goals of their exhibitions. The framework leads into a discussion of the differences between the two categories of Native painting that caused controversy in the juried annuals. The traditional and experimental styles were the two major modes in which Native painters at the time worked and each museum had its own set of ideas on the manners that either utilized the traditional style conventions or incorporated experimentation with styles and techniques.

The controversy that occurred over traditional and experimental painting at the juried annuals is significant because it was one of the first instances of a public dialog taking place around this issue. The reactions of the museums in the face of controversy and their statements and decisions were documented in the extant records of the catalogs. These instances were momentous during such a transitional period where Native easel painting was growing more popular and artists at the time were adapting new practices, shedding light on the controversies between museums and contemporary art during this time of change.

Two opposite points of view existed toward Native painting at the time and conflicts occurred as a result of the museums' expectations failing to align with the realities of artists and their approaches. It prevented them from meeting their goals and contradicted their motivations for hosting annuals. They eventually needed to change and adapt their guidelines in order to bridge the disconnect that occurred between their motivations and the actual work of submitting artists.

The changes that resulted from conflict during the annuals were further evidence of views that either supported the traditional style or encouraged experimentation in Native painting in the middle of the century. Not only is the language and dialog defending the museums' perspective recorded in the annual catalogs, but the structures the exhibitions took after adjusting to the state of the art at the time, revealed flaws in the institutions' positions and required changes in order to continue to represent contemporary art.

Chapter 2, "Juried Exhibitions of Native Painting, 1946-1960," briefly introduces the institutional founding of the Philbrook Art Center, the Denver Art Museum, and the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery and the structures and details of the annual juried exhibition of each. The museums' histories clarify their motivation for hosting annuals through their focus on Native art in their beginning. The correlation sheds light on the goals and priorities each museum had during its mission to hold juried exhibitions of American Indian painting.

The Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa was established in 1938 as a cultural center, showcasing local talent and regional history. Its founders strove to create a balance between fine art and regional culture. Native arts were a large part of both aspects of its focus because they were considered to be a national treasure in addition to representing Oklahoma's large American Indian population. One of the museum's first major acquisitions was a collection of basketry in 1942. To expand its collection, the Philbrook organized its first juried annual of Native painting in 1946.

Not only the first of its kind, but the longest running Native painting annual, the Philbrook set numerous standards through its strategies for display and award. It organized the wide range of submitted work by subject matter and artist's culture of origin into three regional categories: the Plains, Woodlands, and Southwest which

awarded prizes equally by an invited panel of jurors. This was a conservative approach which used generalized areas of the United States to represent a broad array of Native cultures and aligned with the museum's mission to promote and support traditional qualities in Native painting. By giving the same attention to what it considered to be the three main regional divisions of Native cultures in the United States, artists from different areas had similar opportunity to exhibit their work in this major forum.

The Denver Art Museum started without a permanent location in 1918 by local artists and aficionados who wanted to establish an art community for the area, and finally opened at its current downtown location in 1949. The institution's connection with Native art began with a large donation of Southwest art in the 1920s. As a way of broadening its painting collection, it organized juried annuals in 1951 with hopes of purchasing more diverse contemporary works.

The Denver Art Museum did not segregate the submissions to its annual by style, culture, or geographic background like the Philbrook; instead it focused on quality, innovation, and creativity. The administrators were motivated to bring the collection up to date and reflect the contemporary state of Native painting. Its guidelines encouraged experimentation in style and media without restriction or limit.

The Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, the third art museum covered in this thesis, started an annual exhibition of Native painting in 1956. This museum had been intimately tied with Native American art and culture since its founding in 1909. In fact, the museum opened for the purpose of educating and promoting awareness and appreciation for regional Native culture. Indian art was incredibly significant to Santa Fe because of its proximity to numerous reservations and Euro-American's desire to help support Native economy.²

The annuals were a way for the museum to recognize local artists as well as bolster a local market for the art. Santa Fe had become a major center of Native painting in part because of the Santa Fe Indian School and displays at the state's museum that cemented the city as a hub of American Indian art. Consequently, the Museum of New Mexico's annual exhibitions represented mostly Southwestern artists, although the guidelines were open to submissions from across the United States. It also had no restrictions on style, and Native painters working in any manner were welcome to send their art.

The annuals at these three museums had similar missions - to promote Native painting and encourage artists by providing accolades and awards. However, as individual institutions, each had different motivations to represent either traditional or experimental qualities in the art. In Chapter 3, their ideological differences are discussed.

Chapter 3, "Traditional and Experimental Native Painting in Mid-20th Century Juried Annuals," explores the formal and stylistic differences between the two major manners of painting of the time. The traditional style had a more specific provenance because it can be traced back to the early art education of American Indians at the University of Oklahoma and at the Santa Fe Indian School during the 1920s and 30s. The instructors at these institutions encouraged their students to directly reference their cultural heritage and use forms and techniques derived from the ancient practices and art traditions of their ancestors. Also known as the flat style, it became a convention for artists. Experimental painting utilized new developments and adaptations of the traditional mode that incorporated modern styles and Western Euro-American art techniques like shading and perspective.

All three museums took a different stance on the traditional and experimental styles driven by their motivations to exhibit and purchase certain types of work. The

perspectives held by the institutions indicated a variety of attitudes toward the art that ranged on a scale of preservationism to encouraging experimentation. In the midst of changes happening in Indian art and its adoption of new forms and trends, institutional relationships with Native painting developed dynamically during the annuals.

For the Philbrook Art Center, displaying the traditional style was deemed most important in order for the continuation of ancient practices. The Denver Art Museum most valued experimentation and the incorporation of new styles that broadened the repertoire of Native art, reflecting the times in which the work was created and adding variety to the forms and approaches of Indian painting. The Museum of New Mexico was different in that it held no bias toward one manner over another. Statements its exhibition catalogs reveal its position that determined authentic qualities in Native painting are not derived from subject matter or style, but rather from evidence of cultural experience and heritage.

Each museum, however different in its motivations to represent certain aspects of Native painting, had definitions of the traditional and experimental styles outlined in its catalogs that, along with examples of purchase award paintings, help illustrate the differences between the two modes. The paintings used in Chapter 3 to exemplify the characteristics of each style highlight how the museums met the goals they set for the art they wanted to represent.³ In some cases, the state of the work at the time hindered the museums from meeting their aspirations.

At the Philbrook annuals, the ultimate authority for the award decisions was in the hands of the jurors and despite the museum's guidelines that emphasized traditional qualities, some judges selected experimental works based on their taste and attitude toward contemporary styles. For the Denver Art Museum, the overwhelming number of traditional style submissions, coupled with the limited number of artists working in new

manners, hindered its desire for a diverse collection of paintings that incorporated experimentation. Since the Museum of New Mexico did not favor one style over another, its openness, due in part to a large population of Euro-American and Native artists in the area, allowed it to award and collect work deemed best by its annuals' jurors without restriction or conflict over its guidelines.

Chapter 4, "Controversy at the Juried Annuals," covers the conflict that occurred during the course of the exhibitions, particularly at the Denver Art Museum and the Philbrook Art Center. Each had guidelines that favored experimental and traditional painting respectively; because of such prerogatives, disagreements occurred between the museums and submitting artists. These instances of controversy resulted in changed guidelines and structures that demonstrate, while artists adapted the traditional manner to suit their style and the time in which they lived, the annuals also had to adapt in order to accommodate the real situation of work being created at the time.

The Denver Art Museum's focus on experimental art and the small number of artists working in this manner precipitated a situation at its fourth annual in 1954. The jurors that year decided the majority of the traditional style pieces submitted was not of the caliber to win an award. The two judges felt the paintings were repetitious clichés, lacking in originality and expression. Because of their decision and the institution's main motivation to collect work in new styles, this was the last annual held by the museum.

A momentous occurrence happened at the 1958 Philbrook annual that caused patrons and critics to reconsider experimentation and new styles in the context of authenticity in Native art. Oscar Howe's (1915-1983) *Umine Wacipe: War and Peace Dance* was rejected for award because the jurors determined the work so experimental that it was nontraditional and not "Indian" enough to be awarded at the annual. The jurors' decision caused immediate backlash. Oscar Howe, a successful artist and teacher,

was very offended and wrote to the Philbrook's curator Jeanne Snodgrass with his view on the jurors' determination that defended artists' right to experiment while still remaining authentic and true to their heritage. This conflict was a defining moment for modern Native painting in the mid-20th century because it challenged the notion, promoted by the Philbrook, that in order for the art to be authentic and hold value as a cultural document, it had to retain the techniques and forms of the traditional style.

As a result of the controversy between the Philbrook's expectations for its annuals and the rejection of Howe's *Umine Wacipe*, the museum decided to adapt to new trends that it had not promoted in its original guidelines. The administrators opened the annuals to more experimental work by adding an additional awards category to its system of three regional classifications. This division welcomed new trends considered nontraditional by the institution's standards. Although it provided artists more freedom of expression and opportunity to experiment with style, its awards were given less prize money than the standard regional categories, showing its lingering bias toward the traditional style.

This thesis examines three very different museums that hosted juried annuals of Native painting and reveals a variety of attitudes toward the art of the time. Each museum had different goals and motivations for holding these exhibitions and their expectations did not always coincide with the work artists were creating at the time. Such discrepancies required them to adapt their competitions in order to better facilitate changing trends in the art.

Notes

¹ Museum exhibitions of Native art that exhibited painting, prior to the juried annuals, often displayed historical, craft, and/or utilitarian objects in order to connect the 2-dimensional art to a larger, more primitive tradition of American Indian art making. See W. Jackson Rushing's discussion of the 1941 *Indian Art of the United States* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in his article "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and Modern: René d'Harnoncourt and 'Indian Art of the United States,'" in *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*, ed. Janet C. Berlo (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 191-236.

² See Carter Jones Meyer, "Saving the Pueblos: Commercialization and Indian Reform in the 1920s," in *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, ed. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2001), 190-211. In addition to the intervention of both federal and individual humanitarian support, the Pueblos of New Mexico were popular tourist destinations, generating a major revenue source for the Native residents through the sale of arts and crafts they created.

³ The paintings I selected to illustrate the traditional and experimental styles were chosen based on their ability to have publication permission granted by the museums. This was somewhat difficult as the Denver Art Museum only had permission to grant publication to the work of Oscar Howe and the Philbrook Museum of Art no longer has 60% of the paintings it acquired during the annuals in its collection. In addition to the examples I use that are illustrated with an image, I also wanted my selection to represent work that was awarded at all of the museums, as well as artists with a range of geographic and cultural origins.

JURIED EXHIBITIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN PAINTING, 1946-1960

The Philbrook Art Center

The Philbrook clearly desired to be Tulsa's cultural center, first, and then secondarily, an art museum the rest of the world could respect. – Susan Ann Croteau¹

The Philbrook Art Center was established in 1938 by oil baron Waite Phillips (1883-1964) and his wife Genevieve (1887-1979) in their Italian villa style residence originally constructed in 1926.² The Phillips, planning a cultural institution for "housing, preserving, and displaying therein works of art, literature, relics, and curios, including those representative of the native North American peoples," donated their property and its gardens to the city of Tulsa⁻³ The residence was renovated, optimizing its layout for display to suit its new function as an art museum.

To honor local culture and set itself apart from other museums, the Philbrook focused on Native art. Exhibitions at the October 25, 1939 grand opening included displays of Plains tribal artifacts borrowed from local collector Clark Field and contemporary American Indian paintings loaned by University of Oklahoma art professor, Dr. Oscar Jacobson and one of his students, Spencer Asah. Artists participated in the inaugural affair, dressed in full tribal regalia.

The museum's focus on local Native American culture ensured an audience base of both locals and tourists because it was interesting to and educational for residents and visitors alike. Its collection began with Clark Field's gift of Indian crafts in 1942, and a few years later, in 1947, local civic leader Roberta Campbell Lawson donated her collection of Native American musical instruments and artifacts. Between these two acquisitions and following the success of the Oklahoma annuals, begun in 1940 which exhibited the state's Euro-American painters, the museum administrators and board

members organized another juried exhibition that would enhance its collection of Native painting.

The museum's director, Bernard Frazier, his staff, and the board of directors devised the Philbrook's first Native annual around American Indian easel painting from across the United States. This decision was unique because of its geographic breadth and focus on 2-dimensional art; the show's organizers demonstrated great foresight in promoting modern Native painting.⁵ Although promoting contemporary artwork that previously had received less attention compared to crafts, Frazier wrote in the forward to the 1947 catalog about the importance of maintaining the traditions of the past:

Encouraged by a long overdue wave of understanding which came in the years immediately following the First World War, Indian Art, revitalized and somewhat altered, made a new appearance. One of the most interesting of its new directions was a more intense and more general use of painting as a chosen medium for expression. Expanding to all parts of the country, the movement has gained physical and spiritual existence of their grandfathers driven by full realization that even the memories of the old traditions could not be retained through future generations.⁶

The Philbrook's first juried annual was held from July 23-September 29, 1946 and titled *Exhibition of American Indian Painting*. From 1946 to 1960, the annuals, whose titles varied to include additional words such as "national" and "contemporary," were on display for one to three months during summer. The museum adhered to hosting the annual exhibitions each year but was flexible in the formal title and duration it was on display.

The 1946 exhibition invited a panel of three jurors: Potawatomie artist Woody Crumbo, Anglo artist Charles Banks Wilson, and Native art collector Clark Field.⁸
Following annuals featured two to three judges, and usually one or two of them were Native artists familiar with the cultural origins and contemporary practices of the paintings.⁹ Over the course of the shows the majority of the jurors were American Indians

evaluating the work of their peers. Others included Euro-American scholars, educators, collectors, museum staff, and artists.

Artists submitted work to one of three regional categories which divided Native North American tribes into geographic areas: the Plains, Woodlands, and Southwest (fig. 1). Some of the tribes in the Plains division were the Cheyenne, Comanche, Kiowa, and Sioux. The Southwest category incorporated all of the Pueblo peoples and the Navajo; 10 the Woodlands region included tribes such as the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, along with those of "Eskimo extraction." 11



Fig. 1. Map of the geographic categories of the Philbrook annuals. Photocopy by author from the 1948 *American Indian Painting* exhibition catalog.

Three cash prizes were awarded in each regional category and one grand prize was given to the best painting in the show. ¹² In addition to the regional awards, honorable mentions were recognized. ¹³ The museum purchased all ten winning paintings at the prize amount for its permanent collection. ¹⁴

The Philbrook awards system sought to stimulate high quality through competition overseen by qualified jurors and providing financial incentive. ¹⁵ Encouraging the improvement and development of artists was an extension of the museum's original

goal to showcase Native culture. The Philbrook administrators hoped the annuals would cultivate and foster the talents of American Indian painters; however it was the more recognized and better trained artists that typically won awards.¹⁶

Explicit goals for the exhibitions were laid out in the catalogs. A major one, explained by Frazier in 1947, was for artists to "retain some of the traditional manner of presentation that deals with ceremonial or mystic themes relative to the life or thought of their ancestors." A second was to contribute to the well-being and progress of contemporary painting. Additional goals were to: promote awareness of Native easel painting by touring the exhibits; encourage collection of the work; maintain high standards through the jurying process; and documenting a record of culture through purchase of the paintings. ¹⁸

The Denver Art Museum

The first museum to take its cue from the Philbrook Art Center was the Denver Art Museum which held its own juried annuals between 1951 and 1954. Begun as the Denver Artists' Club in the 1890s, the museum was formally established in 1918. It found its permanent residence in downtown Denver and officially opened in 1949.

