New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 78 | Number 4 Article 4

10-1-2003

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> I really didn't know much about Indians when I left the Northwest. We weren't allowed to be Indians. I couldn't talk my language, didn't know any Indian songs, never heard a drum. I didn't know that we were the ones that did the carvings and made the big baskets of cedar root. I didn't know I was supposed to be proud of that. I found out! This was a new deal.[1]

In October 1932 eighteen-year-old Hazel Pete stood in the twilight outside the deserted railroad depot in Lamy, New Mexico, eighteen miles south of Santa Fe. As time passed, Pete recalled her recent bitter disappointment. Just two months earlier, the administrator, a tall White woman at St. Joseph hospital in Tacoma, Washington, told Pete and her father that the nursing program could not possibly accept her. It would never be able to place her in a job. She was too dark. Crushed by the rejection, Pete had returned to Chemawa Indian School in Salem, Oregon, where her heart remained set on a nursing career. The school, however, came up with an

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unexpected but completely logical proposition. At graduation Pete had been awarded a pin honoring her as the school's outstanding art student. There was a new Indian arts and crafts program at the Santa Fe Indian School in New Mexico. Would Pete be interested in enrolling? At first astonished but then perhaps swayed by her art background, Pete agreed to go. In less than forty-eight hours, all the arrangements had been made and she was on the train to New Mexico. [2]

A Fred Harvey bus pulled into the Lamy station, and Pete climbed aboard. Behind the wheel sat a huge Mexican man peering out at the dusty road from beneath a large, wide-brimmed sombrero. Pete, exhausted and hungry after three days of hard travel, slumped down into a seat as the bus lurched forward. To her amazement, the driver proceeded to serenade his sole passenger in Spanish as they wound their way through the red clay desert, a striking contrast to the soggy, verdant Pacific Northwest with which Pete was so familiar. Absorbed by the unfamiliar music, and gazing out the window at the majestic Sangre de Cristo Mountains silhouetted against a deepening night sky, Pete's thoughts turned to how she had finally written her parents from the train station in Denver and how the government had furnished her with the cost of a ticket but not another dime. Luckily, the other passengers had had money and Pete had been able to sell a sweater and a pair of slippers for a couple of dollars to buy food.[3]

After a bumpy ride of some twenty minutes, the outskirts of Santa Fe appeared. In town the bus stopped in front of a cluster of adobe buildings offering Pete her first glimpse of the Indian school. "Well, there we are," the jovial driver announced, motioning with a grand wave of his hand in the direction of the campus. Pete stepped off the bus and watched it roar away. Then, turning and facing the entrance to the buildings, she picked up her suitcase and began walking towards what for her would be—both literally and figuratively—another world.[4]

By going to Santa Fe, Pete was continuing a journey that, in some respects, had begun when she was only four years old and had entered the day school on the Chehalis Indian Reservation in Washington state where she lived. She spent four years there in a rickety one-room schoolhouse. After her older sister succumbed to tuberculosis, her parents, fearing for Pete's life, enrolled her in Tulalip Indian School, a reservation boarding school north of Seattle. She attended Tulalip, located over one hundred miles from her home, from the sixth through the ninth grade. For high school she transferred to Chemawa, a large and completely modern off-reservation board-

ing school located in the lush Willamette Valley, even farther away from the Chehalis reservation. In addition to those school experiences, Pete carried to the Southwest memories of the federal assimilationist policies that had strictly governed the boarding schools and thus most parts of her life. However, the disposition of the American government towards its Indian people was beginning to turn and Pete was about to be thrust onto the leading edge of that transformation.[5]

This article explores the early days of the Indian New Deal and one woman's participation in an experimental program that was in some respects a laboratory on the ideas that became the Indian New Deal. The goal of these federal policies was to reverse "forced" assimilation, the systemic cultural genocide waged by the United States against Native peoples, by allowing and even encouraging them to immerse themselves in their Native heritages. The new national Indian policy—and, by extension, the arts and crafts program at the Santa Fe Indian School—were aimed at stimulating a rebirth of Indian cultures, which were on the brink of extinction. In the latter stages of the Herbert E. Hoover administration, the U.S. government committed itself to recovery and resurgence of Indian cultures, with a view toward fostering the economic independence of Indian people. Policy makers positioned Native women at the center of this new philosophy. Although the old assimilationist policy had relegated Indian women to homemaker and domestic helpmate roles, they would now be trained as professional artists and teachers, enabling them to become regenerators and champions of their own historical and cultural pasts.

HAZEL PETE, 1932
Posed in items donated by families from other tribes after being named the first Chehalis Tribal Princess.
(*Photograph courtesy Hazel Pete Family*)

Pete's experiences at Santa Fe Indian School offer a poignant glimpse into the implementation of the Indian New Deal in the American Southwest, a region perhaps unsurpassed in the level of interest the new policy generated among federal officials. Coming of age in the 1930s, Pete was among the first generation of Indians able to utilize aspects of their culture to help sustain their own Native communities, while they simultaneously paved the way for the acceptance of Indian lifeways by the larger non-Indian society. For Pete, this bridging of cultures and pursuit of cultural revival, dissemination, and preservation would become her life's work.[6]

In many ways, the art program at the Santa Fe Indian School reflected a sea change in Indian affairs. In February 1934 John Collier, Pres. Franklin Roosevelt's commissioner of Indian affairs from 1933 to 1945, officially sanctioned the developments that were already underway when he introduced a major piece of reform legislation called the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The IRA heralded the nation's abandonment of forced assimilation and its acceptance of pluralism and self-determination. As the centerpiece of the Indian New Deal, the IRA embraced an emerging paradigm whose ideas and objectives included salvaging Indian cultures, returning political autonomy, and allowing "communal ownership of land and resources instead of the individualism of allotment."[7] According to historian Lawrence C. Kelly, the IRA and the Indian New Deal embodied Collier's dream of rebuilding Indian tribal societies, rehabilitating and enlarging Indian lands, reconstituting or creating new Indian governments, and preserving and promoting Indian cultures.[8]

Indian education was redirected along similar lines. In government schools, benchmarks of appreciating and restoring Native cultures replaced old policies of condemning and destroying them. An especially fertile outlet for this shift was readily available in Indian boarding schools. For the next decade and a half, until the end of the Second World War, the student in these institutions was permitted to "learn through the medium of his own cultural values while also becoming aware of the values of white civilization."[9] The blending of these two cultures—a theme that continues to dominate Indian-White relations to the present day—equipped Pete and many others with the awareness to navigate both Native and White worlds, an absolute necessity if non-Indian society was to be penetrated and meaningful connections with the indigenous past were to be maintained.