Native arts were important to the early years of the Denver Art Museum. Anne Evans, the Colorado territory governor's daughter, donated her personal collection of Southwest Indian and Hispanic art in the 1920s to establish the Native Arts Department. From this foundation, the museum's first director, Frederic H. Douglas, who had been involved in major national exhibitions including the "Indian Court" at the San Francisco World's Fair in 1939 and the groundbreaking Museum of Modern Art exhibit *Indian Art of the United States* in 1941, built a vast Native American collection for the museum, emphasizing acquisition of historic objects with geographic and material variety. The museum accumulated objects that represented many of the tribes and cultures across the

United States and Canada. Spanning two thousand years, it is one of the most complete and extensive Native North American collections in the world.¹⁹

Three years after it opened in downtown, the Native Arts Department organized an annual juried exhibition titled, *Contemporary American Indian Painting*. Held from 1951-1954, the exhibition was displayed for two to three months during autumn. The curator, Willena Cartwright, invited two or three experts to serve as jurors, all Euro-American; Native Americans were never invited. The panelists were museum professionals, arts administrators, educators, and collectors; some were directly involved with the Denver Art Museum and others contributed awards to the show.²⁰

Submission to the annuals was open to all Native painters from North America, including Canada and Alaska. Artists were invited to send up to six works in any medium such as "oil, watercolor, tempera, casein, ink, and crayon," with no restrictions on style.²¹ Initially, the organizers envisioned prizes in regional categories: "Three geographic regions will be represented in the exhibition—the Southwest, the Plains and the Eastern States. Certificates will be awarded for paintings ranking first, second, and third in each of these three areas." However, in the actual guidelines, there were no categorical divisions.²³ Not only were artists relieved from limitation to regional classifications, but entries could be on any subject or theme.²⁴

Jurors awarded paintings they determined to be outstanding from one body of work instead of being separated by geographic areas.²⁵ Paying the artists' asking price, the Denver Art Museum purchased all of the awarded pieces for its permanent collection; there were four to seven each year.²⁶ Specific prize amounts were not published in the catalogs, and varied depending on the donations each year.²⁷

Expanding its collection of Native painting was a great motivation for the Denver Art Museum annuals. The rules for entry in 1951 stated:

We wish to add to our traditional collections, bring these up to date and encourage appreciation of Indian Art by presenting and acquiring the finest contemporary examples of Indian painting. We hope this program will be followed by other museums, thus stimulating the production of contemporary work by Indian artists.²⁸

Additionally, the annuals intended to benefit artists: "The Denver Art Museum presents a competitive exhibition of American Indian painting in the hope that this exhibition and others like it will serve to encourage and assist the contemporary Indian artist." The Museum of New Mexico

The Art Gallery of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe held very successful juried annuals of Native painting from 1956 through 1965. The museum was founded in 1909 by Edgar L. Hewett, an anthropologist and archaeologist of Southwestern material, in order to systematically collect and preserve local Native artifacts. He felt an official gallery needed to be established in order to promote the art of the region. The successful properties of the region.

In 1917, architects designed the Art Gallery, basing it on Spanish mission and Pueblo architecture.³³ The museum had a pioneering collection of early 20th century Native painting, particularly from regional Pueblo artists, and later from local Santa Fe Indian School students, whose work was incorporated in general exhibits, becoming an integral part of its displays.³⁴

After the Philbrook had held juried painting annuals for over ten years, the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery held its first annual, titled *Indian Artists Exhibition*, in 1956 and continued to do so every summer until 1965.³⁵

The guidelines allowed up to two works completed within the past year to be submitted by American Indian artists from the Southwest, Great Plains, and Great Basin.³⁶ Paintings were restricted by media, with only "opaque or transparent watercolor" allowed.³⁷ Although entries were limited to watercolors, styles were unrestricted. Curator Hester Jones wrote: "The policy of selection does not limit the choice to the purely

traditional style. Outstanding work in which native talent has been well realized in both traditional and new styles is sought."³⁸

The first annual featured three jury members, one a Native artist. Every subsequent annual invited only two jurors, usually one was a Native artist. However, over the course of the annuals, the majority of jurors were Euro-American artists, educators, scholars, collectors, dealers, traders, and curators.³⁹

The annual awards were dependent on outside donors, and therefore varied from year to year.⁴⁰ The highest prize presented at each show was \$100 and five to ten other awards were given in amounts that ranged from ten to one hundred dollars. Awards were funded by the Art Gallery and private sources, allowing the museum purchase work for its permanent collection.

The Museum of New Mexico started its annuals in order to encourage Native artists and spur collection of their work. In addition to welcoming new styles of painting, it provided award incentives and an exhibition venue for artists to gain recognition and accolades. From its inception, the Art Gallery held that individual collecting of Native painting would strengthen a Southwestern art market and provide financial support for artists. The annuals also established the Art Gallery as a hub of Southwestern art. Hester Jones wrote in the 1956 catalog:

Art lovers in Santa Fe have done much to stimulate this talent and it is largely through their interest that the United States Indian School here established, in 1932, its now famed studio with Dorothy Dunn as founder and its first teacher. Under her wise direction the contemporary school of Indian painting came into flower. Now, collectors throughout the nation seek examples of this art. The new Indian Art Annual is inaugurated in response to this demand and is intended to provide a representative showing of the current work of the many artists stemming from the Santa Fe movement.⁴¹

Similarities and Differences between the Philbrook, the Denver Art Museum, and the Museum of New Mexico Juried Annuals

Straddling time, the Indian artist presents modern ideas in the traditional style. The new art is a unique combination of primitive and modern – realism and mysticism. – Otto K. Bach⁴²

There were both similarities and differences in the objectives and guidelines for the annual exhibitions at the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa (1946-1979), the Denver Art Museum (1951-1954), and the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery in Santa Fe (1956-1965). Each was an art museum that opened submission to Indian artists from various regions in the United States for annuals that showcased the burgeoning art of Native American modern easel painting with exhibition and awards based on a jurying process.

Each found Native painting to be in a compelling and stimulating stage of its development. For all three museums to foster and encourage the art and careers of Native painters was a primary objective in hosting annual exhibitions: "These works of art are presented to our public with sincere hopes that we contribute toward the well-being and progress of the renaissance of American Indian Painting." The Philbrook, the Denver Art Museum, and the Museum of New Mexico each believed that this art form was exquisite, significant, and relevant to the nation because of its rich cultural expression. "Here, one day, will arise a new Americanism from the intermingling of these three great currents [Anglo, Hispano, and Indian American] of American culture."

The Philbrook's annuals sought to nurture outstanding examples of painting that preserved traditional practices so they would not be displaced by assimilation and modern times. Bernard Frazier asserted: "Against a strong-willed people with a government which discouraged or even forebade them to continue their pagan rituals, the delicate flame of creative fervor dimmed until American Indian art was all but lost." Its particular goal for its annuals was promotion of the traditional qualities in the painting that derived from ancient practices like body, kiva, and teepee painting: "It is hoped that

through the years they will acquire power without ever losing their precious Indian heritage."

Like the Philbrook, Denver wanted to foster Native artists.⁴⁷ In contrast to Tulsa's emphasis on tradition as the most relevant aspect Native painting, Denver promoted modern features: "We feel they should be allowed the same freedom to pick their mediums, styles and subjects as is enjoyed by other artists." Contemporary art still had ties to ancient Native culture, but instead of wanting to preserve the past, Denver focused on the innovative aspects and adaptive strategies artists expressed in their work that addressed the circumstances of their day. For example Oscar Howe's award winning *Sioux Eagle Dancer* (fig. 2) interpreted the traditional subject matter of a ceremonial dancer in a modern, abstract, and geometric composition.

While Philbrook exemplified support for ancient attributes of mid-20th century Native painting and Denver represented patronage of contemporary elements, New Mexico was less biased toward a particular painting style than the other two. A reason for this is its first annual, held in 1956, opened two years after Denver's last annual in 1954 and before issues were raised in 1958 with the Philbrook's blatant favoritism for traditional painting. New Mexico's annuals welcomed a wide range of work by Native American painters in both the traditional style and new modes of expression.



Fig. 2. Oscar Howe (Sioux Yankton), *Sioux Eagle Dancer*, 1954. Casein and damar on paper, 20 x 22.5 in. Denver Art Museum Collection: Santa Fe Railroad Purchase Award, Fourth Annual Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Painting, 1954.261. Photograph courtesy of the Denver Art Museum.

Unlike the Museum of New Mexico, with its openness to a wide variety of styles, the Philbrook Art Center's annuals' awards sought to strictly be for the traditional style.⁵¹ The Philbrook's guidelines required artists to submit their paintings to a regional category based on the culture of their heritage and subject matter. The regional classifications emphasized stylistic and cultural differences in each area based on past traditions.⁵² Instead of welcoming change and multi-cultural influence, the Philbrook promoted the ancient qualities of Native painting: "Throughout the 1940s, the museum made no secret of its preference for traditional painting - an attitude that, depending on one's point of view and the moment in history, might be thought of as overly conservative or preservationist."⁵³

Though the Philbrook's focus on traditional style painting lead to controversy that arose from its discriminatory practice, while the Denver Art Museum and the Museum of New Mexico were more open to new trends, it had certain benefits. For one, the guidelines allowed equal representation and awards to artists from all three regional categories. In comparison, the Museum of New Mexico's annual featured mostly paintings by Southwestern artists, and the Denver Art Museum mainly exhibited Plains artists. In addition, because the three categories had nearly equal exhibition space, a wide range of work was displayed. In this respect, the Philbrook represented an array of artists from various tribes across the country. Artists with diverse backgrounds came together during the exhibitions and, in spite of guidelines that required them to exclusively reference the traditions and practices from their past, were influenced by and learned from each other.⁵⁴

Notes

¹ Susan Ann Croteau, "But It Doesn't Look Indian': Objects Archetypes and Objectified Others in Native American Art, Culture and Identity" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2008), 140.

² The Philbrook Art Center is now called the Philbrook Museum of Art.

³ "Philbrook Museum of Art," Oklahoma Historical Society's Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture, accessed May 16, 2011. The Phillips' also donated the Baroque and nineteenth century art work they used to decorate their house. http://digital.library.okstate.edu/encyclopedia/entries/P/PH002.html.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ The only other institution to hold juried exhibits of Native American paintings was the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. It held juried exhibitions of crafts that included painting starting in 1930 with the Hopi Craftsman Exhibition and 1942 with the Navajo Craftsman Exhibition (both are ongoing). These shows featured Hopi and Navajo artists, segregating the work into separate displays held at different times during the year. Other exhibits of Native art at the time, if they included painting, were always shown in comparison and in conjunction with crafts and historical objects, usually in an ethnographic and anthropological context. For example, the "Indian Court" at the San Francisco World's Fair in 1939 and *Indian Art of the United States* exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in 1941 heavily relied on ancient and ethnographic contextualization.

⁶ Bernard Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1947), Exhibition catalog. The catalog for the first annual exhibition was laid out but never printed for distribution. The mock-up is archived at the Philbrook Museum of Art Library.

⁷ The Philbrook Art Center began an annual juried exhibition of Oklahoma painters in 1940.

⁸ For the first annual, two honorary members of the jury were also chosed to assist in the selections for exhibition and awards: Dr. Oscar Jacobson and Susan Peters. Both were involved in the arts training of Native artists in Oklahoma in the first third of the 20th century. Two members of the 1946 jury, Oscar Jacobson and Clark Field, had been instrumental in contributing Native art for the opening gala of the Philbrook in 1939.

⁹ See Appendix A for each annual's jurors; the tribe indicating Native heritage is listed in parenthesis after the name.

¹⁰ In 1946, Apache artists are listed under both the Plains and Southwest categories, but in the majority of catalogs, they are only included under the Southwest region.

¹¹ "Foreword," *American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1948), Exhibition catalog.

¹² The prize for Best in Show was \$350, first prize was \$150, second was \$100, and third was \$50. See Appendix A for further details. After ten years, the award amounts were lowered due to budget and fundraising issues; the best in show award was reduced by \$100 to \$250. The other prizes (three in each of the regional categories) were closer to their original amounts and were not reduced as drastically.

¹³ See Appendix B for a list of all the award winners and honorable mentions from the annuals.

¹⁴ See Appendix A for the artists, title, and prize amount for their work that won an award at each of the annuals.

¹⁵ Croteau, "'But It Doesn't Look Indian," 155-162. The first prize amount was full compensation for purchasing a work. In most cases, second and third place did not cover the value of the work. This cost restriction, due to the museum's budget, limited the purchasing options of the Philbrook, occasionally causing awards to be chosen based on artists' asking price and what the museum could afford to purchase rather than judgments based solely on quality and creativity.

¹⁶ Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting*, Philbrook Art Center, 1947, Exhibition catalog.

¹⁷ Ibid.

 $^{^{18}}$ "Foreword," $American \ Indian \ Painting$ (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1948), Exhibition catalog.

¹⁹ "American Indian Art," Denver Art Museum, accessed May 18, 2011, http://denverartmuseum.org/explore-art/collections/collectionTypeID--20. Richard Conn, https://denverartmuseum.org/explore-art/collections/collectionTypeID--20. Richard Conn, https://denverartmuseum.org/explore-art/collectionSympler.org/e

²⁰ Vance Kirkland, who served as juror in 1951 and 1952 became the museum's chairman of accessions and Otto K. Bach, juror in 1953 director of the Denver Art Museum, succeeding Frederic Douglas. Donor Dorothy Field and donor and regional director of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Royal Hassrick, served as jurors in 1952 and 1952-3 respectively.

²¹ "Rules of Entry," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1952), Pamphlet.

²² Ibid. By Denver's second annual, the statement about awards in regional categories was removed from its "Rules of Entry."

²³ The Denver Art Museum's staff who organized the Native annuals consulted Jeanne Snodgrass, the Philbrook's curator on strategies for conceptualizing their exhibit. The Denver Art Museum was aware of the Philbrook annuals' submission guidelines, policies, and goals and attempted to adopt some of its approaches.

²⁴ "Rules of Entry," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1953) Pamphlet.

²⁵ To separate work into regional categories was a problematic strategy. Should artists determine their region by the location of their tribal heritage, where they lives, or where they grew up? And what of artists with multi-cultural backgrounds?

²⁶ "Rules of Entry," *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, (Denver Art Museum, 1952), Pamphlet. Honorable mentions were also presented at each annual. Honorable mentions did not garner a cash prize.

²⁷ Contemporary American Indian Painters (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1951), Exhibition catalog. The museum's archived copy of the 1951 catalog had handwritten prices next to each of the paintings listed in the catalog. The prize amounts were also written next to the works that won awards. They ranged from \$14 to \$85. Many of the paintings in the catalog listed sales prices higher than the amount of these purchase awards.

²⁸ "Rules of Entry," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1951), Pamphlet.

²⁹ Otto K. Bach, *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1951), Exhibition catalog.

³⁰ Today, the Museum of New Mexico is a state-run system of six separate institutions: New Mexico Museum of Art, Palace of the Governors, Museum of Indian Arts & Crafts/Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of International Folk Art, New Mexico History Museum, and New Mexico State Monuments. The museum's art branch held the juried exhibitions and at the time was known as the Art Gallery.

³¹ See Carter Jones Meyer, "Saving the Pueblos: Commercialism and Indian Reform in the 1920s," in *Selling the Indian: Commercialization and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, ed. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001), 194; and "History of the Laboratory of Anthropology and the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture," Museum of Indian Arts & Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology, accessed August 4, 2011, http://www.indianartsandculture.org/history. In 1927, John D. Rockefeller founded the Laboratory of Anthropology with a mission to study the indigenous cultures of the Southwest. The two institutions merged in 1947 to encompass the most comprehensive and inclusive collection of Southwestern artifacts in the world.

³² "History," New Mexico Museum of Art, accessed December 1, 2011, http://www.nmartmuseum.org/site/about/history.html. Prior to establishing the Art Gallery, Hewett held art exhibits at the Palace of the Governors.

³³ Ibid. Rapp and Rapp modified their 1915 design for the New Mexico pavilion at the Panama-California Exposition in San Diego for the Art Gallery in Santa Fe.

³⁴ See David W. Penney and Lisa Roberts, "America's Pueblo Artists: Encounters on the Borderlands," in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing (New York, Routledge, 1999), 25, 28; and W. Jackson

Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 15. In 1917, Hewett commissioned a set of paintings illustrating traditional San Ildefonso dances from Crescencio Martinez for the newly opened Museum of New Mexico. He also collected the work of Tonita Peña. In 1919, Velino Herrera, Fred Kabotie, and Otis Polelonema exhibited work in the Art Gallery.

³⁵ Because major changes in contemporary Native painting began after 1960, this thesis covers up to that point in order to focus on the original guidelines of three Native painting annuals and explain how changes resulting from developments in contemporary painting affected the annuals' structures.

³⁶ Hester Jones, "Foreword," *Indian Artists Exhibition* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, 1957), Exhibition catalog.

³⁷ Hester Jones, "Foreword," *Indian Artists Exhibition* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, 1956), Exhibition catalog.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ See Appendix A for a list of jurors at the Museum of New Mexico annual.

⁴⁰ 1956 was the only year that had a clear awards system. First prize was \$100, second was \$50, and a special prize of \$25 was given for "the best example of original use of traditional materials." There were two honorable mentions listed in the catalog as well. Every subsequent annual had more variance in prize amounts and number of awards.

⁴¹ Jones, "Foreword," *Indian Artists Exhibition*, Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, 1956, Exhibition catalog.

⁴² Otto K. Bach, *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, Denver Art Museum, 1951, Exhibition Catalog.

⁴³ Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting*, Philbrook Art Center, 1947, Exhibition catalog.

⁴⁴ Reginald Fischer, *Indian Artists Exhibition* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, 1956), Exhibition catalog.

⁴⁵ Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting*, Philbrook Art Center, 1947, Exhibition catalog.

⁴⁶ Oscar Jacobson, *American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1948), Exhibition catalog.

⁴⁷ Bach, *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, Denver Art Museum, 1951, Exhibition catalog.

⁴⁸ Willena Cartwright, "Report on the Contemporary American Indian Painting Exhibition at the Denver Art Museum," 1951, Native Arts Department files, Denver Art Museum.

⁴⁹ Dunn, *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, Denver Art Museum, 1952, Exhibition catalog. "Although they are timely in every respect, most of the works reveal, in varying degree, characteristics of their native lineage."

⁵⁰ See further discussion in Chapter 4.

⁵¹ The traditional style employs flat washes of watercolor, contouring, and fine line detail to depict scenes of Native ceremonies, daily life, hunting, and nature. Formal elements like shape and color are used in a decorative and rhythmic manner. Traditional compositions lack Western artistic techniques like perspective and shading, so overlapping is generally used to depict depth in a space void of background details. These qualities were viewed to be derived from ancient Native artistic practices. In "Tradition in Native American Art," in *The Arts of the North American Indian: Native Traditions in Evolution*, ed. Edwin L. Wade (New York: Hudson Hills Press, New York, 1986), 65-7. J.C.H. King writes that the concept of traditional is relative, not absolute because cultures perpetually change. The definitions and emotive uses of "traditional" are subjective although they seemingly appear clear cut in early 20th century literature on Native American art. Also see further discussion in Chapter 3.

⁵² Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting*, Philbrook Art Center, 1947, Exhibition catalog. Frazier describes the traditional arts and crafts from each of the three regions in order to draw attention to their rich heritages and connect their traditions with the contemporary work in the exhibition.

⁵³ Edwin L. Wade, "Native American Painting and Sculpture," in *The Philbrook Museum of Art: A Handbook to the Collections*, ed. Carol Haralson (Tulsa: The Philbrook Museum of Art, 1991), 195.

⁵⁴ J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 187. Brody wrote: "Acculturation of Indian painting seems to have been generally achieved; ironically, in large measure through the efforts of the Philbrook Art Center, whose attempt to revive a dormant art had the result of diverting the art into one current of mainstream European and American painting."

Chapter 3

TRADITIONAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PAINTING IN MID-20TH CENTURY JURIED ANNUALS

Juried Annuals Define Traditional and Experimental Painting

While having similar goals to encourage artists and support their art, the three museums had different motives for emphasizing particular aspects of Native painting. The Philbrook Art Center wanted to exclusively display traditional art, the Denver Art Museum strongly encouraged experimental work for its exhibitions, and the Museum of New Mexico found balance in unbiasedly exhibiting both traditional and experimental painting. Each museum favored different characteristics, valuing specific stylistic qualities and content, and defined painting modes as an extension of its preferences. Between 1946 and 1960, Native painters that participated in the annuals typically worked in two manners, considered categorically different by the museums.

The traditional or flat style was adapted from methods taught at the Santa Fe Indian School and the University of Oklahoma in the 1920s and 30s. The teachers insisted that their students reference their memories about ceremonies, daily life, and the artistic techniques of their forefathers. Through this approach, the work was perceived to have a high level of authenticity and historical continuity. By withholding training in Western techniques like perspective and modeling and encouraging students to use their "natural" inclinations, their paintings were not only art, but a cultural document that recorded practices and traditions which Euro-Americans feared was at risk of disappearing completely. The traditional style used flat, opaque washes of watercolor to depict ceremonial, genre, hunting, or nature scenes against a blank background.

Additional elements synonymous with this style are fine line contouring, highly articulated details, and a lack of Western techniques like perspective and modeling.

The other style consisted of "traditional forms within a more European-American contemporary style," here, referred to as experimental.² Paintings that departed from conventions and incorporated contemporary Euro-American styles like Cubism, Abstract Expressionism, Art Deco, and other Western art techniques were sometimes viewed as the opposite of authentic because they included non-traditional elements.

The Philbrook Art Center

The Philbrook Art Center maintained that traditional qualities were important for Indian art and culture. The annuals' administrators considered painting in this style to be a continuation of past customs and an opportunity for those practices to be preserved and endure into the future. The show's organizers felt it was important for the ways of ancestral Native Americans to continue so they would not go undocumented, or be neglected, and lost.³ To do this, "the museum had placed itself in the position of assuring that the culture and tradition of the Indian would be preserved in as traditional, accurate and familiar a manner as possible."

The original mission of the Philbrook annual (1946-1979) aimed to strictly confine its scope to the traditional style. It specified the depiction of activities from the past as a paramount feature. The museum perceived such subject matter as a window into the culture, illuminating a ceremonial way of life essentialized as authentic by an outsider's point of view. Director Bernard Frazier described this lifestyle in 1947 in the second annual catalog:

With an elaborate and complex mythology eloquently expressing the reverence with which he regarded all of nature's elements, virtually every act of his existence was one of praise or of supplication directed toward his deified powers by which all natural forces were controlled.⁵

The 1950 entry blank for artist submissions, which had remained the same since the first annual in 1946, stated that subject matter should depict spiritual practices or rituals. The guidelines specified particular themes, but also that they be presented in a traditional style of ancient forms and techniques. Until 1950, painting material was limited to watercolor and tempera. These restrictions in subject, style, and medium created a distinct separation between traditionalism in modern easel painting and contemporary Euro-American informed painting, favoring the conservative style to the exclusion and censure of experimentation. In the 1948 juror's statement, Oscar Jacobson wrote:

While the paintings by contemporary white artists are getting increasingly savage, brutal and morbid, the modern paintings by our red men are characterized by taste, refinement, and an elegancy somewhat akin to the art of ancient Greece. It is hoped that through the years they will acquire power without ever losing their precious Indian heritage.⁷

Hopi artist Bert Preston, trained at Bacone College in Oklahoma and the University of Northern Arizona, worked in the traditional manner. As a successful exhibitor at the Philbrook annuals, the majority of which he won awards for his work's dynamic yet balanced compositions and precise detail. *Hopi Snake Dance* from 1951 (fig. 3) depicts a ceremonial dance, a typical subject for the artist. In the painting, various figure groups are arranged in conventional staggered arrangements accented by Preston's skillful application of bold colors.

Traditional painting was admired by the Philbrook administrators because, to them, it appeared tangibly Native American in subject and style. The museum expected painters to work with techniques and themes directly derived from their history and heritage, rather than to incorporate new adapted practices. It considered the traditional style authentic to both Euro-American and Native audiences as well advantageous for the future of American Indian culture by referencing and continuing ways of the past so they would be preserved. Despite this position held by the institution, the annual jurors had the largest influence over the prizes and exhibits.



Fig. 3. Bert Preston (Hopi), *Hopi Snake Dance*, 1951. Watercolor, 16.8 x 22.3 in. Tulsa, Philbrook Museum of Art. ©2012 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma

Conflict arose between the ideals set forth by the Philbrook Art Center and its guidelines for the annuals because the jurors had the authority to choose paintings for display and award. Many examples in the shows opposed the institution's expectations for work with authentic traditional qualities and ultimately led to conflict between what artists were producing and the museum's stance toward Native painting.

Contention between the Philbrook's guidelines and the jurors' selections was apparent within the first two years of the annuals. Chippewa artist, Patrick DesJarlait (1921-1972) worked professionally in commercial arts before he began focusing on his painting career. His early work was favored at the Philbrook annuals during the years he exhibited, from 1946-1949. Trained in Arizona and Southern California, he incorporated modern styles in his work. Mexican mural painting, by artists like Diego Rivera, was a

large influence on DesJarlait. His paintings were considered experimental because he used a modern style to express his heritage.

Two of DesJarlait's works from the early Philbrook annuals are in the museum's permanent collection. The first, *Maple Sugar Time* (fig. 4) purchased by the museum in 1946, was not an award winner but received a citation of merit. It was excluded from a purchase prize due to its nontraditional qualities, but was bought nevertheless. The painting depicts men and women in contemporary dress, among the trees, cooking down extracted maple sugar. The activity is an example of the traditional subject matter that the Philbrook desired, but the style in which it is portrayed departed from the formal conventions idealized by the annual organizers. The painting's bulky forms are composed of curved and cylindrical shapes and shaded in a gradient to show their mass.



Fig. 4. Patrick DesJarlait (Chippewa), *Maple Sugar Time*, 1946. Watercolor on paper, 15.5 x 20.15 in. Tulsa, Philbrook Museum of Art. ©2012 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma

The exclusion of this work from an award yet its purchase by the museum demonstrated how during the first annual, the Philbrook desired to solely represent traditional style painting. However, during the second annual DesJarlait's *Making Wild*

Rice (fig. 5) won first prize in the Woodland category in 1947, was purchased by the museum, and recognized as one of the second annual's outstanding paintings. Like Maple Sugar Time, it demonstrated the artist's individual style that adapted his culture and heritage to his training and mode of personal expression. Rather than depicting his subject strictly in the conventional style, he chose an interesting angle to design his composition around, in this case bird's eye view that allowed the viewer to easily see all of the activity being depicted. He also incorporated contemporary dress into his scenes of traditional activity in order to show things as they were and not only the way Indians were expected to be represented. Another departure from the traditional style are the geometrically rounded forms and the smoothly blended shading, distinct from the flat washes of opaque color outlined by fine contours that are conventional in the conservative mode of Native American painting.

The first year of the Philbrook's annuals set a precedent for traditional painting by excluding *Maple Sugar Time* from an award and giving the work a citation of merit. Outside of the official awards and public eye, the museum recognized the painting's quality by purchasing it for its permanent collection. The second annual demonstrated the power held by jurors in their decision to award *Making Wild Rice* a first prize. As the institution made its goals and expectations for the show clear during the annuals' early years, it makes sense that the jurors would keep these guidelines in mind while making selections. However, the more liberal choice of the 1947 jurors is revealed through the individuals on the panel. Featuring two Native artists, as opposed to only one during the previous year, they had greater voice defending Native American contemporary painting and appreciating the finely executed work that incorporated new trends and modern styles.



Fig. 5. Patrick DesJarlait (Chippewa), *Making Wild Rice*, 1946. Watercolor on paper, 14.25 x 19 in. Tulsa, Philbrook Museum of Art. ©2012 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma

Throughout the Philbrook annuals there are examples of artists whose styles were considered traditional, yet incorporated Euro-American techniques and forms which adapted the conservative style, as well as artists that worked with both traditional and experimental approaches. Self-taught Creek painter Fred Beaver (1911-1980) referenced his memories of traditional life to create authentic and complex genre scenes. Dick West (1912-1996), one of the early Indian art students in Oklahoma, with his training and Cheyenne heritage continued his formal art education, absorbing broader influences and evolving his personal style beyond conservative painting.

Beaver's *Florida Seminoles Going Visiting* depicts an image of traditional life and won the first Woodlands prize in the 1955 Philbrook annual. Although considered

authentic and traditional, his style incorporated elements derived from Western painting he was exposed to during his life. The blank background is this painting's most notable adaptation of convention. The artist used linear perspective to depict the landscape that consumes the deep space of this work. The tall swamp trees that cover the left half of the composition are in staggered rows, and depth is portrayed through the gradual size reduction of the receding trees that converge toward the horizon line. Atmospheric perspective is also used through significantly decreased detail and color saturation in the background.

Frequently exhibited at the Philbrook annuals, Beaver's work was often awarded because of his dedication to portraying traditional life. Once submitted, it won awards about a third of the time, making it popular with audiences and contributing to the successful career he was able to establish as his only source of income. His style was a unique adaptation of the flat washes, intricate details, and rhythmic patterns of the traditional style combined with panoramic landscapes and compositionally deep environments for his subjects. By setting the scene for customary activities in interior and landscape settings his work is both a personal interpretation as well as a modern and relevant way of depicting authentic Native life.

Cheyenne artists Dick West's experimental painting *Peyote Dream* was awarded one half of the shared best-in-show prize of 1955. This work was selected along with Allan Houser's more conservative *Happy Hunting Ground* thanks to liberal jurors, namely Oscar Howe. West's abstract composition was markedly different from conventional traditionalism. Elements, such as the fan from the peyote ceremony of the Native American church, are arranged in a radial composition, organized by hard edge curved and straight shapes that spiral out from the center. His style and technique draws influence from cubism in its arrangement of colors and geometric forms. However,

Peyote Dream has traditional connections through its subject matter which depicts important objects with symbolic meaning. However, the abstracted design could also be considered traditional practice. Pre-contact painting on pottery, walls, and personal adornments were often abstract in nature and symbol-based designs. Statements in all three of the museums' annual catalogs clarify that the modern abstract elements in Native art harken back to a historical repertoire.

Before Dick West's experimental style, he had had a successful early career as a traditional painter. *Cheyenne Children's Games* (fig. 6) a Plains first prize winner at the 1947 Philbrook annual, evidences characteristics he maintained in both of the manners in which he worked. Unmistakably conventional, all of the figures in this painting are recognizably Cheyenne. Depth in the composition is depicted through scale reduction in the background with no convergence in space, and the paint has been applied in opaque, unshaded watercolor washes. The children engaged in play are imitating and practicing traditional activities. The teepees, animals, and natural environment in the scene capture an authentic lifestyle.

Although traditional, West's technique and compositional design in *Cheyenne Children's Games* has similarities to his more experimental abstract paintings. Sharp lines define the edges of the forms and figures, strongly delineating them from surrounding ones. Each figure occupies its own space with little overlap; each individual's activity is distinguishable and stands alone from the whole, as if the work is made up of small vignettes. The same effect is evident in his later work, with separate geometric shapes functioning both as a part of a whole composition as well as individual elements that stand on their own.

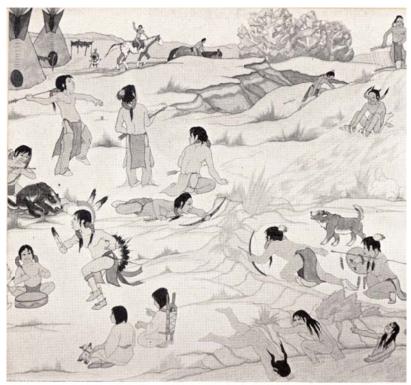


Fig. 6. Dick West (Cheyenne), *Cheyenne Children's Games*, 1946. Tulsa, Philbrook Museum of Art. ©2012 Philbrook Museum of Art, Inc., Tulsa, Oklahoma

Artists worked on a wide ranging scale of traditional to experimental approaches that appealed to jurors' preferences during the first fifteen years of competitive painting exhibitions. A variety of styles were awarded at the Philbrook annuals and on most occasions, they aligned with ideals the museum had for its collection and preferences for appropriate qualities of Native painting that determined it should remain as true to the traditional style as possible. Artists experimenting with modern styles were also awarded for their outstanding work at the partiality of jurors, but the overwhelming majority of traditional style paintings being produced by artists at the time ensured the Philbrook was able to meet its goal, and occasional experimental works were awarded at the judges' discretion.

The Denver Art Museum

In contrast to the Philbrook's alignment with traditional Native painting, the Denver Art Museum actively sought, in its annuals (1951-1954), to promote experimental work, which it referred to as contemporary or new art. Motivated by the desire to expand its collection, the museum sought not only culturally relevant pieces, but also breadth and variety in order to adequately represent contemporary trends and approaches. The museum encouraged artists to use a range of media such as watercolor, oil, acrylic, print and drawing, as well as to demonstrate styles and techniques that resulted from Western art training, travel, and exposure to diverse styles of artwork. Consequently, the institution's ideology did not differentiate Native art from modern culture. Director, Otto Bach, explained in the 1951 catalog:

The modern Indian artist is steeped both in Indian lore and the ways of the modern world. Straddling time, the Indian artist presents modern ideas in the traditional style. The new art is a unique combination of primitive and modern – realism and mysticism. ¹⁰

The Denver annuals' administrators conceptualized modern Native painting as an integration of past and present, retaining old ways and traditions while still being a product of contemporary times. They felt that art making in the modern world, with its various streams of cultural exchange, did not detract from the Indian qualities or authenticity of the art. The annuals actively embraced experimentation in submissions, encouraging artists to depict their experience in an individual and innovative style. For the museum, experimental art still represented Native traditions and heritage and enhanced the style repertoire and variety in American Indian painting. The judges of the third 1953 annual wrote:

Several of the Indian artists have achieved a freer self-expression and a firmer confidence which is evidenced by a more certain execution, a wider range of technique and a more daring use of compositional depth without in any way destroying the mark that makes these paintings truly Indian.¹¹

Oscar Howe was an artist that exemplified the qualities idealized by the Denver Art Museum for its submissions. His work was considered nontraditional by some standards, but according to the artist and others with progressive views, it embodied attributes that highlighted intrinsic characteristics of Indian people such as intelligence, adaptation, and profundity.