Despite the gains the Indian New Deal seemed to offer, it received a mixed response from Indian people and tribes. Collier's policies, some crit-

ics have pointed out, simply served to centralize the power of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the hands of federal bureaucrats, who maintained their firm grip over the management and direction of Indian affairs. Perhaps the most notable opposition to the IRA was the Native response to the Navajo Livestock Reduction Program, a conservation measure that the federal government implemented in the early 1930s to prevent the overgrazing of Navajo rangelands in the Southwest. Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle have written, "The reduction of the Navajo herds fell unequally on the small herder, and the Navajos never forgave Collier for forcing this program on them." According to another historian, the program prompted many Navajos to inject the epithets, "Hitler" and "devil," when referring to the commissioner.[10]

In a similar vein, the arts and crafts program at Santa Fe, although established a year before Collier assumed office and two years before the IRA was introduced to Congress, was fraught with contradictions. It placed White women in the role of teaching Indian cultures to Indian people, instituted the practice of teaching Indian students about Indian cultures from published materials, and promoted culture as a commodity to be bought and sold. The arts and crafts program even raised questions about the nature of culture and the way in which it passes from one generation to the next. Pete and many others of her generation had to contend with such complexities, and their responses have gone a long way toward defining what being Indian means in the twenty-first century.

The seeds that led to the establishment of the Santa Fe Indian School arts and crafts program were sown years before the emergence of the Indian New Deal, or the advent of Pete's involvement. Shortly after the First World War, a loose organization of non-Indian poets, writers, musicians, and other patrons of the arts united in what came to be known as the Santa Fe Movement. Their objective, to spotlight widespread attention on "the unrecognized treasure of Southwestern Indian art," received a significant boost with publication of the Meriam Report in 1928.[11] A groundbreaking and comprehensive investigation of Indian affairs, the report recommended that the United States uphold Indian rights and acknowledge the value and legitimacy of Indian cultures. Further, it suggested that Indian art could not only "add materially to the economic resources of the Indians, many of whom are in great need, but . . . also furnish them the opportunity to make a distinctly Indian contribution to our civilization which would appeal to their very proper racial pride."[12]

The terrible realities of poverty and demoralization made public in the Meriam Report set the tone for immediate and sweeping change. Most significant in the realm of education was that substantial pressure for reform was brought to bear on Charles J. Rhoads, the commissioner of Indian affairs from 1929 to 1933. Rhoads responded by appointing W. Carson Ryan (a professor at Swarthmore College and one of the authors of the Meriam Report) to the post of director of Indian education in the BIA. Ryan, a supporter of both progressive education and the Indian arts and crafts movement, oversaw replacement of the old assimilative curriculum—which included classes in classic English literature, algebra, geometry, and ancient European history—with a course of study more relevant to Native students' home experiences and cultural backgrounds. The curriculum shift played out in the Indian schools located far from the nation's capital. By the end of the 1920s, White administrators were adding classes in arts and crafts to the curricula of Indian schools across the country.[13] A few years later, Indian New Deal legislation and policies soon conferred legal sanction to the rising ethos of acculturating Indians in cooperation rather than in opposition to their indigenous communities.

MABLE E. MORROW
(*Photograph courtesy Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe, neg. 90MM0.83*)

Developments worthy of note were taking place at two locations. Twenty-five miles south of Santa Fe, at Santo Domingo Pueblo Day School, a White teacher named Dorothy Dunn was using art as a means of helping her students learn the English language. Meanwhile, Mable E. Morrow, a former art student at the University of Washington in Seattle, was designing courses for female students in Indian arts and crafts at the Haskell Institute, an off-reservation boarding school in Lawrence, Kansas. Both Morrow and Dunn had studied at the University of New Mexico where, in Morrow's words, "a very great deal of . . . invaluable . . . information on Indian art" had been acquired.[14]

This groundswell in support of Native art and culture converged in February 1932 when Director Ryan invited Morrow to establish and administer the first U.S. program devoted strictly to Indian art and crafts, which he envisioned as becoming the arts-and-crafts

training center for the entire Indian Service. At the same time, he selected the Santa Fe Indian School as the site to host this undertaking, citing location and other factors as weighing heavily in his decision. Most important from Ryan's perspective was that Santa Fe and the southwestern region contained a sizable indigenous population comprised predominantly of full-blood-degree Indians still engaged in the manufacture of traditional arts and crafts. He believed that a "special educational opportunity" of the "progressive sort" could draw on the southwestern Natives' "peculiar racial capacities and arts, [to] secure from them a permanent contribution to our national life." Accessing what he perceived to be the largely intact Pueblo communities of New Mexico and holding them up as a model for the rest of the nation would "help the children, and through them the parents, to understand something of the precious nature of the heritage they have as Indians." Also attracting Ryan to Santa Fe was the towering presence of the superintendent of the Santa Fe Indian school, Chester E. Faris, "whose long, distinguished career had gained him the respect of Indians." No less important was the Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology, which housed extensive collections of traditional Indian artifacts and materials and would provide other cultural resources necessary to sustain the many facets of the program.[15] Finally, Morrow's academic credentials and pedagogical expertise complemented Ryan's vision for the Indian arts and crafts program, which would function separately from the boarding school.

When Morrow accepted the position, she moved from Kansas to Santa Fe with nine young Indian women who formed the core of a two-year program that admitted only female high-school graduates.[16] The object was to prepare Indian women for careers both as independent professional artists and as art teachers in federal Indian schools. To house the arts and crafts program the federal government constructed a new building costing twenty-five thousand dollars.[17] An additional benefit included the community of Indian artisans and craftsmen in and around Santa Fe who could—as Ryan had foreseen—come to the boarding school and teach. With these institutional and cultural resources, Morrow was able to inaugurate and develop an extensive program in traditional arts and crafts, which included areas of study such as silversmithing, pottery, weaving, beadwork, embroidery, basketry, carding, tanning, wood dying, and woodworking.[18]

Seven months after the arrival of Morrow and her students, Dunn was added as an instructor in fine and applied arts. Her assignment was to teach painting, drawing, and design to high school students enrolled in

the boarding school. In contrast to those in Morrow's program, Dunn's pupils were substantially younger and almost all male. Collectively, Dunn's painting classes became known as "The Studio," from which emerged some of the most renowned twentieth-century American Indian artists including Pablita Velarde, Allan Houser, Oscar Howe, Geronima Cruz, and Harrison Begay.[19]

In addition to the original Haskell students who had come in the spring, Pete joined another eight who, like her, arrived that autumn. They were a diverse group, representing different tribal groups and reservations. Besides Pete, they included Alma Chosa, Chippewa; Jessie Jumping Eagle, Lakota; Margaret Mondragon, Taos Pueblo; Josephine Myers, Comanche; Lupe Sando, Jémez Pueblo; Naomi Walker, Walapi; Eva Washakie, Shoshone; and Madeline Waubaunsee, Potawatomi.[20]

Pete took most of her classes and spent the bulk of her time with Morrow, whose Indian service career had gotten its start at Flandreau Indian School in South Dakota in 1923. From her experiences at Flandreau and later at Haskell, Morrow had been able to refine her knowledge of Indian arts and crafts, and to enlarge her repertoire of teaching techniques. Having observed firsthand the destructive capacity of assimilative education in boarding schools, Morrow had devised a pragmatic strategy for reconstructing traditional Indian practices. Her scientific, methodological, and rational approach assumed that Indian cultures could be reclaimed and made vital again through a regenerative process of study, practice, and application. She asserted that both cultural loss and recovery were the products of specific conditions and circumstances, and just as the policy of forced assimilation had destroyed Native cultures, the Indian New Deal could lead to cultural rejuvenation. In Pete, who knew so little about her own Chehalis culture but was so willing to learn, Morrow found the ideal student with whom to test her philosophy and pedadogy.[21]