The Denver Art Museum purchased Sioux Eagle Dancer at its 1954 annual. The work demonstrated both the experimental manner of the artist and the institution's motivation to collect this type of art. 12 It broke the mold of the traditional style by departing from conventions and constructs that limited painting in this manner. The composition fragments and fractures recognizable shapes and deconstructs forms in a cubistic approach. The dancer's legs are crossed in mid-step with twisting and bent angles that jut out from his body. The geometric mass of his lower body is studded with feathers that draw the viewer's eyes away from the physical form, while lines drawn from the shoulders and waist extending past the legs create a pyramidal base that starts in the middle of the composition. From the pyramid, there is a shape that remains unified with the main form, composed of geometric fragments similar to that of the dancer's bottom half but in different colors, appearing like an aura, increasing his stability and beauty. The usual design elements of traditional painting such as precise and descriptive details and figures arranged in a symmetrical and staggered order are adapted in this painting in a more conceptual way to convey ideas about artistic expression from the perspective of the artist's cultural heritage.

The Museum of New Mexico

The Museum of New Mexico did not value one style, either traditional or experimental, over the other for its annuals (1956-1965). It maintained that Indian

painting stemmed from ancient heritage with practices that do not need to be repeated in an exact manner in order to be considered authentic examples of contemporary Native art. The museum connected the work in its annuals to the past, but was open to modern adaptations and changes. Evidence of Native thinking and way of life, regardless of the style it was presented in, created the ideal characteristics it sought for its annual. Curator of ethnology Bertha Dutton explained in the 1957 catalog:

An Indian painter rarely uses fanciful creation of his imagination or abstract devices to reflect his emotions. Instead, he paints that which is a part of his very life, that with which he is completely familiar, either from personal experience and observation or from societal indoctrination which has commenced in very early childhood. There is a certain cultural framework within which an Indian artist displays his skill with brush and pigments. Insofar as subject matter is concerned, Indian art evidences a continuum from the sacred to the profane. Individual artists demonstrate their abilities in a variety of styles; there are many opportunities for experimentation; but underneath all this is the basic Indian attitude of life, which consciously or unconsciously controls the artists, and which keeps his art Indian and an ethnological document.¹³

The Museum of New Mexico was motivated by Santa Fe's close relationship with modern Native easel painting through the Indian art program in the 1930s at the Santa Fe Indian School and the museum's association with local artists. Its administrators had a local-centric view toward the art and an attitude that attributed modern work to natural inclinations of the artist. The museum associated their practice to traditions and heritage as opposed to individual stylistic development or training and accepted variety and change in its annual while maintaining a romantic outlook toward the culture.¹⁴

For the museum, Indian art embodied intrinsic qualities derived from the experience of a Native way of life. Dutton also wrote in 1957: "When an Indian ceases to paint that which he knows first-hand, he can no longer be considered an *Indian artist*. His work may be excellent and have its place among internationalist painters, but it is not Indian art." The show's experts and organizers attributed such authenticity to something

that is absorbed and passed on generationally rather than defined by a set of observable characteristics. ¹⁶ While the Philbrook adhered to strict stylistic markers for traditional Native painting, curators at the Museum of New Mexico saw the art as derived more from an unconscious and natural place. ¹⁷ Instead of confining authenticity to a conservative style, the museum gathered it from observable evidence of heritage, like lifestyle and upbringing, an ideology that allowed for openness to both conventional and experimental work.

Guidelines for the annual put no limits on style, technique, or medium, welcoming a variety of paintings that ranged from traditional to experimental. The museum awarded and purchased work from both modes; the first annual demonstrated its acceptance of different styles by purchasing one conservative piece by Theodore Suina and one adopting modern trends by Oscar Howe.

Theodore Suina (b. 1918) is a lifelong New Mexico resident from Cochiti Pueblo, a painter, and was an active exhibitor at juried annuals. *Koshares* (fig. 7), purchased by the Museum of New Mexico in 1956, is a traditional style two figure composition. The koshares, or Pueblo clowns, are depicted performing in a ceremony, one playing a drum and the other dancing. In profile view, captured in the middle of a step and a stroke, they face each other in complementary action. Their body and hair adornments and painted skin are rendered in precise detail, capturing true-to-life appearance. The black and white striped body paint was applied from the palms of their hands down to the bottoms of their feet. The tattered and tasseled fabric covering their chests and waists, and ornamenting their knees, wrists, and upper arms, hangs straight down with the pull of gravity as if their actions were frozen in time. The detail of the body paint and costumes and their activities are the focus, set against a stark white blank background. This work exhibits the traditional style in its flat washes of color that lack

shading or the illusion of a third dimension, absence of background details, ceremonial subject matter, fine detailing, and contour lines.



Fig. 7. Theodore Suina, Ku-Pe-Ru (Cochiti Pueblo), *Koshares*, 1956. Gouache on illustration board, 42.5 x 57.1 cm. Santa Fe, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 24344/13. Courtesy of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology

Sioux artist, Oscar Howe, was an accomplished painter in both traditional and experimental styles, and an arts professor for most of his life. *Dance of the Tree Dwellers* (fig. 8), was a purchase award from the Museum of New Mexico's 1956 annual. The composition is full of movement depicting three masked men suspended in a swirling loop. Their bodies twist in various poses as they would in a zero gravity environment, with floating limbs poised in different directions. Howe's painting has a simplified color scheme and is highly geometric, composed of angled shapes which have drawn multiple comparisons with cubism. ¹⁸ In this painting, the figures have thin, sharp

off-shoots from their bodies that merge with and resemble the tree limb shapes in the background. The overlap of organic twig-like appendages and free-floating branches integrate the figures with the tree elements, binding together the shapes in the composition to form a nest-like configuration. This painting veers from strict traditionalism through its invented subject matter and incorporation of modern Western cubist style.



Fig. 8. Oscar Howe (Sioux Yankton), *Dance of the Tree Dwellers*, 1950. Gouache on wove paper, 56.3 x 71.5 cm. Santa Fe, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, 35355/13. Courtesy of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture/Laboratory of Anthropology

While the Philbrook positioned itself as an advocate for traditional Native painting and the Denver Art Museum maintained that experimentation was a necessary element for the art, the Museum of New Mexico held a median position, not favoring one style over the other. It awarded the art with equality, regardless of style or amount of experimentation, holding all to be important as long as the Native heritage of the artist was evident. However, despite its equity, the museum maintained a romantic ideology

toward the culture that negated Native American artists' adaptation of the modern Euro-American art world and emphasized the ethnographic and anthropological aspects of the work.

Notes

¹ Experimental is the term I use here to represent painting that incorporates modern trends and techniques with the conservative institutional style which began in the 1930s at the Santa Fe Indian School and University of Oklahoma. The museums usually called work like this non-traditional, new style, or modern.

² Lydia Wyckoff, "Visions and Voices: A Collective History of Native American Paintings," in *Visions and Voices: Native American Painting from the Philbrook Museum of Art*, ed. Lydia Wyckoff (Tulsa: Philbrook Museum of Art, 1996), 45.

³ Bill Anthes, *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 9. The author wrote that the Philbrook was motivated to preserve what was seen as destined to vanish.

⁴ Peggi Ridgeway, "The Native American Invitational," Southwest Art 11 (1981): 190.

⁵ Bernard Frazier, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1947), Exhibition catalog.

⁶ Ibid. When the guidelines changed in 1951, submissions were open to oil paintings in addition to watercolors.

⁷ Oscar Jacobson, *American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1948), Exhibition catalog.

⁸ Although traditional in style, the paintings were inherently modern given the time they were created and the forces involved in their creation.

⁹ See Appendix B for the number of paintings DesJarlait exhibited and awards he won during this time.

¹⁰ Otto K. Bach, *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1951), Exhibition catalog.

¹¹ Otto K. Bach and Royal Hassrick, "The Judges' Report," *Contemporary American Indian Painting and Crafts* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1948), Exhibition catalog.

¹² Although most of purchases from Denver's annuals remain in the permanent collection, the museum only has the rights to grant permission to reproduce Oscar Howe's paintings. The families and estates have the rights to the other artists' work.

¹³ Bertha P. Dutton, *Indian Artists Exhibition* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1957), Exhibition catalog.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Dorothy Dunn, "Contemporary Indian Painting," *Indian Artists Exhibition* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, 1956), Exhibition catalog. "Today, descendants of those artists of antiquity use brushes and paints to portray ancient themes and graphic forms. The contemporary Indian painter poses no models, follows no color theory, gauges no true perspective. Yet he acutely senses life and movement and can convey mood or intense action with a few lines."

¹⁷ Dutton, *Indian Artists Exhibition*, Museum of New Mexico, 1957, Exhibition catalog.

¹⁸ Bill Anthes, "A Fine Painting...but Not Indian': Oscar Howe, Dick West, and Native American Modernism," in *Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940-1960* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 160-162. Anthes surveys comparisons of Howe's style to that of modern Euro-American cubism. Some writers, such as critic John Anson Warner, and art historians Janet Berlo and Ruth Phillips, have explicitly compared Howe's style with cubism.

Chapter 4

CONTROVERSY AT THE ANNUALS

Criticism of Authenticity and Quality in Submissions

The Philbrook Art Center, the Denver Art Museum, and the Museum of New Mexico promoted Native easel painting through annual competitions, and each favored different elements in the art. Because the awarded paintings each year were purchased for their permanent collections, the institutions' motives influenced their guidelines and selections. In some instances, the museum administrators' views did not align with the work of contemporary painters resulting in them finding some submissions unacceptable.

Favoritism of either experimental or traditional painting was evident in instances that arose at the juried exhibitions. At the Philbrook there was controversy over Oscar Howe's painting, *Umine Wacipe: War and Peace Dance*, which was submitted to the 1958 annual and rejected for award because its style was too experimental. At the Denver Art Museum's 1954 fourth annual, jurors James B. Byrnes and William Sanderson argued that the majority of the traditional style submissions were stereotypical and lacked sufficient quality and originality to be awarded.

The Philbrook's alignment with traditional painting and the Denver Art

Museum's advocacy for modern experimentation were clear in these important examples.

The Philbrook declared Howe's work to be nontraditional and therefore ineligible for award due to its incorporation of modern elements. The decision paralleled the museum's guidelines which emphasized its conception that authentic Native painting was created in the traditional style. Because work in the conventional manner continued the methods taught at the University of Oklahoma and the Santa Fe Indian School in the 1920s and 30s, Howe's experimental work did not fit the museum's parameters. However, at the Denver Art Museum, the 1954 jurors had an issue with the overwhelming submission of

experimental art. The organizers and participants of the Museum of New Mexico accepted both manners, creating balance in its annual where conflict was not as much of an issue. Although it awarded and purchased traditional as well experimental works, the institution's overly romantic outlook toward Native culture simplified the art to intrinsic qualities that are inborn to the artist because of his or her heritage eventually lead to guideline changes.

The guidelines of the Philbrook and the Denver Art Museum annuals changed as a result of challenges made against their decisions and motivations. Each museum's alliance with traditional and experimental approaches, respectively, caused controversy over work that deviated from their expectations. After Howe confronted the Philbrook on its unfair guidelines that determined his painting to be nontraditional, the museum added a special category in 1959 to include experimental work in its exhibition. When the Denver Art Museum jurors rejected the majority of the paintings from award at the 1954 annual, the exhibition folded completely. An experimental category was also added in 1964 to the Museum of New Mexico's annual. As with similar changes that occurred at the Philbrook, adding the new division assumed a difference in formal qualities that warranted separate classification because of all the cultural and stylistic elements that influenced contemporary trends. The delayed change was due, in part, to the small number of artists working experimentally prior to the 1960s.

Oscar Howe's Umine Wacipe Rejected from Award at the 1958 Philbrook Annual

Because it did not follow the exhibition's guidelines on acceptable style, the Philbrook rejected for purchase award Oscar Howe's *Umine Wacipe* in the 1958 annual. The artist took immediate offense to the decision and confronted the museum about its principles and practices. He wrote to curator Jeanne Snodgrass arguing that the institution

dictating the parameters of authenticity denied the artists' "right for individualism" and confined admissible work to "pretty stylized pictures." Howe was a broadly trained artist experienced in traditional and experimental manners and was highly regarded in both modes.²

Despite the hard edged contour lines, opaque color, and intricate detail so associated with traditional painting, *Umine Wacipe* was rejected because Howe incorporated contemporary Euro-American styles and conceptual subject matter. *Umine Wacipe* diverged from the conventional style, and resembles cubism with its geometric forms, abstract expressionism in the melding colors and shapes, and surrealism in its understated mystery. The dancers seem to blend together through Howe's use of jagged overlapping forms and a unifying color scheme of red and blue shades, making it difficult to discern where one form in the composition begins and another ends, demonstrating familiarity with modern Euro-American painting.³ Its style was considered overly influenced by Euro-American trends, inapt to appease the Philbrook's guidelines that stressed authentic traditional style painting.⁴

The dance in the painting was not a documentation or observation of an actual ceremony but rather an allegorical depiction of the concepts of war and peace represented simultaneously. The two central male performers enact graceful, strong, and proud movements that signify the stability and protection of peace. Figures cast to the sides of the composition are wailing in grief and crawling in agony, showing the results of the destruction and chaos of war. In line with the subtitle of the painting, *War and Peace Dance*, Howe effectively captured the experience of both states.

The jurors determined that *Umine Wacipe* was not "Indian" enough to be considered for an award.⁵ All three individuals on the panel supported the museum's mission to honor traditional Native painting and were particularly concerned with what

they perceived to be a misuse of Native symbols.⁶ Their collective statement in the catalog declared: "The use of symbols that are not used by the artist's own tribe, or related to the subject matter of a given painting, is deplored. The use of pseudo-symbols detracts, rather than adds, in any painting."

Oscar Howe saw the Philbrook's attitude toward traditional Native painting as paternalistic, limiting, and stereotyping. He believed it was ironic and problematic for Euro-Americans to determine authentic attributes of Indian art. Bill Anthes observes: "Howe, then, was acutely aware that the Philbrook's jury of experts was the moral equivalent of the white Indian agents that had - through either malice or incompetence - brought Indian culture to the brink of destruction." His letter to Snodgrass asserted that Native artists were "herded like a bunch of sheep, with no right to individualism, dictated to as the Indian always has been, put on a reservations and treated like a child, and only the White Man knows what is best for him."

Predictable and Stylized Work at the 1954 Denver Art Museum Annual

While jurors at the 1958 Philbrook annual reinforced the institution's position on traditional Native painting, jurors at the 1954 Denver Art Museum annual stressed its own focus on contemporary experimentation. At the fourth and final annual, the judges rejected almost all of the traditional submissions, claiming that the paintings lacked quality and originality. They also felt the submitting artists misunderstood the mission of the annual, writing: "The purpose has always been to encourage artists of American Indian descent to create work which grows out of a rich cultural heritage, rather than the imitation of traditional forms." Their view paralleled the museum's desire for new work that incorporated modern approaches.

The administrators saw Native art as something that progresses forward with time, changing with and adapting to outside influences and ideas, rather than being based

on concepts of authenticity that sought the unaltered practice of ancient traditions. Byrnes and Sanderson commented that during the 1954 annual: "The bulk of the entries reflect, in varying degrees, the 'manner' of the Indian, ranging from stylization to sterility." ¹⁴ They felt only nine works were suitable for the exhibition and recommended only two for museum purchase. ¹⁵ In their statement they expressed the hope for greater quality and creativity in submissions: "It is hoped that in future exhibitions a core of significant artists will develop who will build upon the imaginative qualities of their forebears." ¹⁶ How Controversy Affected the Structure and Guidelines of Juried Annuals

Indian culture is changing rapidly, therefore Indian art must change. Native tradition lingers but no longer can it dominate all Indian expressions. – Clara Lee Tanner¹⁷

Debate surrounding experimental and traditional styles of painting impacted the guidelines of Philbrook Art Center's juried annual. The museum had to reconsider its structure and guidelines to accommodate changing directions and styles in the art; adjustments were made to the way submissions were accepted for exhibition and award. Since its beginning in 1946, some jurors at the Philbrook annual were open to experimental work and occasionally awarded paintings in new modes despite the museum's motivation to ignore these trends and emphasize the authentic value in the traditional manner. After the controversy over *Umine Wacipe* in 1958, the Philbrook officially welcomed contemporary painting that embraced new trends and approaches.