From their initial meeting, a relationship began to evolve between Morrow and Pete, eventually blossoming into a friendship. Not everything about her teacher, however, appealed to Pete. She came to know Morrow as a "very rigid" and "very strict" disciplinarian who expected her students to be present in the room before the start of class and prepared to devote everything to that day's learning. Pete recalls, "We had to be in there at work before that bell sounded. If we were at the door, she felt just like locking us out—but she didn't—and she always looked at us so displeased."[22]

Demanding total commitment, she tried to erect a wall between her students and all outside distractions and diversions. According to Pete, Morrow

also exhibited a tender side that earned the students' respect and even their affection. Behind the tough exterior appeared a dedicated, warm-hearted teacher who displayed genuine empathy for her students. Pete recalls, "There were rules and we had to live right under the rules, but she was really loyal. She would have stuck up for us no matter what we did. She would have backed us up. But . . . she didn't let us know that. She just made us think, 'boy, we better toe the mark.'" Pete completely endorses her former teacher: "We all liked her, and we tried to do our best, and she helped us."[23]

At the very least, however, Morrow was a difficult person. Her relationships with the arts and crafts students probably surpassed those she formed with her colleagues. One supervisor wrote about her: "Miss Morrow is an excellent technician and craftsman. She knows her work, [and] is industrious and conscientious. She gets along very well with the Indian men & women craftsmen, with whom she works but she nullifies a good bit of this by her inability to get along with her co-workers and Superiors."[24]

Pete's deepening relationship with Morrow raised her stature in the program above that of her fellow students. Self-confident and strong-willed—characteristics sharpened through years of living in boarding schools—Pete came to be regarded by the faculty and her peers as the most mature and vocal of the arts and crafts students. "There was nothing backward about me," Pete proclaims. "I would speak up in front of employees." That demeanor particularly endeared her to Morrow. She was constantly "laughing" at and "kidding" with her teacher, who, Pete believes, enjoyed that playfulness, although by nature Morrow was "a very formal person." According to Pete, an indication of her growing standing was that whenever Morrow tried to solicit a volunteer to help out after class, the other students, their fingers pointing to her, responded in unison with a rousing "Hazel will do it."[25]

Without question, Morrow leaned heavily on her most dutiful pupil. For example, during times of illness she regularly drew on Pete's nursing background, requesting that Pete stay with her at her room in the superintendent's cottage where she lived. Morrow was not a healthy woman, a reality that was likely exacerbated by the demanding workload she assumed. Morrow's supervisor at the Santa Fe school described her duties and commitment in March 1934:

> Probably no teacher on the staff carries such heavy responsibilities with the teaching of her own classes, a half dozen others to supervise, all in

addition to the extension work she carries on weekly in the pueblos. Her usefulness is seriously impaired by her not having an assistant, one of her own choosing who will work along with her ideas as the pressure is too great to have an assistant who does not share her views. The superintendent and the principal appreciate the efforts on the part of the [Indian] Department to raise her status to the $2900 class as her work in the Indian Service is so wide and far-reaching in its influence to warrant this consideration. She has been wide-a-wake and deeply interested in the placement of her students after graduation. She deserves much praise for her poise and patience in showing the never ceasing flow of visitors thru her department daily while she is teaching her classes.[26]

DOROTHY DUNN (*Photograph courtesy Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe, neg. DDK—uncat*)

Pete also took classes from Dorothy Dunn, a recent graduate of the Chicago Art Institute. Besides her experience at the Santo Domingo Day School, Dunn had also taught at the San Juan boarding school on the Northern Navajo Agency at Shiprock.[27] Just as the Native Plains cultures had deeply influenced Morrow, the comparatively intact Indian societies in the Southwest profoundly shaped Dunn's thinking. (Santo Domingo, among the most conservative Pueblo nations, had been little touched by federal policies of assimilation.) As a result, Dunn perceived her students to possess an instinctive indigenous knowledge, a racial consciousness—in her mind, almost a genetic inheritance—that could be suppressed but never destroyed. Historians Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing have written that, "Dunn assumed an innate artistic ability resided in each of her students; therefore, her method stressed encouraging the student's own natural ability rather than her 'teaching' about art." According to art historian J. J. Brody, Dunn's organic approach operated on the premise that each student "was a tribal creature and should draw on the ancient visual sources of his tribe for inspiration."[28]

In her articles on The Studio, Dunn discussed what, in her opinion, constituted the purpose of art education for Indian students. She wrote in March 1935 that "[T]he painting and design classes do not exist to teach

[the basics of art to individual] groups, but to guide, encourage, discover, discern." She continued:

> They provide an opportunity for the Indian child to become conscious of and to gain a respect for his cultural birthright if he has not already done so. No two people entering the classes have the same problems, start from the same level, develop at the same tempo, or achieve the same results. Countless differences in previous environment, mentality, imagination, ambition, health, interests, and aptitudes result in widely diversified developments. The work, therefore, is entirely individual and largely subjective, developed from within out, beginning with the child in every instance.[29]

In terms of modern educational theory, Dunn was acting more as a facilitator guiding her students through a process of learning and self-discovery rather than as a teacher imparting knowledge or wisdom.

Pete remembers Dunn in glowing terms. An invitation to describe her former teacher evoked the instantaneous response "real friendly." Dunn, Pete beams, was always "telling us how great we were!" She also "gave us a lot of good criticism of the work we were doing, what we could do to improve. She was always helpful, suggesting a little bit of this, a little bit of that." Pete explains that Dunn sought to unleash the inherent ability and creativity locked inside each student. Those qualities, Dunn held, were tied directly to tribal backgrounds and personal experiences, an outlook that broke from the BIA's longstanding propensity of viewing Indians as a single cultural entity. Pete comments, "As a teacher, I think she just was encouraging us to do what we were doing, and she wanted us to each be different." Pete continues, "We weren't put in a class to be the same. We were all individual[s] and from different tribes." In Pete's assessment, Dunn provided her students with ample "time to learn," and she sustained them with her unequivocal support. Recognizing the importance of constructing and maintaining the fragile confidence of the aspiring young artists, Dunn took particular pains to insure they received full credit for everything they produced.[30]

Morrow and Dunn's philosophies molded their teaching styles. Emphasizing the collective over the individual, Morrow encouraged peer collaboration and mutual support. Hives of activity, her classrooms reverberated with the sights and sounds of learning. Dunn's primary interest conversely lay in cultivating talents and skills intrinsic to the individual. Accordingly,

she discouraged students from comparing their art with that of their peers or copying one another's work. Pete explains that, when students were with Morrow, they visited with each other, listened to the invited Native storytellers, and read and discussed what they knew or were learning about the tribes they were studying. In contrast, Dunn's classroom stressed art as a solitary endeavor. Pete states plainly, "When we went to art class, we were individuals, [doing] our own work, and separate." "With Dorothy," she underscores, "everybody did their own."[31]

Although their teaching philosophy and method diverged, Morrow and Dunn shared much in common. Foremost was a commitment to the principles and objectives of the Indian New Deal, particularly a desire to promote and celebrate Native cultures. They were also pioneers in the field of Indian New Deal education. Their students universally held them in high regard. Nonetheless, it was Pete's observation that Morrow and Dunn enjoyed "no easy relationship."[32] "They knew each other, they worked together, but as far as being together otherwise, I don't think so. I don't think there was any feeling [between them]." They "didn't ever talk to each other in front of us," and although "they probably met at the dining hall and all that, and had their meetings about [funding and other issues] . . . their programs were absolutely separate. There was nothing used [or shared] one way or the other." Pete explains: "They were teaching two different things. With Morrow we were working with our fingers. With Dunn we were thinking and painting. It was altogether different."[33] Apparently the distinct yet parallel nature of the two art programs—and perhaps the instructors' divergent philosophies regarding Indian art and teaching—created a rivalry that drove a wedge between Morrow and Dunn.[34]

The strained relationship with Morrow may have spilled into Dunn's feelings for Pete. Although Pete respected Dunn and generally experienced a positive rapport with her, she detected a reserve in Dunn towards her. Pete attributes that coolness to her closeness with Morrow. Pete laughs: "Sometimes I thought she [Dunn] thought I was Miss Morrow's pet and she was trying to let me know I was just like everybody else. She didn't give me any edge."[35]

In New Mexico Morrow and her students sought to resurrect a vanishing past and, in a broader sense, to learn how to use culture as a vehicle for achieving economic independence. Santa Fe was unquestionably the right venue. During Pete's time there, the city was a major economic outlet for Indians, a fact vividly etched in the southwestern landscape and indelibly

impressed on each student's mind. The main highway into town ran horizontally in front of the arts and crafts building. When students looked out the windows, they could see what seemed like an unceasing train of wagons and trucks loaded with silverwork, beadwork, pottery, and food to sell on the streets of Santa Fe. Some vendors came from distances of up to one hundred miles. Although a double-edged sword for Indian people, their cultural artifacts had become commodities in the developing southwestern tourist industry. But the eclectic nature of the city was a boon to young Indian artists needing to immerse themselves in Native culture. According to an account written in 1933, Santa Fe was "known beyond the seas as a place of high ideals, aspirations, and attainments in archeology, in art, in literature, in architecture, a seat of culture which gathers to itself scientists, artists, and writers as well as students from all the world."[36]

Yet, in the midst of all that cultural bounty, Pete lacked almost any knowledge of Chehalis tribal customs, traditions, and ritual. Since age eleven, she had been living off the Chehalis reservation in government boarding schools, and, before that time, she had learned little about her tribe's culture and history. Consequently, she possessed an underdeveloped sense of her Indian identity. Pete confesses, "I had not been brought up being proud of being Chehalis."[37]

Her experiences in Santa Fe are telling on this point. Pete relates that when her classmates learned where she was from, they inundated her with questions, which required her to do "a lot of talking." One person, however, remained conspicuously silent in those exchanges. Pete remarks, "Miss Morrow didn't ask me much about my history," conceding that her mentor "had studied it and probably knew a lot more" about Native cultures of the Pacific Northwest than she did.[38] Although Pete's statement was likely an exaggeration, it was nonetheless a revealing commentary on the education changes taking place at the Santa Fe Indian School. In an ironic twist, White teachers who just years before had been charged with stripping Indians of their Indianness were now entrusted with re-educating them on what had been lost.

Two related factors accounted for Pete's ignorance of Chehalis culture: federal policies of forced assimilation and their suffocating effect on her parents. On the Chehalis Reservation, the paternalistic relationship between the federal government and the tribe had given rise to cautious parenting. The elder Petes had refused to teach their children their tribal language, largely because of the language prohibitions at Puyallup Indian School, the

boarding school that they had attended in Tacoma, Washington. "They wouldn't talk to us in their Indian language," Pete laments. "When we'd say we wanted to learn, they would say, 'There is no need to learn, you will only get in trouble,' because they were in trouble when they went to [Puyallup]. They had to speak English, and they were punished if they spoke Indian. They were already through this government school . . . that was just condemning everything Indian."[39]

Pete's experience was not unique among the Indians of her generation. Morrow's first order of business, consequently, was to instill in her students knowledge of and pride in their Native cultures. According to Pete, Morrow wanted her students "to realize that Indians were different throughout the United States," and that "all Indians were smart enough to live on what they had and make beautiful things."[40] To achieve that objective, which was fully in accord with the Indian New Deal agenda, Morrow pushed her students to produce gallery-quality craftwork that could command attention in the competitive Santa Fe art market.

Educating students about their own tribes assumed priority in the arts and crafts program at the Santa Fe Indian School. The curriculum was a prescription for undoing the cultural damage wrought by decades of assimilative policies. The learning experience afforded Pete an opportunity to construct a past most of which she had never known:

> I learned more about Indian culture than my parents knew. When I went to Santa Fe, I knew nothing about Indians. We weren't allowed to even think about being Indian [in the state of Washington]. We were supposed to get out of [school] and be like whites. So when I was there, I didn't realize that [Native] baskets were a great craft. I didn't know that our woodwork, our totem poles, were unique and really different from [those of] other tribes. I didn't know the difference. So when I was there, I had to go to the books and learn about baskets and all the rituals that we had, and I had to write it up. We left all this information there to start that art school, and it was used by the next classes. And each one of us had to do our own tribe, [and learn] whatever was unique about it.[41]

Pete continues:

> I learned a lot about Indians. We studied Indians of the United States, and we had students right there from different places that could talk

> about what they did at home. I think it was about the same, but the crafts are different because if we make baskets here [on the Chehalis reservation] we are gathering our material [that is unique to this region]; in Florida they'll gather a different kind of material so they'll make a different kind of basket, so that was the kind of thing we were learning—we learned history and crafts.[42]

The process of transmitting knowledge described by Pete supported and reinforced Morrow's fundamental belief that culture could be learned.

The Santa Fe Indian School was perfectly situated for delivering such an education. While collecting research on their tribes, students were accorded full access to the holdings of the Laboratory of Anthropology. This repository, a division of the Museum of New Mexico, housed a large library of ethnological periodicals and books as well as artifacts. In addition, Morrow's students took classes on southwestern Pueblo cultures from the laboratory director, anthropologist Kenneth C. Chapman.[43] Morrow also expanded her classroom to encompass the wealth of indigenous cultures in the entire Santa Fe region. At San Ildefonso Pueblo, for example, Pete and her classmates learned pottery from the renowned Pueblo potter, Maria Martinez. The students also visited other pueblos.