The situation with Oscar Howe's *Umine Wacipe* and the 1958 jurors provoked the exhibition organizers to change its structure. The following year, during the 1959 annual, the three regional award categories were amended by adding one with less award money to include new styles of painting. Labeled Category II or nontraditional, this special class was an extension of the three regional divisions that comprised Category I.

Under Donald G. Humphrey, the Philbrook's director from 1959 to 1975, the special category had been created to exhibit and award work that did not meet the museum's original guidelines. In his foreword to the 1959 catalog, Humphrey stated that it was for "other styles than traditional." This official new division that welcomed experimental work and was a hit, as he remarked: "To judge from the large number of entries in the new category, its inclusion has met with the approval of many artists."

An artist that took advantage of this new category was Osage painter Carl Woodring (1920-1985). Self-trained, he never departed completely from tribal themes nor fully adopted Euro-American techniques and design, but with the Philbrook's addition of this special category he began submitting paintings that expanded his traditional genre work by incorporating modern trends, techniques, and forms, and freely using experimentation. In 1960, two of his paintings won first prize awards, one in the Plains division and the other as a symbolic and new style work. The first regional award, *Emergence of the Deer Spirit* depicts a conventional arrangement of figures, lined up across the picture plane, yet depicted the same curvy, featureless faces, and elongated forms as this artist's nontraditional painting *Ritual of the Sweat Bath*. Woodring's experimental piece embrace trends with its abstractly proportioned forms and all-over textural paint splatters. As a modern artist aware of both his heritage and contemporary trends he worked with both styles under the new opportunity to submit experimental work to the Philbrook and broadened his repertoire with new forms and techniques.

Although 1959 marked the first year that the Philbrook annuals awarded experimental Native paintings it was not the museum's first attempt to include work of this nature in the shows. In 1948, the museum curated a separate but concurrent exhibit of paintings by artists with Native heritage, such as Yeffe Kimball, Woodrow Crumbo and Mexican artists like Diego Rivera and Rufino Tamayo, who were recognized for their

contribution to the general field of American art. In 1951, director Robert M. Church added a small experimental category that did not award prizes and again was separate from the main exhibition of regional paintings. In 1953, the Philbrook displayed experimental crafts in its annual exhibition.

Despite an overriding preference for the traditional style in the Philbrook annual guidelines, perspectives that supported experimentation in American Indian art prevailed at times. Some experimental work was selected for purchase awards by liberal jurors who chose their favorite pieces rather than adhering to the museum's established ideals of authentic work. Attitudes toward accepting experimental work had also changed over the course of the Philbrook annuals, and some administrators welcomed and incorporated new styles of painting into its displays of traditional art.

The Philbrook's director from 1951-1954 was Robert M. Church. Under his leadership, the annual recognized and attempted to deal with experimental Native painting for the first time. After adding a category to display nontraditional trends without awards, he commented on the development of new styles in the 1952 catalog: "Certain of the younger artists now explore, using methods comparable to those of their brother white men, toward a variety of new kinds of expression." He recognized this progress in the art: "These works have shown, over the years, increased skill, considerable experimentation, and expansion on the part of the individual artist." The Philbrook annuals' emphasized the traditional style, but certain jurors and directors acknowledged the development of new trends in mid-20th century Native painting.

At the Denver Art Museum, after the controversy with judges Byrnes and Sanderson that occurred during its fourth annual, competitions were suspended.²³ The museum and jurors' frustration over submitting artists' reliance on the traditional style contributed to the decision to end the annuals after 1954. The open disappointment with

the lack of experimental work, brought to light during the last Denver annual, linked the desire for advanced contemporary work with the show's success. Curator Willena Cartwright observed the state of the art in 1951: "We did not specify that all paintings be on traditional themes. However, all were on traditional or Indian subjects, and all except three from one artist, were in more or less traditional style."

Although failure to collect experimental work is the most likely explanation for the exhibition's end, there are other factors to consider. Issues emerged with artists who wanted to remove their work from the show before it ended. In 1954, a new juried annual was planned at the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco that called for artist submissions and wanted to hold its exhibitions at the same time as the Denver Art Museum's annual. For Cartwright, it was unacceptable to deinstall work from the exhibition before it ended.²⁵ Competition from this concurrent show made it difficult for artists to choose which venue to submit to and would likely cause Denver to receive fewer experimental pieces that it sought.²⁶

The small number of experimental painting created at the time was an impediment to both the Denver Art Museum and the Philbrook's promotion of this work and it explained why the Denver Art Museum was unable to receive a large number of new style pieces to expand its collection. Because of this, its goals were unfulfilled, causing its demise after 1954. At the Philbrook, the small amount of experimental work in the first half of the 1950s reinforced its resistance to change, and its adherence to preserving the traditional aspects of painting, as well as caused the institution to neglect the inherent modern aspects of the art in its annuals. The sparseness of experimental work also explained the Philbrook's delay in incorporating new styles in its awards system, a change that did not officially occur until 1959. The start of the annuals in 1956 accounted

for the Museum of New Mexico's initial openness to this manner of painting, but the work's scarceness explains its delayed addition of a nontraditional category in 1964.

Eventually, all three museums adjusted their guidelines in an effort to adapt to changes that were occurring in mid-20th century Native American painting. The Museum of New Mexico added a contemporary category in 1964 that divided the awards between traditional style and experimental paintings. The Philbrook Art Center also added a special nontraditional category in 1959 so that experimental work could be awarded at its annuals following controversy that arose from the rejection of Howe's *Umine Wacipe*. And the Denver Art Museum ceased holding annuals after the jurors of its 1954 exhibition rejected the majority of submissions for lacking creativity and being repetitious imitations of the traditional style.

Notes

¹ Oscar Howe quoted in W. Jackson Rushing, "Critical Issues in Recent Native American Art," *Art Journal* 51 (1992): 8.

² This was a direct result of his early art training which took place at Dorothy Dunn's Studio. He enrolled in the Santa Fe Indian School program in 1933.

³ John Anson Warner, "The Sociological Art of Oscar Howe," in *Oscar Howe: A Retrospective Exhibition*, ed. Frederick J. Dockstader (Tulsa: Thomas Gilcrease Museum, 1982), 13.

⁴ J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 148-150.

⁵ Susan Ann Croteau, "'But It Doesn't Look Indian': Objects Archetypes and Objectified Others in Native American Art, Culture and Identity" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2008), 163.

⁶ The 1958 Philbrook annual jury panel was comprised of University of Oklahoma professor Alice Marriott, University of Tulsa professor Dr. William Price, and Native painter Jesse E. Davis.

⁷ Alice Marriott, Dr. William S. Price, and Jesse E. Davis, "Statement of the Jury," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1958). Exhibition catalog.

⁸ Anthes, *Native Moderns*, 159 and 169. Philbrook curator Jeanne Snodgrass also agreed that the museum's interpretation of traditional was unfair and limiting.

⁹ Ibid., 161.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ The 1954 Denver Art Museum annual jurors were the director of the Colorado Fine Arts Center James Byrnes and University of Denver art professor William Sanderson.

¹² James B. Byrnes and William Sanderson, "Jurors' Statement," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1954), Exhibition catalog.

¹³ Otto Karl Bach, "First Annual Indian Art Show Opens Today," *Rocky Mountain News*, October 7, 1951, A-6. Bach, the museum director wrote: "Most Americans think of the American Indian as a vanished race, and American Indian art as either prehistoric or of the modern curio-shop type. This new exhibition contradicts these assumptions, revealing the American Indian as contemporary creative artists, meeting 20th century art standards."

¹⁴ Byrnes and Sanderson, "Jurors' Statement," *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, Denver Art Museum, 1954, Exhibition catalog.

¹⁵ Byrnes and Sanderson, "Jurors' Selection," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 1954), Exhibition catalog. Their recommendations were *Watercolor* by Otis Polelonema and *Her First Dance* by Pablita Velarde.

¹⁶ Byrnes and Sanderson, "Jurors' Statement," *Contemporary American Indian Painting*, Denver Art Museum, 1954 Exhibition catalog.

¹⁷ Clara Lee Tanner, "Statement of the Jury of Selection and Award," *American Indian Artists* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1959), Exhibition catalog.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Donald G. Humphrey, "Foreword," *American Indian Painting and Sculpture* (Tulsa, Philbrook Art Center, 1959), Exhibition catalog.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Robert M. Church, "Foreword," *Contemporary American Indian Painting* (Tulsa: Philbrook Art Center, 1952), Exhibition catalog.

²² Ibid.

²³ Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons*, 194. "Desire to emulate the success of the Philbrook annual and, hopefully, at the same time to upgrade the aesthetic quality of the art led to efforts by the Denver Art Museum and the Museum of New Mexico to promote a revival by sponsoring their own competitions. They failed."

²⁴ Willena Cartwright, Report after the first exhibition, 1951, Native Arts Department files, Denver Art Museum.

²⁵ Jose V. Aguilar to Willena Cartwright, 1954, Native Arts Department files, Denver, Denver Art Museum. Cartwright responded to his request by saying she did not want to deinstall the exhibition before it ended and she could not release his work until the exhibition was over.

²⁶ Nifa Valvo to the Denver Art Museum, 1954, Native Arts Department files, Denver Art Museum.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Controversy over the styles and techniques of Native American painters and the museums that held juried annuals were significant issues that remain relevant today. There were multiple ways to interpret the direction and guidance that resulted from an authoritative position that was based on Anglo worldviews. On one hand, patrons were the intended audience for the work, as well as the main economic supporters of the artists, and thus, central to the success of Native painting. From another perspective, patrons were also administrators of the institutions that represented the work, holding a position of power which led to the dictation of appropriate qualities in their promotion of the art.

The second view proved problematic and caused conflict between patrons and artists. In the case of the Denver Art Museum, the institution's goals to collect experimental painting and new styles did not align with the work artists were creating at the time. Because such a small number were working in the contemporary manner the museum was interested in caused it to abandon its annuals. In the case of the Philbrook's rejection of a painting its jurors determined to be nontraditional, the resulting conflict highlighted the role that patrons played in influencing desirable qualities. It discouraged efforts toward change and development in the art by hindering the experimental direction that some wanted to go in.

Three museums with very different approaches to juried annuals are examined in this thesis. Only one, the Philbrook, encountered resistance due to the position taken in its guidelines that discouraged progress in the art. The two other museums were open to experimentation and, especially in the case of the Denver Art Museum, encouraged new styles and trends. Juried exhibitions came to be known in the 1960s as a dictating force in

Native painting due, in part, to the long standing and conservative reputation of the Philbrook, which was biased and emphasized the traditional style. Instead, this study shows through three examples how a range of attitudes and approaches actually existed.

The annuals held at the Philbrook Art Center (1946-1979), the Denver Art Museum (1951-1954), and the Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery (1956-1965) were juried exhibitions of Native American art, unique because of their focus on painting and display of submissions from across the United States. They were the first of their kind and important because modern easel painting was becoming a burgeoning art form at the time.² Patronage of this work marked a shift away from the focus on artisanal and craft qualities of Native arts toward an appreciation of American Indians as fine artists.³ By excluding from the main exhibits traditional arts and staples of the tourist trade such as beadwork, pottery, weaving, and basketry, these museums highlighted a new mode similar to Euro-American art in its form and history. American easel painting was derived from instructional training as compared to other craft forms where practice and knowledge was learned within artists' cultures.

Because the paternalistic attitudes in juried annuals have been the most covered aspect of the exhibitions in literature, progressive aspects have been nearly unrecognized in the historiography. Although not always persisting over opposing forces, requiring the traditional style was not the only institutional perspective at the time. The Denver Art Museum and the Museum of New Mexico openly welcomed experimental painting and did not restrict the subject matter or style of artists as did the Philbrook. The interest in experimentation at these two annuals shows that an institutional bias against new forms of expression was not an absolute of the time. Proving that it was not just artists that struggled to contribute to a more contemporary art form, institutions and patrons also supported new modes and styles.

The chapters of this thesis explicate three different approaches to juried exhibitions. By explaining their institutional history, analyzing their guidelines and differences, and describing controversies that affected the structures of the shows, the relationship of each institution to modern Native American painting is detailed. Although each juried exhibition had different motivations and connection to experimental new work, they all faced issues that arose from trends emerging in the art and each had individual reactions and were affected in different ways.

In Chapter 2, the history and details of each museum's annuals are described. The chronicle of the institutions' founding illuminates a relationship with Native American art and crafts and thus a motivation for starting the exhibitions. Sometimes the affiliation had to do with the location of the museum and its proximity to rich tribal heritage as with the cases of Tulsa and Santa Fe. At the Denver Art Museum, there was an interest and appreciation for the art, but was located in an area that was detached from Native culture. All of the museums, however, had collections of Native arts and crafts that they wished to expand with acquisitions made from their annuals.

Purchase of awarded works for their permanent collection was a motivation for the museums to hold competitive painting exhibitions and, as has been discussed, also an influence in developing the guidelines. Each had specific ideas about artist submissions' potential as pieces to acquire. The Philbrook Art Center limited artwork to the traditional flat style of painting in an effort to preserve ancient Native cultural traditions its curators feared would be lost through modernization and Western assimilation. Its administrators believed that paining aligned with old ways retained more authentic aspects of the culture and therefore more documentary and educational for both Euro-American patrons and Native Americans. Its guidelines restricted subject matter and style to the traditional manner.

The Denver Art Museum emphasized experimental work, encouraging artists to develop their style with modern trends and adaptations. It maintained that although Native cultures and their modes of artistic expression change, they remain authentic to their heritage while depicting the conditions of their time. Denver set no limits on style, subject matter, or media in its guidelines. The Museum of New Mexico was a more neutral venue than the others, neither setting limits on subject matter nor style, stating that it was not these elements that make art authentic, therefore accepting experimentation while also including the traditional style. The museum was more interested in solidifying Santa Fe as a major center for Native art, using the annuals to further its goal.

The annuals differed in their ideology and motivation, but had similar goals to support contemporary American Indian painting. All three wanted to encourage artists and provide a venue that would garner attention, accolades, and patronage for the work. They hoped the competitive process would stimulate greater quality and the exposure gained through the exhibitions would garner appreciation and increase private collection.

In order to better understand the art of the time and its qualities which precipitated controversy in the juried annuals, Chapter 3 details the elements of the traditional and experimental styles. Each museum had its own definition of what comprised each mode. The Philbrook Art Center held that convention was the most relevant to artists working at the time in an effort to preserve cultural heritage and it considered new trends less authentic and culturally counterintuitive. The Denver Art Museum favored experimentation as an exciting development that broadened the art form and better captured the modern period in which artists were working. The museum did not discourage the traditional style, but held that it had become stereotyped. The Museum of New Mexico did not maintain a preference for either style but had a similar outlook

toward both in which Native heritage rather than formal qualities, made the work authentic.

Chapter 4 details the inconsistencies between institutional expectations for submissions and the work that was being created at the time. In the case of the Philbrook, its 1958 annual judges rejected Oscar Howe's *Umine Wacipe* from award because it was not authentic enough for museum purchase. Their stance was in line with the institution's guidelines that valued the conservative mode. Howe responded with offense at the judges' attempt to dictate appropriate qualities in the art. He defended his work as capturing intrinsic aspects of Native heritage like adaptation, inventiveness, and intelligence while discrediting the jurors' attempt to control the direction artists should take. As a result of this controversy, the museum added a new award category for experimental work. It was unlikely that the Philbrook's annual would successfully continue without this change because the first year with the nontraditional category proved new trends were becoming increasingly popular as many artists submitted work to the division for the 1959 annual. Precipitated by controversy, the Philbrook's adjustment was timely and necessary.

Denver encouraged new trends, motivated by the desire to collect experimental work. Favoring new manners, work of this nature was being created by a limited number of artists which caused problems for its exhibitions. In 1954, the Denver Art Museum annual jurors rejected the majority of traditional style work from award. They felt that the works were stereotyped and repetitious copies that have been recreated ad nauseum. The judges reflected the goals and guidelines of the museum and determined the work should be creative contemporary examples of Native painting. The submissions did not meet their quality standards and 1954 was the last year the museum held competitive exhibitions.

New Mexico's interest in both styles coincided with its mission to promote the art of the area populated by many Euro-American and Native artists, contributing to acceptance to a wide range of styles. Its openness toward experimental work and lack of bias toward one style over another caused no resistance by artists or jurors toward its guidelines. However, the emergence of new trends did not pass without affecting the structure of its annual. Despite accepting new modes since its beginning, the museum eventually felt the need to amend its annuals by adding a new category for experimentation in 1964 because of its growing prevalence; it separated the new style work from artists who chose to continue working in the traditional style.

During the middle of the 20th century, the annual administrators held views that ranged from favoring the traditional style to valuing experimentation. The diversity of attitudes facilitated acceptance of Native painters who developed a style that incorporated a wide array of influences while still maintaining support for the conventional work of artists that chose to continue conservative painting. The early juried annuals maintained a patronage base for traditional style painting while providing opportunities for experimentation, paving the way for the great variety and artistic progress of Native American painting today

Notes

¹ J. J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 192-4.

² Jackson Rushing, "Modern by Tradition: The 'Studio Style' of Native American Painting," in *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style*, eds. Bruce Bernstein and Jackson Rushing (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 27-31. Rushing describes the beginning of easel painting in 1901, leading to a rise in its popularity in the 1930s.

³ Ibid., 31.

⁴ New Mexico had well established art colonies in Santa Fe and Taos which had many traditional and Anglo painters, likely contributing to the openness to painting in a variety of styles.

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APPENDIX A

LIST OF ANNUAL DETAILS AND AWARDS BY YEAR AND MUSEUM

Mediums listed where available

The Philbrook Art Center (1946-1960)

The Fillibrook Art Cent	ei (1940-1900)
Philbrook 1st Annual	July 23-September 29, 1946
Title of Show	Exhibition of American Indian Painting
Judges	Crumbo, Woody (Potawatomie)
	Wilson, Charles Banks
	Field, Clark
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Kabotie, Fred (Hopi), Hopi Ceremonial Dance, Watercolor
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Tahoma, Quincy (Navajo), In the Days of Plentiful, Tempera
Second, \$100	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Yai-Bi-Chai Dance, Watercolor
Third, \$50	Sandy, Percy T. (Zuni), Zuni Rain Priests, Tempera
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Creek Mother and Children, Tempera
Second, \$100	Murdock, Cecil (Kickapoo), Medicine Man (Peyote Ceremony), Watercolor
Third, \$50	Dorsey, Tom (Onadoga), The Creation Legend
Citation of Merit	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Indian Mother, Watercolor
Citation of Honor	DesJarlait, Patrick R. (Chippewa), Maple Sugar Time, Watercolor
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Blackowl, Archie (Apache), Sunrise Dance of the Sun Dance, Watercolor
Second, \$100	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Animal Dance-Cheyenne, Tempera
Third, \$50	Keahbone, George C. (Kiowa), Mounted Warrior, Watercolor
Citation of Merit	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa), Medicine Man, Watercolor
Philbrook 2nd Annual	June 24-September 14, 1947
Title of Show	National Exhibition of American Indian Painting
Judges	Kabotie, Fred (Hopi)
	Blackowl, Archie (Apache)
	Wiesendanger, Martin
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Dakota Duck Hunt
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Toledo, Jose Rey (Jemez), Dancing Spirits
Second, \$100	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), Hunting Son [sic]
Third, \$50	Atencio, Gilbert (San Ildefonso), Julian and Marie Martinez
Honorable Mentions	Herrera, Velino Shije (Zia), <i>Buffalo Hunt</i> Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), <i>Green Corn Dance</i>
	<u> </u>

Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	DesJarlait, Patrick (Chippewa), Making Wild Rice
Second, \$100	Dorsey, Tom (Onondaga), Long House Eagle Dance
Third, \$50	Burton, Jimalee (Cherokee), Buffalo Dance
Honorable Mentions	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Seminole Family
	Rogers, W. Paul (Cherokee), Chief of the Night Hawk Clan
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Cheyenne Children's Games
Second, \$100	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Buffalo Dancer
Third, \$50	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Old-Time Scalp Dance
Honorable Mention	Kimball, Yeffe (Kiowa-Osage), To the Happy Hunting Grounds
Philbrook 3 rd Annual	1948
Title of Show	Exhibition of American Indian Painting
Judges	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton)
	Hunt, Wolf Robe (Acoma)
	Jacobson, Oscar B.
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Houser, Allan (Apache), Apache Baby Burial
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), Buffalo Dance
Second, \$100	Preston, Bert (Hopi), Buffalo Dance
Third, \$50	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Navajo Weavers
Honorable Mentions	Toledo, Jose Rey (Jemez), Corn Dance Koshares
	Sandy, Percy (Zuni), Buck and Does
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Chochtaw Scalp and Victory Dance
Second, \$100	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Indian Burial Ceremony
Third, \$50	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Seminole Family at Work
Honorable Mentions	Dorsey, Tom (Onondaga), False Face Medicine
	DesJarlait, Patrick (Chippewa), The Hoop Dance
Citation of Merit	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Hide Painting Indian Art
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Keahbone, George C. (Kiowa), Stalking the Buffalo
Second, \$100	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Death and the New Life
Third, \$50	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Peyote Ceremony
Honorable Mentions	Davis, Jesse E. (Comanche-Creek), War Dance
	Asah, Spencer (Kiowa), Eagle Dance
4.	
Philbrook 4 th Annual	May 10-July 3, 1949

Title of Show	Exhibition of American Indian Painting
Judges	Houser, Allan (Apache)
	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee)
	Mera, H. P.
Best in Show Award	
\$350	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Dance of the Soldier Societies
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Washing Hair
Second, \$100	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Keres Corn Dance
Third, \$50	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Watering the Horses
Honorable Mentions	Preston, Bert (Hopi), Hopi Corn Dance
	Mirabal, Eva (Taos), Sun Down Dance
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Muskogee Polecat Dance
Second, \$100	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Women's Ribbon Dance
Third, \$50	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Choctaw Grave Cry
Honorable Mentions	Crumbo, Woody (Potawatomie), Rainbow Horse
	Deere, Noah (Creek), Creek Ball Game
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee), Pawnee Women Preserving Corn
Second, \$100	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Sioux Telling
Third, \$50	White Horse, Roland (Kiowa), Kiowa War Dance Ceremony
Honorable Mentions	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Eagle Hunt
	de Cinq-Mars, Tahcawin (Sioux), <i>The Painted Horse</i>
	(2.20.2), 1.10.2 1.10.2 1.20.2
Philbrook 5 th Annual	May 2-July 2, 1950
Title of Show	Exhibition of American Indian Painting
Judges	West, Dick (Cheyenne)
	Patterson, Pat
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Houser, Allan (Apache), Ill-fated War Party's Return
Southwest Awards	The contract of the contract o
First, \$150	Preston, Bert (Hopi), Mountain Sheep Dance
Second, \$100	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Nine Night's Ceremony
Third, \$50	Outie, George (Hopi), Butterfly Dancer
Honorable Mentions	Vigil, Frank (Apache), Buffalo Hunt
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), The Rabbit Hunt
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Creek Men's Feather Dance
Second, \$100	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Creek Women Cooking Fish
Third, \$50	Deere, Noah, Creek Ball Game
	,,

Honorable Mentions	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Mother and Child
Tionorable ivientions	Phillip, Dwight (Choctaw), The Bonepicker
Plains Awards	Timip, Dwight (Chocuw), The Bonepicker
First, \$150	Riding-Inn, M. (Pawnee), Morning Star Ceremony
Second, \$100	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Dance of the Doublewoman
Third, \$50	Osborne, Gerald (Pawnee), Pawnee Indian Hand Game
Honorable Mentions	Davis, Jesse E. (Comanche-Creek), Three Dancers
Tionorable Mentions	Brave, Frank (Osage-Cherokee), Osage Give-Away Ceremony
	Brave, Frank (Osage-Cherokee), Osage Give-Away Ceremony
Philbrook 6 th Annual	1951
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Not listed
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek Pawnee), Oklahoma War Dancers
Southwest Awards	3,, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
First, \$150	Lee, Charles (Navajo), Freedom
Second, \$100	Preston, Bert (Hopi), Hopi Snake Dance
Third, \$50	Kabotie, Fred (Hopi), Kiva Dance
Honorable Mentions	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), Buffalo Dancers
	Robin, Red (Zuni), Navajo God
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Sing Ceremony-Eve of Creek Stick Ball
Second, \$100	Sampson, William (Creek), Cochise's Wrath
Third, \$50	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Choctaw Bone Picker Ceremony
Honorable Mentions	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Old Creek Indian Medicine Man and His Pupils
	Phillip, Dwight (Choctaw), Choctaw Exodus
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Dakota Teaching
Second, \$100	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Water Serpent
Third, \$50	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee), Painting of the Bufflo Skull
Honorable Mentions	Pushetonequa, Charles (Sac-Fox), Making Maple Syrup
	Kimball, Yeffee (Kiowa-Osage), Navajo Chant
	Farmer, Ernie (Shoshoni-Bannock), Shoshoni Ghost Dance
	Dawes, Ermaleen (Cheyenne), Cheyenne Wedding
Philbrook 7 th Annual	1952
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Not listed
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Navajo Woman Weaver

Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Houser, Allan (Chiracuhua-Apache), Fresh Trail
Second, \$100	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), <i>Initiation of a Young Koshare</i>
Third, \$50	Lee, Charles (Navajo), Winter in Navajo Land
Honorable Mention	Shirley, Walter (Navajo), Navajo Feather Dance
Woodland Awards	377 3
First, \$150	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Seminoles, Bringing in Supplies
Second, \$100	Saul, C. Terry Choctaw), Legend of the Dead
Third, \$50	Gough, Agnes E. (Inupiat), Eskimo Ceremonial Dancers
Honorable Mention	Edward, Bronson (Ottowa), Return from the Hunt
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Death Bird
Second, \$100	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Shinny Game
Third, \$50	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Sioux Teacher
Honorable Mentions	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Underwater Serpent
	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Harlequin War Dancer
Philbrook 8 th Annual	May 5-June 30, 1953
Title of Show	National American Indian Painting Exhibition
Judges	Cochran, Woody (Cherokee)
-	Schweitzer, John L.
	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo)
Best in Show Award	
\$350	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), The Turtle Dance
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Warm Mountain (Tewa), Koshares
Second, \$100	Toledo, Jose Rey (Jemez), Pueblo Mudhead Kachinas
Third, \$50	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), Mixed Dancers
Honorable Mentions	Preston, Bert (Hopi), Constitute of Growth
	Shirley, Walter (Navajo), Yei-bit-chai and Servants
	Toledo, Jose Rey (Jemez), Pueblo Buffalo Dance
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Saul, C. Terry (Chochtaw), Choctaw Scalp Dance
Second, \$100	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Florida Seminole Family
Third, \$50	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Apache Devil Dancers
Honorable Mention	Walluk, Wilbur (Inupiat), Alaskan Reindeer
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Prairie Fire
Second, \$100	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), The Blind
Third, \$50	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Return of the Buffalo Hunters

Honorable Mention	Brave, Frank (Osage-Cherokee), Osage Wedding-The Advisors
Philbrook 9 th Annual	1954
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Not listed
Award Winners	Not listed
	Hamaga Las II (Cashiri)
Southwest	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti)
***	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo)
Woodlands	Beaver, Fred (Creek)
	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee)
	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw)
Plains	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche)
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton)
	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee)
Philbrook 10 th Annual	May 3-June 30, 1955
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting
	Cartwright, Willena
Judges	
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton)
	Echohawk, Brummett (Pawnee)
Best in Show Award	
\$100 each	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Peyote Dream
	Houser, Allan (Apache), Happy Hunting Ground
Southwest Awards	
First, \$75	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Navajo Warriors Returning
	Ceremonial Staff to Medicine Shelter
Second, \$50	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Dance of the Avayu and the Thunderbird
Third, \$25	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Navajo Fixing Coffee in
	Monument Valley
Honorable Mentions	Medina, Rafael (Zia), Bird Dance
	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Navajo Hunters
Woodland Awards	
First, \$75	Beaver, Fred (Creek-Seminole), Florida Seminoles Going Visiting
Second, \$50	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Eagle Dancer
Third, \$25	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), Fate of the Prisoner
Honorable Mention	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), First Scalp
Honorable Mention	Beaver, Fred (Creek-Seminole), Florida Seminole Stomp Dance
Plains Awards	, in (in the second se
First, \$75	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Apache Fire Dance
Second, \$50	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), <i>Dog Soldier</i>
Second, 450	Dosni, F. Diackocai (Kiowa-Contanche), Dog Solatei

Philbrook 11 th Annual	May-June, 1956
Title of Show	American Indian Painting Exhibition
Judges	Kerr, Dean Harrison
	West, Dick (Cheyenne)
	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche)
Best in Show Award	Boshi, 1. Blackood (Riowa Comanenc)
\$200	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee), Bear Dance
Southwest Awards	valle, 1 Hom 14. (1 attitlee), Dear Dance
First, \$75	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Green Corn Dance
Second, \$50	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Antelope Dancers in Rehearsal
βεεσπα , φοσ	Costume
Third, \$25	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Buffalo Dancers
Honorable Mentions	Saufrie, Morgan (Hopi), A Rain God
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Rainbow Dance
Woodland Awards	
First, \$75	Johnson, Alfred (Cherokee), Chungke Yards
Second, \$50	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), Crowning of the Warriors
Third, \$25	Beaver, Fred (Creek-Seminole), In the Everglades
Honorable Mentions	Burton, Jimalee (Cherokee), Four Aspects of Man
	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), Night Trail
Plains Awards	V 1
First, \$75	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee), Bear Dance
Second, \$50	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Sioux Singers with Dancers
Third, \$25	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Peyote People
Honorable Mentions	Pepion, Victor (Blackfeet), Happy Hunting Ground
	Turkey, Moses (Kiowa), Starting on the Warpath
Philbrook 12 th Annual	May 7-June 30, 1957
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Beaver, Fred (Creek-Seminole)
	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee)
Best in Show Award	
\$200	Davis, Jesse E. (Comanche), Aftermath, Casein
Southwest Awards	
First, \$75	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Avan-ye, The Keeper of the Waters, Earth
Second, \$50	Battese, Stanley (Navajo), <i>The Navajo Yei Ba Chai Dancers</i> , Casein
Third, \$25	Lee, Charles (Navajo), Guardian of the Flock, Casein
Honorable Mentions	Abeyta, Narciso (Navajo), Raring to Race, Shiva-Casein
	Trujillo, Ascension (San Juan), Turtle Dancers, Casein

Woodland Awards	
First, \$75	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Creek Indian Camp Life, Tempera
Second, \$50	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), <i>The Choctaw Legend of the Corn</i> , Watercolor
Third, \$25	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Indian Social Ball Game, Tempera
Honorable Mentions	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), Lamentation at the War Pole, Watercolor
	Waano-Gano, Joe (Cherokee), Navajo Sandpainters, Tempera
Plains Awards	
First, \$75	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Viewing the Medicine Arrows, Tempera
Second, \$50	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), <i>Night Singers</i> , Gouache
Third, \$25	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Morning Water Blessing, Watercolor
Honorable Mentions	Woodring, Carl (Osage), Winter Count, Tempera
	Belindo, Dennis W. (Kiowa-Navajo), Sundance Vow, Tempera
Philbrook 13 th Annual	May 6-May 29, 1958
Title of Show	Contemporary American Indian Painting Exhibition
Judges	Marriott, Alice
	Price, William S.
	Davis, Jesse E. (Comanche)
Best in Show Award	
\$250	Beaver, Fred (Creek-Seminole), Florida Seminoles Drying Alligator Hide, Tempera
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Rain Birds, Earth
Second, \$75	Battese, Stanley (Navajo), Apache Crown Dancer, Tempera
Third, \$50	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Navajo Feather Dancer, Shiva
Honorable Mentions	Battese, Stanley (Navajo), Yei-Be-Chai Dancers, Tempera
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), <i>The Sleeping Hash-jish-yin</i> , Oil on Velvet
	Aquino, Juan (San Juan), Buffalo Dancers, Tempera
	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Navajo Fire Dance, Shiva
	Hicks, Bobby (Navajo), Evolution of Life, Casein
	Hicks, Bobby (Navajo), Spirits of the Universe, Casein
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Randall, Bunnie (Creek), Celauwe, Tempera
Second, \$75	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Elders Dance, Tempera
Third, \$50	Edwards, Bronson (Ottawa), Return to Camp, Watercolor
Honorable Mentions	Henry, Woodworth V. (Snohomish), The Sea Monster, Tempera
	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Galloping Horses, Tempera