> Up here [in Washington] we didn't ever be Indian. We didn't dress different. We didn't have any costumes. I didn't even know what people wore up here. But down there every pueblo had their own customs, own dress. From the school we were allowed to go to the nearer pueblos when they would have a fiesta day. There, when they have their fiesta, every home is open, the table is set, and you can go in, you don't have to talk to anybody, you can sit down and eat and leave. But we would go in and visit, especially if we were visiting the pueblo of someone from school. We would have them take us to their home. And then they'd show us different things in their house. And it was all new to me. I just really learned a whole lot just by being with those students. They didn't think so. It was all everyday stuff to them.[44]

The students also studied fine arts. At Morrow's request, Pete and her classmates took painting and design classes from Dunn three times a week. Tensions flared almost instantly, however, after students failed to receive basic instruction in art methodology, an approach that conflicted with Dunn's

theory on the nature of Indian art. This omission prompted an irritated Morrow, the department head, to complain, "The students have no standards." Dunn, who admitted to "a lack of objective, formal lessons," responded by encouraging the arts and crafts students to apply to canvas what they were learning about Indian history and culture from Morrow and to "illustrate Indian stories and legends or draw any Indian activities they may have seen."[45]

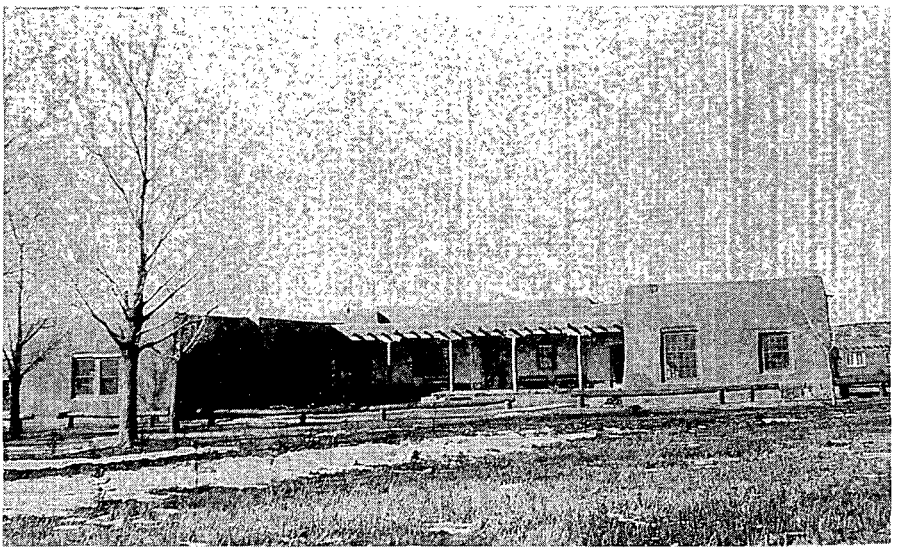
In Pete's first year, Dunn conducted her classes in a display area of the arts and crafts building. (All the regular classrooms had been appropriated for arts and crafts use.) In 1933 Dunn's program was relocated to a small elementary classroom in the academic building. Pete describes some of the time she spent with Dunn:

> I was already an artist, so I could draw, and I was painting, and her paintings were flat (some people criticized that but it was her way of teaching Indian painting) and I . . . did one small picture of a woman that was sick, and a doctor person was working over her, and her hands were up, and Dorothy said no one else could paint those hands like I did. And I did it just with a paintbrush; I didn't draw it. I just painted it. Another one I did was our men gambling, the gambling game, and they all had to be sitting. And that was hard to do. So then, when I got through with it, it didn't look finished, so I outlined each one with black, and oh, Dunn said that was like so and so, a great artist.[46]

Pete's resolution, the black accent, probably evidenced in Dunn's mind proof of her teaching philosophy—encouraging natural artistic ability to flower in her Native students.

Mostly, however, arts and crafts, not painting, dominated the curriculum. Morrow's cooperative method required that individual knowledge and talents be shared among the group. Each student was instructed to master a craft, write a report on procedures, and teach the skill to their classmates. Income earned from sold artwork was put towards purchasing additional supplies.

The process allowed for a rich exposure to crafts. Pete and her fellow students studied "with Miss Morrow all morning (from seven o'clock on) unless there was a class she wanted us to go to." And frequently there was. Pete recalls, "We had different teachers come from the Navajo [reservation] to teach weaving, [from] the pueblos to teach pottery and the men to tell



SANTA FE INDIAN SCHOOL ARTS AND CRAFTS BUILDING
Constructed in support of Mable Morrow's program, the eight-room building included a placita and tile walls.
(Photograph courtesy Mable Morrow Collection, Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe)

stories, and Mexicans to teach leatherwork." "There was a tanning class that I took," Pete continues, "and I could leave [Morrow's] classroom and go and work with hides. At one time they had a Navajo woman come in to teach carding, and making wool, and some girls went to her, [at] different times. We had special classes all the time. It was never boring."[47]

A social structure reminiscent of the earlier era of forced assimilation governed the program. Arts and crafts students underwent rigorous and omnipresent supervision. Although they were adult women, the faculty granted them no more privileges than the regular student body and treated them the same as the younger pupils. "We lived together," Pete sighs. "We lived in the same buildings, under the same rule, and sometimes we thought it was crazy because we were through high school. We ate at the same place and we had to do dishes right with them. We had no freedom. We were scheduled throughout the week, the month."[48] Even an insignificant transgression could jeopardize a student. Pete got caught once smoking a cigarette and Superintendent Faris responded by threatening to expel her and

send her home if the incident happened again. According to Pete, when considered in these terms, education at Santa Fe Indian School could be "a lonely life."[49]

Yet that life afforded ample opportunity for work and study. Pete became a student in full, joining all student clubs and organizations. She also took classes in the evenings. And because students were required to earn their own way, she worked in the dining hall for her room and board and mended clothes for spending money. "We were pretty poor Indians," Pete acknowledges. "I don't think anyone knew how poor I was. When I went down [to Santa Fe] I had very little." Her lack of means necessitated that she continue to wear government-issue socks, shoes, undergarments, and dresses, although they were no longer mandatory in Indian schools. "I didn't have anything of my own," Pete laments. "I really had no money. My folks were having a hard time up here [in Washington]. No work and any work was poorly paid. They never sent me anything. Any money I had I worked for. I did sewing—hemming dresses or coats for the employees—and they would pay me just pennies, but that was all I had."[50]

Between her arts and crafts classes and other duties, Pete's schedule was full and intense. Her life in Santa Fe was the "busiest" it had ever been.

> I got up and reported to the kitchen, the big kitchen, at 5:30, and one other girl and I made coffee in a great big steam pot. We stood up on benches and had paddles to mix it. We had to put in the water, the milk. Then we had to serve it in pitchers to about forty tables. And after breakfast, we didn't ever go back to our room; we went right on up to the art room. And then we got back to eat lunch. Sometimes we could run to the [dormitory] room and sometimes we didn't have time. We'd go right back to the art room until five at night—[then we would] go right to eat. And from there if there was something going on at the gym we went there. We'd finally get to our room at ten at night. And it was day after day. *I was tired.*[51]

Life was not all toil at the Santa Fe Indian School. Pete and the other arts and crafts students managed to snatch relief from the monotony and regulation. Maturing and evolving as individuals, becoming adventurous young adults and beginning to reach out into the world, they expressed their independence on campus through minor acts of disobedience. Off campus, they did so through unsupervised field trips taken through the high-desert South-

west. "We got away," Pete affirms. "We'd go on these long trips, and we supported each other. [Morrow] didn't want us to go, [but] she couldn't keep us either—she couldn't stop us."[52] As the key authority in the experimental arts and crafts program, Morrow likely worried about unpleasant political ramifications should her students run into trouble, the public begin whispering about unchaperoned Native youths journeying into the countryside, or a serious accident occur.

Morrow took pains to keep track of her charges, efforts that proved only marginally successful. "In the summer she wanted the schedule just as rigid as during the school year," Pete relates, "but we wouldn't go [along with it]; after lunch we'd go swimming [a pool had been built near the arts and crafts building], and [Morrow] couldn't do anything about it. We'd get through and go to class and walk in just like we had permission." What was their teacher's reaction? "She let us get away with it," Pete smiles.[53]

Their advanced ages and the evolving nature of Indian education promoted a restlessness and boldness of spirit in the Native students. Disgruntled with the suppressed living environment—having to ask permission simply to walk from one building to another and being forced to live in dormitories with students of high school age or younger—some students devised coping strategies that afforded them a modicum of freedom. The most elaborate involved journeys through New Mexico. These minor rebellions, organized without the knowledge of school administrators, reflected the less proscriptive environment beginning to seep into Indian schools. These adventures also signified the maturation of Pete as an Indian woman. She and her fellow art students, by taking their education on the road, were assuming the roles many of them would hold for the remainder of their lives as the brokers between Indian and White cultures.[54]

Pete explains how these excursions were carried out. The first order of business was securing a truck, usually accomplished by a male student who was also an employee at the school. While the vehicle was being fitted with twenty metal seats needed for riding, other students obtained from the dining hall food sufficient to last several days, which was done with the help of accomplices working there. If confronted by someone in a position of authority, the students diverted suspicion by claiming that another school official had granted permission. For example, if questioned by a matron, they might say that a classroom teacher had given approval. Finally, when all the planning and preparations were completed, the truck, loaded down with students, clothes, food, and other supplies, pulled away from the school and

onto the highway, leaving behind the faculty and staff to contemplate how the escape had happened.[55]

One outing remains particularly memorable to Pete:

> We had a summer school there [at the boarding school], and [one time] we went on about a five-day trip down through the pueblos. We didn't have any money, nobody had any money. We just went in this truck, and took enough stuff so that we could camp. And one or two of the fellows always stayed up all night and guarded the camp. *And we always just had a lot of fun.* We danced and told stories. We were putting on our dances or going to see [others perform theirs]. We went to the Snake Dance and [we] went right in and sat with the people and watched. We were honored guests. They all recognized us.[56]

In essence, such a visit, although unofficial, helped fulfill the cultural mission of Morrow's arts and crafts program.

Further respite from the school's regimen was found in a student club called the "Mide Wiwin" named after the Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwas.[57] Under Morrow's sponsorship, Pete and her classmates formed the organization on 16 February 1933 for the purpose of perpetuating "things Indian." A celebration of Indianness, the club provided students with a venue for learning songs, performing dances, playing games, using sign language, cooking and eating Indian foods, wearing traditional clothing, practicing archery, and addressing each other by their Indian names. In April, before the student body and faculty, the members of the club put on a program during which every participant explained or acted out a traditional practice of his or her tribe. Times, indeed, had changed; in the Mide Wiwin, students found a receptive outlet for the expression of their Indian cultures.[58]

Pete excelled in arts and crafts, and her progress attracted significant official and public notice. Such attention validated for her the value of Indian cultures but also grew wearisome as the school increasingly captured the attention of federal officeholders. In the spring of 1934, Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace visited the Santa Fe Indian School. The workmanship he saw impressed him so much that he decided to buy a souvenir for one of his children. According to Pete, she was "the only girl in the leather department," and, when Wallace arrived, he came right over to observe the students' work. Pete states: "[He] liked the work that we had put up. So he ordered a dress for his daughter and I made it—I made the leather, [from] four

MIDE WIWIN, 1934
Hazel Pete (front row, fourth from left), Mable Morrow (middle row, far right).
(Photograph courtesy Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum of Indian Arts & Culture, Santa Fe, neg. 90MMo.83)

goatskins, and I beaded the front of it. I didn't [really] know how to bead so I had one of the students from the Dakotas help me with the design."[59] The school principal, J. B. Vernon, wrote a congratulatory note to Pete's father, informing him that "the excellent handicraft" of his daughter had "brought her the honor of making a leather coat" for a prominent official.[60]

Commissioner of Indian Affairs Collier came to the school as well. Pete remembers him as "a little fellow" who "didn't look important at all" but who was "always very interested" and "always asking questions," and whose "word was law." Pete observed that he was "just busy, going from one building to the other, [conducting] meetings and meetings." He once came into the room where Pete and other students were scraping hides. In her words, "he talked to each one of us about what we were doing and whether we liked it or not . . . and he'd say, 'Oh, you're doing fine.' We had our work up on the wall and he'd admire it and just thought we were doing real great." In Collier, Pete saw a partial reflection of herself. "He was a hard worker who

knew how to get things done," she asserts while adding ruefully, "That wasn't always the case with Indian service employees." So intense grew the outside scrutiny of the art school that students often felt like they had been thrust under a public microscope. Pete comments: "We met a lot of people. People were visiting from all over the states. To us, if they were White, we didn't get very close to them. We had some Indian people come by and then we would be more friendly. But if they were white and from Washington, D.C., well, they were just looking at us."[61]

Santa Fe posed an unfamiliar environment that required a gradual adjustment. By the spring of 1933, however, Pete felt that she was finding her bearings. In April she manifested sufficient confidence to write J. T. Ryan, the superintendent of her old school, Chemawa: "I have at last decided that I've been here long enough to know what everything is about. I love my desert home very much and just try and 'haul' me out of here!" She reviewed her plans to remain in Santa Fe for at least another year: "Up until Christmas I was adapting myself, but now I'm working as though I know how. This is the best place to study Indian art because we have the articles to look at such as costumes, pottery, Navajo rugs and painting which are all common objects around here. The older indians [*sic*] all dress in typical clothing, and the younger ones all talk their language and sing Indian songs and dance."[62]

The dual tracks for arts and crafts students, as either professional artisans or teachers in the federal Indian education system, presented Pete with a surprisingly simple dilemma. The debilitating blow the Great Depression had dealt to discretionary spending pointed Pete towards the surest route to financial security. She explains:

> I had the choice of entering the Bureau of Indian Affairs system to become a civil service teacher or to go it in the art world as an Indian artist. They told me that I could set up a business and sell art—do art and sell it. [But] this was during the depression years and there was no soft money for art. I didn't think the market would stand it. I couldn't see anyone buying art . . . [or anyone] making a living at it, and as a teacher you had an income every month . . . so I became a teacher.[63]

Cold economics guided her. "I decided to be a teacher not because I thought I'd like it," Pete admits. "When I was at Tulalip [Indian School], I was a small person, and a lot of the fellows were older, bigger, and they didn't [always] mind the teachers, and I always thought, 'Boy, I'll never be a

JOSEPHINE MYERS WAPP AND HAZEL PETE, 1934
Pictured here at the National Girl's Scout Camp in Roswell, New Mexico, they taught Indian arts and crafts for four weeks.
(*Photograph courtesy Josephine Myers Wapp Family*)

teacher.'"[64] Circumstance, not preference, however, dictated her decision. Pete contacted Superintendent Ryan again in February 1934. With graduation just months away, Pete reflected on her time in Santa Fe, informing him of a buckskin dress that she was making—students would attend commencement wearing traditional clothing—and, typical of someone having completed a lengthy regimen of academic training, expressing satisfaction with her educational accomplishment along with trepidation for the future. "I can hardly realize this is the last of my course here," she wrote. "Sometimes [*sic*] I feel as though I learned a lot and again [sometimes] I feel terrible lost." As with many teachers-in-training, Pete was suffering from a case of the jitters. "I was anxious about the responsibility," she offers today as the source of her concern. "I was raring to go, but I didn't know if I could really do it." Her closing comment to Ryan indicated expectancy and uncertainty: "G[ee], I'm ready to go out as a teacher!??"[65]