	Cornine, Barbara (Cherokee), White Butterfly Dance, Tempera
	Anderson, Jimmy (Creek), Stand of the Dog Soldier, Tempera
	Randall, Bunnie (Creek), <i>Cunecko</i> , Tempera
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Corn Grinding Ceremony, Watercolor
Second, \$75	Tsa-Toke, Lee (Kiowa), <i>Three Kiowa Warriors</i> , Casein
Third, \$50	Warrior, Antowine (Sac-Fox), Peyote People, Tempera
Honorable Mentions	West, Dick (Cheyenne), White Deer Dance, Tempera
	Warrior, Antowine (Sac-Fox), <i>Indian Maiden</i> , Tempera
	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Viewing the Badger, Tempera
Sculpture-All Tribes	
Honorable Mentions	Crowe, Bill (Cherokee), Giraffe, Walnut
	Chiltoskey, Goingback (Cherokee), Hawk Owl, Curly Buckeye
Philbrook 14 th Annual	May 5-May 31, 1959
Title of Show	National Competition American Indian Painting and Sculpture
Judges	Tanner, Clara Lee
	Frazier, Bernard
Best in Show Award	
\$250	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), <i>Dancing the Scalps</i> , Casein Damar Tempera
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Rainbow Dance, Earth
Second, \$75	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Eagle Dancers, Casein Tempera
Third, \$50	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Corn Dancers, Casein Tempera
Honorable Mentions	Aquino, Juan (San Juan), Pueblo Long Hair Dance, Tempera
	Treas, Rudolph (Mescalero-Apache), <i>Mescalero Apache Dance</i> of the Mountain Gods No.3, Watercolor
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), <i>Haida Medicine Ceremony</i> , Tempera
Second, \$75	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Stomp Dance, Tempera
Third, \$50	Moses, Kivetoruk (Inupiat), Shaman Working Through Spirit Woman, Oil, Pencil, & Ink
Honorable Mentions	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Ancient Choctaw Burial Custom, Watercolor
	Warrior, Antowine (Sac-Fox), Mixing Corn, Tempera
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Mandan, Gouache
Second, \$75	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Sioux Horse Dance, Tempera
Third, \$50	Tsa-Toke, Lee (Kiowa), Black Foot Dancers, Watercolor
Honorable Mentions	Davis, Jesse E. (Comanche), Sentinel, Watercolor

	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Old Hide Style of Painting,
	Enamel on Leather
Non-Traditional	
Styles First, \$100	Kimball, Yeffe (Kiowa-Osage), The Old Medicine Man, Oil
Second, \$50	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Santa Domingo Clown, Oil
Honorable Mentions	Scholder, Fritz (Luiseno), Mission Canyons, Oil
Tionorable Wentions	Aguilar, Jose V. (San Ildefonso), Two Koshares at Night, Casein
Sculpture	rigular, 30se V. (San fideronso), 1 wo Roshares at High, Casen
First, \$75	Stone, Willard (Cherokee), Bud of Spring, Walnut
Second, \$50	Chiltoskey, Goingback (Cherokee), Beggar Bear, Wood
Honorable Mention	Crowe, Amanda M. (Cherokee), <i>Indian Madonna</i> , Mahogany
IACB Purchase Awards	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,
\$200	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Wakan, Casein Damar Tempera
\$75	Timeche, Bruce (Hopi), Lefty the Hunter Kachina, Watercolor
\$50	Moses, Kivetoruk (Inupiat), Shaman Working Through Spirit Woman, Oil, Pencil & Ink
\$25	Stone, Willard (Cherokee), Bud of Spring, Walnut
Philbrook 15 th Annual	May 3-June 2-1960
Title of Show	National Competition American Indian Painting and Sculpture
Dates	May 3-June 2-1960
Judges	Dockstader, Frederick J.
	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw)
Best in Show Award	
\$250	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), <i>Cheyenne Woman Warrior</i> , Watercolor
Southwest Awards	
First, \$150	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Wild Horses, Tempera
Second, \$75	Velarde, Pablita (Sata Clara), The First Twins, Casein
Third, \$50	Chee, Robert (Navajo), Windy Day with Sheep, Tempera
Honorable Mention	Medina, Rafael (Zia), Warrior's Dance, Watercolor
Woodland Awards	
First, \$150	Edwards, Bronson (Ottowa), Planning the Capture, Watercolor
Second, \$75	Hill, Joan (Cherokee-Creek), <i>Dressing for the Ribbon Dance</i> , Tempera
Third, \$50	Crumbo, Woody (Potawatomie), Buffalo Hunt, Watercolor
Honorable Mention	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Mirage, Casein
	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Visitors, Tempera
Plains Awards	
First, \$150	Woodring, Carl (Osage), Emergence of the Deer Spirit,
	Tempera

Second, \$75	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Blizzard Bath, Casein Damar
Third, \$50	Williams, David (Kiowa-Apache-Tonkawa), The Tokawa
	Scouts, Tempera
Honorable Mention	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Eagle Dancer,
	Watercolor
Non-Traditional	
Styles of Painting	
First, \$100	Woodring, Carl (Osage), Ritual of the Sweat Bath Lodge,
	Tempera
Second, \$50	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), Hopi Indian Life Pattern, Watercolor
Honorable Mention	Cochran, Woody (Cherokee), Prairie Fire, Polymer-Tempera
Sculpture	
First, \$75	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Indian Mother and Child, Wood
Second, \$50	Stone, Willard (Cherokee), White Buffalo, Wood
IACB Purchase	
Awards	
\$150	Woodring, Carl (Osage), Emergence of the Deer Spirit,
	Tempera
\$150	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Buffalo Hunt, Tempera
\$125	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Throws Away a Wife, Tempera
\$100	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Mountain Goat TotemHaida, Oil
\$75	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Seminole Mother and Baby, Tempera
\$45	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Wild Horses, Tempera

The Denver Art Museum (1951-1954)

Denver 1 st Annual	1951
Title	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judge	Kirkland, Vance
Purchase Awards	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Florida Seminoles Preparing Food, Tempera
	Blue Eagle, Acee (Creek-Pawnee), Pawnee Medicine Man, Tempera
	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Dressing Up, Tempera
	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Creek Ball Game Ceremony, Tempera
	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Choctaw Ball Dancers, Watercolor
	Vigil, Calvin (Apache), This Modern Age, Watercolor
	Vigil, Calvin (Apache), Indian Horses, Watercolor
Honorable Mentions	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Eagle Dancers, Tempera
	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Ojibwa Song, Casein
	Dorsey, Tom (Onondago), The Corn Pounders, Tempera
Denver 2 nd Annual	September 29-November 23, 1952

Title	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Field, Dorothy
vaages	Hassrick, Royal B.
	Kirkland, Vance
Purchase Awards	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), <i>Buffalo Runners</i> , Watercolor
	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), Pictograph Altar, Casein
	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Cochiti Corn Dance, Casein-Tempera
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Waayate (Sioux Seer), Watercolor
Lerner Shop Awards	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Navajo Shepherds at Waterhole, Casein
Honorable Mention Awards	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Going Out for Big Game Hunt, Casein
	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Navajo Shepherds at Waterhole, Casein
	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Vision of Plenty-Coup, Watercolor
	Edwards, Bronson (Ottawa), Return from the Hunt, Watercolor
	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), Petroglyph Turtle, Casein
	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), <i>Apaches Stealing Cattle from Mexican Ranchers</i> , Casein
	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), Apache War Dance, Casein
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Everlasting Hunting Ground, Watercolor
	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Choctaw Grave Cry, Watercolor
	West, Dick (Cheyenne), Underwater Serpent, Tempera
Denver 3 rd Annual	August 17-October 4, 1953
Title	Contemporary American Indian Painting and Crafts
Judges	Bach, Otto K.
	Hassrick, Royal B.
Purchase Awards	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Navajo Weavers, Casein
	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), Apache Clown Dance, Casein
	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), Herding Sheep, Casein
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Sioux Dancer, Casein
Honorable Mentions	Beaver, Fred (Creek), Seminole Family, Tempera
	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Sioux Horse Dance, Watercolor

	Houser, Allan (Chiricauhua-Apache), <i>Apache Mother Carrying Corn</i> , Casein
	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Green Corn Dance, Tempera
	Momaday, Al (Kiowa), Peyote Bird, Watercolor
	Saul, C. Terry (Choctaw), Choctaw Chieftan's Dance, Watercolor
Denver 4 th Annual	August 8-October 31, 1954
Title	Contemporary American Indian Painting
Judges	Byrnes, James B.
	Sanderson, William
Purchase Awards	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Sioux Eagle Dancer, Casein Damar
	Aguilar, Jose V. (San Ildefonso), <i>The Koshare and Mice</i> , Watercolor
	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Cochiti Corn Dancer, Casein-Tempera
	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), Watercolor
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Her First Dance, Casein

The Museum of New Mexico (1956-1960)

New Mexico 1 st Annual	1956
Title of Show	Indian Artists Exhibition
Judges	Dunn, Dorothy
Judges	Shije, Velino (Zia)
	Rush, Olive
	Rusii, Olive
First Prize, \$100	Aguilar, Jose V. (San Ildefonso), <i>The Four Winds</i>
Second Prize, \$50	Toledo, Jose Rey (Jemez), Pueblo Buffalo Dance
Special Prize, \$25	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti), Symbols of Fall Ceremony
Museum Purchases	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Koshares
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Dance of the Tree
	Dwellers
Honorable Mention	Vigil, Calvin (Apache), Eagles
	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Navajo Dancers
	Luis Gonzalez (San Ildefonso), Rearing Horse
	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), Three Kachina Figures
	Sandy, Percy (Zuni), Dancer
	Jake, Albin R. (Pawnee), Ne-saro
	·
New Mexico 2 nd Annual	1957
Title of Show	Indian Artists Exhibition
Judges	Dunn, Dorothy
	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti)
	Shonnard, Eugenie

\$50 Award	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), Four Clowns and Two Katsinas		
\$25 Awards	Trujillo, Ascension (San Juan), Buffalo Dance		
,	Mirabal, Eva (Taos), Deer in the Forest		
	Pena, Encarnacion (San Ildefonso), Water Guardians		
\$10 Awards	Treas, Rudolph (Apache), Gahan Dancers		
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Domingo Bird and Plants		
Museum Purchases	, , , , , ,		
\$100	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Thunder Knives		
\$50	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), North Mountain		
	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \		
1st Honorable Mention Joint Award	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), War Dance-Sioux		
	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Elk Game-Sioux		
Honorable Mentions	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Mountain Sheep Dancer		
	Talahytewa, Gibson (Hopi), The Leader		
	Aguilar, Jose V. (San Ildefonso), Stampede		
	Trujillo, Ascension (San Juan), Basket Dance		
	Polelonema, Otis (Hopi), One Navajo Katsina		
	1 //		
New Mexico 3 rd Annual	1958		
Title of Show	Indian Artists Exhibition		
Judges	Sims, Agnes		
	Adams, Liane		
\$100 Award	Howe, Oscar (Sioux Yankton), Buffalo Dancer		
\$50 Award	Bosin, F. Blackbear (Kiowa-Comanche), Peyote Still Life		
\$25 Awards	Sanchez, Abel (San Ildefonso), Eagle Dance		
¢12.50 A1	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Kachina		
\$12.50 Awards	Gaspar, Pete (Zuni), Dancers		
\$10 Awards	Lucero, Alondo (Jemez), Eagle Dancers		
\$10 Awards	Riley, Victor (Laguna), Dancers		
Museum Purchases	Aquino, Robert (San Juan), Men at Work		
\$50	Sanchez, Abel (San Ildefonso), Koshare		
Ψ30	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Pottery Motif		
\$35	Lee, Charles (Navajo), Navajo Bronc Rider		
Student	Lee, Charles (Navajo), Navajo Brone Ruter		
Honorable Mentions	Paul, Chinana (Jemez), Wounded Bear		
Tionorable Wentions	Montoya, Ned (San Juan), Buffalo Dancers		
	Panana, Gerald (Jemez), Little Horse Dance		
	1 anana, Octaiu (Jeniez), Lune Horse Dunce		
New Mexico 4 th Annual	1959		
Title of Show	Indian Artists Exhibition		
Judges	Jones, Hester		
	Herrera, Joe H. (Cochiti)		
\$100 Award	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Hunters Dreaming		

\$25 Awards	Hill, Joan (Creek-Cherokee), Seminole Man		
	Suina, Theodore (Cochiti), Eagle Dancers		
	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara), Rainbow Dancers		
Student Awards			
\$15 Award	Tsabetsaye, Roger (Zuni), Zuni Warriors		
\$12.50 Awards	Tosa, Lawrence (Jemez), Dancer and Corn		
	Townsend, Roger (San Felipe), Kachina Dancers		
\$10 Awards	Begay, Harrison (Navajo), Horse		
	Wilson, Lucy (Navajo), Navajo Papoose		
\$5 Awards	Herrera, Ernest (Tesuque), Four Dancers		
	Panana, Gerald (Jemez), Pecos Bull		
Museum Purchases			
\$65	Atencio, Gilbert (San Ildefonso), San Ildefonso Basket Dance		
\$50	Woodring, Carl (Osage), Apache Crown Dance		
\$35	Abeyta, Narciso (Navajo), Creation Horses		
Hananahla Mantian	Do Anthony (Con Hafanso) The Lawrey Valley		
Honorable Mention	Da, Anthony (San Ildefonso), <i>The Lower Valley</i>		
New Mexico 5 th Annual	July 14-August 7, 1960		
Title of Show	Indian Artists Exhibition		
Judges	Velarde, Pablita (Santa Clara)		
	Packard, Al		
\$100 Award	Hill, Joan (Creek-Cherokee), Creek Elders' Dance		
\$25 Awards	Abeyta, Narciso (Navajo), Rearing to Race		
	Lujan, James (Taos), Taos San Geronimo Clowns		
Student Awards			
\$15 Awards	Caje, Richard (Apache), Apache Crown Dance		
	Pino, Lorenzo (Tesuque), Turtle and Dragonfly		
\$10 Awards	Martine, Bob (Navajo), Horses		
,	Tsabetsaye, Roger (Zuni), Apache Warrior		
\$5 Awards	Coloque, Mary Nancy (Jemez), Bear Design		
Ψο 11/10/200	Toya, Pete (Jemez), Five Corn Dancers		
Museum Purchases			
\$85 Award	Tsihnahjinnie, Andrew (Navajo), Going to the Medicine Man		
\$60 Award	Hill, Joan (Creek-Cherokee), Creek Elders' Dance		
Honorable Mentions	McCombs, Solomon (Creek), Mirage		
	Gorman, Carl N. (Navajo), Three Studs		
	Montoya, Geronima (San Juan), The Duck		
	Yazz, Beatien (Navajo), Yei and Warrior Gods Approaching Patient		
Student Honorable Mentions	Franklin, Ernest (Navajo), Grandpa		
Student Honorable Mentions	Trankini, Eriest (Ivavajo), Granapa		

Gachupin, Maxine (Jemez), Bird
Lujan, Gilbert (Taos), Rabbit Hunt
Platero, Raymond (Navajo), Home for Dinner
Sandoval, Benny (San Felipe), Abstract Bug

APPENDIX B

EXHIBITING ARTISTS AT THE JURIED ANNUALS OF THE PHILBROOK ART CENTER, DENVER ART MUSEUM, AND MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO ORGANIZED BY NAME