Indeed Pete was ready. On 29 May 1934, Pete graduated from the Santa Fe Indian Art School (now the Institute of American Indian Arts). Whereas commencement exercises in the era of forced assimilation had centered on the formal reading by students of papers on topics such as patriotism and the value of work, these occasions were now showcases for displaying Native arts and crafts. To commemorate the occasion and to celebrate the students'

immersion in Native cultures, the school commissioned a special arts and crafts project. Morrow allowed each student to "make an outfit that was beautiful," Pete remembers. "We had a white blouse with Indian designs on it, and it was hand-woven, and then we had a corduroy jumper to go with it. And she wanted each one of us to have one." Pete put hers to good use, adding the garment to her teaching wardrobe.[66]

Pete accumulated vast knowledge and experience attending school in Santa Fe. In contrast to her mother's boarding-school experience two decades earlier, when learning how to sew, cook, and clean dominated the curriculum, Pete's resumé at the time of commencement in 1934 brimmed with expertise in Native arts and crafts: weaving on three different looms (Navajo, bar, and foot); beadwork on both loom and leather; pottery (commercial and Pueblo); cross-stitching (Pueblo embroidery and porcupine quill); tanning (five methods); leather tooling; carding (spinning and dying wool); design (original, tribal, symbolic, and applied); and painting (earth color, water color, and oil). In addition she had received training in Indian songs, dances, archery, legends, and history.

After graduation, Pete hoped that she would be placed in the Southwest. However, a teacher shortage, coupled with the fact that Pete was a Native from the Pacific Northwest, prompted the BIA to assign her to Warm Springs Indian School in Oregon. She became a teacher of Indian arts and crafts in the home education department. The occasion signified yet another instance of exigency trumping personal considerations. Pete had come to adore Santa Fe. "I wanted to stay there," she laments. "I would have worked any place in the Southwest, [but] they said, 'No, we brought you from the Northwest and we need you back there. We have to have teachers up there.'"[67] Pete spent one semester as a student teacher under Morrow, before departing for north-central Oregon in late January 1935.

Other than visits taken with her children in later years, Pete never returned to Santa Fe. From an emotional and a methodological standpoint, however, it was as if she were always there. In her classes she applied a philosophy that both mirrored Morrow's thinking and embraced the ideals of the Indian New Deal. After leaving the federal Indian education system, from Warm Springs she moved to the Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, and Carson City Indian School in Stewart, Nevada. She devoted herself to the recovery and dissemination of Chehalis traditions, customs, and history. Her efforts, multiplied by many others, extended across the United States and insured for future Native generations a cultural birthright.[68]

Pete accomplished this preservation largely through her work as a basket weaver, which was her primary occupation following the completion of her BIA career in 1942. She combined the knowledge she acquired at Santa Fe with childhood observations of her grandmothers and her mother to become a master craftswoman. She became a recognized intertribal intercultural leader as a result of her renown as an artist and reputation as a Native activist. She taught Indian arts and crafts, lectured on Indian history and the cultures of the Pacific Northwest, and mentored students seeking to further their educations. As a *kiyah* (grandmother) to a large extended family, she taught the art of basketry and advised the tribal community in its attempts to reclaim traditional basketry knowledge and skills. She spearheaded a substantial cultural regeneration movement on the Chehalis and other northwestern reservations, casting her in the role of a cultural ambassador.[69]

Pete's influence extended beyond Indian communities. She also moved easily among Whites. Straddling Indian and White societies, she engaged in a process of selective adaptation, which historian Theda Perdue has termed "sifting," combining and blending elements old and new, traditional and modern, and Native and Euroamerican into a cohesive whole. By negotiating both worlds—synthesizing the best of Indian and White societies—Pete managed to gain a foothold for introducing Indian cultures to an extensive public. The result was a greater awareness and appreciation by outsiders of Native American values, cultures, and life ways.[70]

Pete's approach was not completely her own making. The course of her life was a virtual blueprint for the cultural-broker role envisioned for Indian artists by Morrow and the BIA. In this regard, the cross-cultural training she received in Santa Fe and the cultural agency the Indian New Deal afforded Native people intersected in her life at a critical moment in U.S. history. Without question, the Indian New Deal was an imperfect break with the past. Assimilation remained a primary goal of Indian boarding-school education, and, in a larger sense the federal government remained pivotally involved in Indian affairs. The federal policies of the 1930s, however, set the stage for the eventual repositioning of Indians and their cultures to the center of Native societies. Those cultures, held in contempt by Whites in previous decades, by the late twentieth century became valued resources worthy of promotion and celebration by Indians and non-Indians alike. In this newly tolerant atmosphere, tribal art once derided as a symbol of Native "savagery" assumed newfound stature as a respected link to the past and an important bridge to the future.

A debt is owed to those who labored to advance this transition, particularly those who were there at the beginning, during the New Deal years of the 1930s. Pete, her classmates, and her teachers, although perhaps unlikely participants, operated as foot soldiers on the frontline of a campaign to win back and revitalize cultures that otherwise may have been irretrievably lost. Interestingly, Morrow and Dunn's direct involvement at Santa Fe, like Pete's, proved to be relatively short-lived. Morrow remained the director of the arts and crafts program until November 1935, when she returned to her old school, Flandreau, to head the Home Economics Department. Later, she was promoted to national supervisor of Indian crafts, a BIA administrative post that required her to tour the United States as an itinerate teacher. She held the position until shortly before her retirement from the Indian service in November 1952. Meanwhile, Dunn left Santa Fe in 1937. Her association with the BIA was effectively terminated shortly thereafter, when she failed to secure an appointment with the Indian Rights Association.[71] Even in their absence, the influence of these two key figures remained vital in the students whom they had trained and in the lives that these students touched.

The two-and-a-half years that Pete spent in Santa Fe open a window onto a major shift in Indian affairs. Her experiences add to historians' knowledge of the Indian New Deal, the Santa Fe Indian Art School, and, most immediately, the arts and crafts program supervised by Mable Morrow. Her program has been overshadowed in the historical literature by The Studio, which has benefited from its more glamorous profile as a center of fine arts. This aura has easily captured historians' imaginations but has been erroneously credited as the starting point for the cultural renaissance that took place at the Santa Fe Indian boarding school in the early 1930s.[72]

Until her death in January 2003, Hazel Pete continued to utilize her extraordinary education, instilling in the youth of the twenty-first century a knowledge of and a respect for Indian cultures and history. These cultural elements were denied to her during her childhood, which was spent almost entirely in government boarding schools driven by assimilationist policies. In 1932 she embarked on a lonely and improbable journey to New Mexico, in the midst of the Great Depression, with neither food nor money but with an unremitting faith in the hope of a better life.