		I a	1	
		Superscript denotes an award		
		or honor mention		
		that year		
		P- Philbrook, D-	Total	
		Denver- N- New	Works	
		Mexico	Exhibited	Total
Artist	Tribe	Years Exhibited	1946-1960	Awards
Abeyta, Narciso	Navajo	1946-8, 57 ^P ,9 ^N , 60 ^N	16	3
Aguilar, Alfred	San Ildefonso	1959-60	2	
Aguilar, Jose V.	San Ildefonso	$1954^{\rm D}, 6^{\rm N}-7^{\rm N}, 59^{\rm P}$	14	4
Ahgupuk, George	Inuit	1946	1	
Anderson, Jimmy	Creek	1954-5 ^P -6 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P	13	5
Aquino, Juan	San Juan	1958 ^P -9 ^P	2	2
Archilta, Clara	Kiowa-Apache	1958	1	
Asah, Spencer	Kiowa	1948 ^P -9	3	1
Atencio, Gilbert	San Ildefonso	1946-7 ^P , 56, 9 ^N	11	2
Atencio, Tony	San Ildefonso	1946, 56	2	
Auciah, James	Kiowa	1949	1	
Bahe, Stanley K.	Navajo	1952	1	
Ballard, Louis	Quapaw	1949-50, 59-60	6	
Battese, Stanley	Navajo	55-7 ^P - 8 ^P -9	19	3
Beaver, Fred	Creek	1947 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P -50 ^P -	49	16
Bouver, Trou	Creek	1 ^{PD} -2 ^P -3 ^{PD} -4 ^P -5 ^P -	.,	10
		6^{P} , 58^{P} - 60^{P}		
Begay, Arthur C.	Navajo	1958-9	4	
Begay, Harrison	Navajo	1946 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P -52 ^D -	43	9
		3^{D} -54, 56-57 N -8,		
D D. 1		60		
Begay, Richard	Navajo	1955	1	
Begay, Timothy	Navajo	1946	1	
Belindo, Dennis	Kiowa	1956-7 ^P	4	1
Bell, Nancy	Osage	1955	1	
Billey, Rayson J.	Choctaw	1951	1	
Blackowl, Archie	Cheyenne	1946 ^P , 59	3	1
Blalock, Ruthe	Delaware	1954, 6, 9 1946 ^P , 8 ^P , 50 ^P -	3	
Blue Eagle, Acee	Creek-Pawnee	$1946^{P}, 8^{P}, 50^{P}$	45	10
		$1^{PD}_{9^P}$ - 3^P - 4^P , 56-7 ^P -		
		1946 ^P -7 ^P -8, 50-		1
	Kiowa-	$1^{D}-2^{PD}-3^{P}-4^{P}-5^{P}$		
Bosin, F. Blackbear	Comanche	57 ^P , 59 ^P -60 ^P	44	15
Bosin, Pat	Kiowa-	1960	1	
	Comanche			

Botella, Emmett	Apache	1957	1	
Brave, Frank	Osage-Creek	1950 ^P , 2 ^P	4	2
Burton, Jimalee	Cherokee	1947 ^P -9, 51-3, 6 ^P	11	2
Casiquito, Vidal, Jr.	Jemez	1953	1	
Chalee, Pop	Taos	1957-8	3	
Chauncey, Florence	Inuit	1960	2	
Chavez, Calvin Fenley	Laguna	1951	1	
Chee, Robert	Navajo	1957-60 ^P 1958 ^P -9 ^P -60	17	1
Chiltoskey, Goingback	Cherokee	1958 ^P -9 ^P -60	3	2
Chiltoskey, Watty	Cherokee	1958	1	
Clutesi, G.C.	Se-Shaht	1947	2	
Clutter, Opal Ellenore	Delaware	1948	1	
Cochran, J. Woody	Cherokee	1960 ^P	1	1
Cohoe, Vernon		1959	1	
Cornine, Barbara	Cherokee	1958 ^P	1	1
Crowe, Amanda M.	Cherokee	1959 ^P	2	1
Crowe, Bill	Cherokee	1958 ^P	1	1
Crumbo, Woody	Potawatomie	1949 ^P , 60 ^P	4	2
Da, Anthony	San Ildefonso	1959 ^N	1	1
Darling, Macel J.	Potawatomie	1947, 9	4	
Davis, Jesse E.	Comanche- Creek	1947, 9 1948 ^P -50 ^P , 56-7 ^P - 8 ^P	19	4
Dawes, Ermaleen	Cheyenne	1951 ^P	1	1
De Cinq-Mars, Tahcawin	Sioux	1947, 9 ^P	4	1
Deere, Noah	Creek	1949 ^P -50 ^P , 59	4	2
DesJarlait, Patrick	Chippewa	1946 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P -9	5	3
Dewey, Wilson	Apache	1948	1	
Dorian, Frank		1959	1	
Dorsey, Tom	Onondaga	1946 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P -51 ^D , 56, 8	13	4
Dorsey, Tom, Jr.	Onondaga	1949	1	
Duncan, Clifford H.		1959	2	
Echohawk, Brummett	Pawnee	1947, 54, 9	4	
Eckiwaudah, Tennyson	Comanche	1951-3	3	
Edwards, Bronson	Ottawa	1947-50, 51-2 ^{PD} , 4, 56-8 ^P -60 ^P	18	3
Elavgak, John	Inuit	1955	1	

Farmer, Ernie	Bannock- Shoshone	1950-1 ^P	4	1
Fireshaker, Franklin	Ponca	1951	1	
Flores, William Vann	Cherokee	1951-2	2	
Freeman, Brenda		1960	3	
Freimark, Robert M.	Chippewa	1954-5	7	
Froman, Robert	Peoria-Miami	1954	1	
Garcia, Maria	Comanche	1956	5	
Gonzalez, Luis	San Ildefonso	1956 ^N	2	
Gorman, Carl N.	Navajo	1959-60 ^N	3	1
Gough, Agnes	Inuit	1952 ^P	1	1
Green, Homer	Peoria-Cherokee	1958-60	4	
Gritts, Franklin	Cherokee	1950-1	7	
Harvey, Pete, Jr.	Navajo	1955	1	
Harvier, Mike	Taos	1951, 6	3	
Henry, Woodworth V.	Snohomish	1958 ^P -9	3	1
Henson, Inez	Shawnee	1959	1	
Herrera, Joe H.	Cochiti	1946-7 ^P -8 ^P , 51- 2 ^{PD} -3 ^P -4 ^P , 6 ^N	15	6
Herrera, Justino	Cochiti	1948-9	3	
Herrera, Velino Shije	Zia	1947 ^P -9, 56	12	1
Hicks, Bobby	Navajo	1957-8 ^P -9	8	2
Hill, Joan	Cherokee-Creek	1959 ^N -60 ^{PN}	11	4
Hollowbrest, Donald	Cheyenne	1952, 57-8	5	
Honewytewa, Louis	Норі	1948	1	
Houser, Allan	Chiricauhua- Apache	1947 ^P -8 ^P , 50 ^P - 2 ^{PD} -3 ^D , 55 ^P -7	26	10
Howe, Oscar	Sioux Yankton	2 ^{PD} -3 ^D , 55 ^P -7 47 ^P , 49 ^P -50 ^P -1 ^P - 2 ^{PD} -3 ^{PD} -54 ^{PD} , 56 ^{PN} -7 ^N -8 ^N -9 ^P - 60 ^P	32	20
Humetewa, James	Норі	1946, 8	2	
Hummingbird, Jerome	Kiowa	1947	1	
Huskett, John		1959	1	
Jake, Albin R.	Pawnee	1949 ^P -51 ^P -52, 54 ^P , 6 ^{PN} , 9	17	6
Johnson, Alfred	Cherokee	1956 ^P	1	1
Jones, Lura Asah	Comanche	1959	1	
Kabotie, Fred	Hopi	1946 ^P , 9, 51 ^P , 9 1946 ^P -8 ^P	4	2
Keahbone, George	Kiowa	1946 ^r -8 ^r	7	2

Keith, C. Hobart	Sioux	1957	4	
Kewanyama, Leroy	Норі	1953	2	
Kimball, Yeffe	Kiowa	1947 ^P , 51 ^P -3, 5, 9 ^P	6	3
Ladd, Edmond J.	Zia	1959-60	3	
Lamar, Elgin W.	Wichita	1948, 50, 59-60	4	
Lee, Charles	Navajo	1946-7, 51 ^P -2 ^P , 57 ^P -8 ^N -9	12	4
Lee, Nelson	Navajo	1955	3	
Little, Dawn E.	Sioux	1955-6, 8	8	
Lomorosta		1946	1	
Lujan, James	Taos	1959-60 ^N	8	1
Lujan, Lorenzo		1947	1	
Ma-Pe-Wi	Pueblo	1946	1	
Maquino, Ignacio	Zia	1948	1	
Martin, James, Jr.	Osage	1947-8	2	
Martin, Mike		1959	2	
Maschal, Callie Jane	Creek	1960	2	
McCombs, Solomon	Creek	1946 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P -50 ^P - 51 ^{PD} -3 ^D -5 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P - 9 ^P -60 ^{PN}	53	14
Medina, Jose	Zia	1953, 60	2	
Medina, Rafael	Zia	1949, 53, 55 ^P -6, 59-60 ^P	17	2
Mirabal, Eva	Taos	1949 ^P , 57 ^N	3	2
Mofsie, Louis	Hopi- Winnebago	1948	1	
Momaday, Al	Kiowa	1948 ^P -9 ^P -50, 53 ^{PD} -5 ^P -6 ⁶ -7 ^P -8 ^P , 60 ^P	30	9
Montoya, Geronima	San Juan	1956, 60 ^N	4	1
Montoya, Jose L.	Isleta	1956	1	
Montoya, Sidney, Jr.		1954	1	
Moore, Georgianna	Chippewa	1955	1	
Mootzka		1947	1	
Mopope, Stephen	Kiowa	1953	1	
Moquino, Ignacio	Zia	1956	1	
Moses, Kivetoruk	Inuit	1959 ^P	5	3
Murdock, Cecil	Kickapoo	1946 ^P -7	5	1
Naha, Raymond	Норі	1959-60	5	
Nahshonhoya, Thomas	Норі	1948	1	
Nailor, Gerald	Navajo	1946	2	

Newton, Ranzy A.	Kiowa	1955	1	
Northcutt, Harrell	Chickasaw	1951-2	3	
Numkena, Louis, Jr.	Hopi	1948	1	
Nupok, Florence	Inuit	1948	1	
Ortiz, Joe	Illuit	1960	4	
Osborne, Gerald	Pawnee	1950 ^P -2	3	1
				1
Outah, Lawrence	Hopi	1951 1949-50 ^P -51, 54	1	1
Outie, George	Hopi		4	1
Pahsetopah, Loren	Pawnee	1952	1	
Pahsetopah, Paul	Pawnee	1952	1	
Palmer, Dixon	Kiowa	1959	1	
Palmer, Ignatious	Mescalero- Apache	1957-8	4	
Palmer, Wilson	Miami	1953	2	
Pan-yo-pin	Tesuque	1951	1	
Patkotak, Paul	Inuit	1946, 8	4	
Paukei, George		1946, 8	2	
Pena, Encarnacion	Tewa	1952-4, 56-7 ^N , 9	9	1
Pena, Tonita	San Ildefonso	1946	2	
Pentewa, Dick	Норі	1948, 51	2	
Pepion, Victor	Blackfeet	1956 ^P	4	1
Phillip, Dwight	Choctaw	1949-50 ^P -51 ^P	9	2
Pi, Oqua		1959	1	
Pino, Juan	Laguna	1951	1	
Polelonema, Otis	Норі	1948-9, 51 ^P , 4 ^D , 56 ^N -7 ^N , 9-60 ^P	12	7
Poolheco, Sidney	Норі	1959	1	
Preston, Bert	Норі	1948 ^P -9 ^P 50 ^P -1 ^P - 53 ^P , 6 ^P	7	6
Pushetonequa, Charles	Sac-Fox	1946, 51 ^P	2	1
Quayavana	Норі	1951	1	
Randall, Bunnie	Creek	1958 ^P -9	5	2
Red Corn, Raymond	Osage	1948	1	
Red Robin	Zuni	1951 ^P	1	1
Riddles, Leonard	Comanche	1959	2	
Riding-Inn, M.	Pawnee	1950 ^P	2	1
Roan	Navajo	1957	1	
Rogers, W. Paul	Cherokee	1946-7 ^P -50	10	1
Sakyesva, Harry	Норі	1946-8	4	
Sampson, William	Creek	1951 ^P , 59-60	3	1
Sanchez, Abel	+	1958 ^N -9	+	

Sandy, Percy T.	Zuni	1946 ^P -8 ^P , 56 ^N , 9	10	3
Saufrie, Morgan	Hopi	1946 ^P -8 ^P , 56 ^N , 9	2	1
, ,				
	C.	10.15 OP OP 71PD	20	4.4
Saul, C. Terry	Choctaw	1946-8 ^P -9 ^P , 51 ^{PD} - 2 ^{PD} -3 ^{PD} -4 ^P , 56-7 ^P -	38	11
		$9^{P}-60$		
Scholder, Fritz	Louiseno	1959 ^P	1	1
Scott, Duard	Louiseno	1960	1	1
Shelton, Peter	Норі	1947	2	
Shirley, Walter	Navajo	1951-2 ^P -3 ^P	4	2
Shunatona, Baptiste	Pawnee-Otoe	1948, 52	2	
Shupla, Douglas	Hopi	1948	1	
Silva, Marcus	Santa Clara	1959	1	
Silverhorn, George	Kiowa	1949	1	
Sisneros, Marie	Santa Clara	1951	1	
·	Yakima	1951	2	
Spencer, Jeri		1952	1	
Spotted Elk, Leo	Sioux			
Stewart, Albert	Navajo	1955 1949, 59 ^P -60 ^P	3	2
Stone, Willard Suina, Theodore	Cherokee Cochiti	1949, 59 -60 1946-7, 49, 51-2 ^D	3 23	8
Suma, Theodore	Cocinti	54 ^D , 6 ^{PN} , 59 ^{PN} -60	23	0
Tafoya, Teofilo	Santa Clara	1960	1	
Taho, Wilbert	Норі	1949	1	
Tahoma, Quincy	Navajo	1946 ^P , 51, 6	6	1
Takilnok, Richard	Inuit	1955-6	6	
Davis		N.		
Talahytewa, Gibson	Hopi	1957 ^N	2	1
Taulbee, Dan	Comanche	1960	3	
Thomas, Evans A.		1956	1	
Timeche, Bruce	Hopi	1959 ^P -60	8	1
Timeche, Harold	Норі	1948	1	
Toledo, Jose Rey	Jemez	1947 ^P -8 ^P , 53 ^P -4,	15	5
Tone-Pah-Hote,	Kiowa	56 ^N , 9	1	
Billy	Nowa	1930	1	
Tracey, Edmund	Navajo	1951	5	
Treas, Rudolph	Apache	1947, 57, 9 ^P	5	2
Trujillo, Ascension		1956-7 ^P -4	12	3
Trujillo, Manuel	San Juan	1946, 54-6	5	
Tsa-Toke, Lee A.	Kiowa	1956-8 ^P -9 ^P -60	9	2
Tsihnajinnie,	Navajo	$1948-9^{P}-50, 52^{P},$	25	7
Andrew		$4^{P}-5^{P}$, 58-60 ^{PN}		

Tsireh, Awa	Pueblo	1946		
Turkey, Moses	Kiowa	1956 ^P	2	1
Velarde, Pablita	Santa Clara	1946-7, 49 ^P -50 ^P - 51, 53 ^P -4 ^D -5 ^P -6 ^P -	54	17
		$7^{PN}-8^{PN}-9^{PN}-60P$		
Vigil, Calvin	Jicarilla-Apache	1947-51 ^D , 6 ^N , 8	16	3
Vigil, Frank	Apache	1950 ^P	2	1
Vigil, Romando	San Ildefonso	1951	6	
Vigil, Tim	Tesque	1948	1	
Wa Wa Chaw	Mission	1950-1, 4	5	
Waano-Gano, Joe	Cherokee	1957 ^P , 9	3	1
Wagoshe, Russell	Osage	1955	3	
Walker, Thomas, Jr.	Winnebago	1951	1	
Walluk, Wilbur	Inuit	1946, 9, 51, 53 ^P -4	11	1
Wapskineh, Harvey	Potawatomie	1951	1	
Warm Mountain	Tewa	1953 ^P	4	1
Warrior, Antowine	Sac-Fox	1958 ^P -9 ^P -60	13	3
Weckeah		1959 1946 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P ,	1	
West, Dick	Cheyenne	1946 ^P -7 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P , 51 ^P -2 ^{PD} , 54-5 ^P - 7 ^P -8 ^P -9 ^P -60 ^P	38	17
White Horse, Roland	Kiowa	1949 ^P , 56	2	1
White, Clarence A.	Omaha	1954	1	
White, Riley	Cherokee	1954	1	
Williams, B.		1960	1	
Williams, David	Santo Domingo	1959-60 ^P	8	1
Wolf, Richard	Creek	1957	1	
Woodring, Carl D.	Osage	1957 ^P -9 ^N -60 ^P	21	3
Yazz, Beatien	Navajo	1947, 50 ^P , 54-5 ^P - 6 ^N -8 ^P -9 ^N -60 ^N	22	8
Young, Mary	Cherokee	1960	3	
Zeyorima	Zuni	1951	1	

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