Notes

1. Hazel Pete, interview by author, Oakville, Wash., 25 December 2001 and 26 August 1999. Transcripts are in the author's possession. In addition to the many formal recorded conversations there were many informal discussions of Indian policy

in general and Indian education in particular. All interviews are with Pete except where noted.

2. Hazel Pete, "The Indian Child and His Education," (typescript, 1977), 13.
3. Pete, interviews by author, 19 March 1997 and 26 August 1999.
4. Ibid.
5. For extensive coverage of Pete's life prior to her enrollment in the Santa Fe Indian Art School, see Cary C. Collins, "A Future with a Past: Hazel Pete, Cultural Identity, and the Federal Indian Education System," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 92 (winter 2000/2001): 15–28. A good general history of Indian education is David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995). Studies of specific schools include Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Tsianina K. Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Scott Riney, *The Rapid City Indian School, 1898–1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999); and Robert A. Trennert Jr., *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988). On assimilation policy, see Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984).
6. Frederick E. Hoxie, "Exploring a Cultural Borderland: Native American Journeys of Discovery in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of American History* 79 (December 1992): 969–95, examines how Indian people "presented themselves to the non-Indian public as a bridge connecting an ancient past to the modern era" (p. 986). Sally Hyer, "Pablita Velarde: The Pueblo Artist as Cultural Broker," in *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. Margaret Connell Szasz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 273–93, offers another perspective on the art programs at the Santa Fe Indian School, with a particular emphasis on the painting program. Pete shared a dormitory room with Pablita Velarde's sister.
7. Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, vol. 2. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 944. For more on the Indian New Deal, consult Elmer R. Rusco, *A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2000); Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle, *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); and Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).
8. Lawrence C. Kelly, "The Indian Reorganization Act: The Dream and the Reality," *Pacific Historical Review* 66 (August 1975): 292.
9. Margaret Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination, 1928–1973* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 50.

10. Deloria and Lytle, *The Nations Within*, 185; and Elizabeth Manning, "Drought has Navajos Discussing a Taboo Subject—Range Reform," *High Country News*, 5 August 1996, 1.
11. Dorothy Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 224.
12. Lewis Meriam et al., *The Problem of Indian Administration* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928), 125. The Meriam investigation was financed by John D. Rockefeller Jr. and created by the Institute for Government Research, an independent organization that became the political division of the Brookings Institution.
13. Joy L. Gritton documents the changing climate in Washington, D.C., following publication of the Meriam Report, *The Institute of American Indian Arts: Modernism and U.S. Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 34–39. For the impact of Indian arts and crafts on federal Indian policies, see Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); Winona Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe: The Institute of American Indian Arts with Historical Background, 1890 to 1962* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 1988); and Margaret D. Jacobs, "Shaping a New Way: White Women and the Movement to Promote Pueblo Indian Arts and Crafts, 1900–1935," *Journal of the Southwest* 40 (summer 1998): 194.
14. Report of Efficiency Rating of Mable E. Morrow by H. B. Peairs, 1 April 1931, Mable E. Morrow personnel file, National Personnel Records Center, National Archives and Records Administration, St. Louis, Missouri [hereafter NPRC-NARA]; Dorothy Dunn, "The Studio of Painting, Santa Fe Indian School," *El Palacio* 67 (February 1960): 16–27; Garmhausen, *History of Indian Arts Education in Santa Fe*, 46.
15. See "Seek to Save Indian Arts by Education," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 23 February 1932, 1; and Susan Labry Meyn, *More than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and Its Precursors, 1920–1942* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2001), 66.
16. According to a newspaper account, Morrow was sent to Santa Fe to be in charge of the Arts and Crafts Department. She was also to supervise the Home Economics Department, the kitchen, the dining room, and spend two days per week in the northern pueblos overseeing dressmaking, general sewing, and housekeeping among the Indian women. *The Santa Fean*, February-March 1975, 7. Morrow said of her transfer to Santa Fe: "If I do not like it here I guess that I am hard to please. Mr. Faris told me that I am to be in full charge of the artwork here and responsible to no one. So I either sink or swim," Morrow to Helen Cahusac, 2 February 1932, folder 90MMO.051, box 16, Mable Morrow Collection, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
17. On 15 March 1932, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* ran the article, "Indian Students Here to Learn Arts and Crafts." The author wrote, "Nine Indian girls of as many tribes are here to study the arts and crafts, and take back their information to various Indian schools so that other pupils may learn. Miss Mable Morrow, recently transferred from the Haskell Indian school to the U.S. Indian Industrial school of

Santa Fe, brought the nine Indian girls who will be teachers. These girls had finished their academic work and already are proving adept pupils in their new field. The new arts and crafts building at the U.S. Indian school here is nearing completion. It will be under roof before the week is over. This is a $25,000 structure which is being erected by Welton Brothers of Denver. It has eight rooms and a charming placita. It is being built of tile, in pueblo style, and is one story high. It will be completed about May 1 and will be used before the school term is ended."

18. Morrow's development of these fields of study is documented throughout the Mable Morrow Collection. The best history of Santa Fe Indian School is Sally Hyer, *One House, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1990). While Pete was there, the school employed an administrative staff and faculty of sixty-five in support of a student body of 525 made up of predominantly Pueblos and Navajos in grades six through twelve.
19. Dunn, *American Indian Painting of the Southwest and Plains Areas*, 249–313.
20. Only Josephine Myers (Wapp) is still alive at publication.
21. See note 18 above. Although the primary purpose of the arts and crafts program was to make Indian women economically self-sufficient, Morrow said that "In the revival of any craft the commercial side should not be overemphasized, instead, the major emphasis should be placed on the production of an object of beauty with certain amount of speed, and on the satisfaction, almost a spiritual quality, that one gets from the production of something beautiful." See Mable Morrow, "Arts and Crafts Among Indian Women," *Indians at Work* 3 (1 December 1935): 22.
22. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999.
23. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
24. Report of Efficiency Rating of Mable E. Morrow, 20 May 1942, Morrow personnel file, NPRC-NARA. Friend and coworker Oleta Merry Boyce described Morrow as "very quiet, not talkative at all, very reserved." Boyce, interview by author, 25 May 2002.
25. Pete, interview by author, 2 May 1998.
26. Efficiency Report of Mable E. Morrow by Joseph B. Vernon, 21 March 1934, Morrow personnel file, St. Louis, Missouri.
27. Dunn's background and the circumstances by which she became involved in Indian art are chronicled in Jane Rehnstrand, "Young Indians Revive Their Native Arts," *School Arts* 36 (November 1936): 137–44.
28. Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern by Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995), 10; and J. J. Brody, *Indian Painters & White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 131.
29. Quoted in Dorothy Dunn, "Indian Children Carry Forward Old Traditions," *School Arts Magazine* 34 (March 1935): 426–27. A condensed version of this article bearing the same title appeared in *Indians at Work* 2 (1 May 1935): 25–30.
30. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997. Dorothy Dunn and The Studio have attracted considerable scholarly attention. Recent works include Bernstein and

Rushing, *Modern by Tradition*; Jean Shutes and Jill Mellick, *The Worlds of P'otsunu: Geronima Cruz Montoya of San Juan Pueblo* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); and Kenneth G. Ulrich, "The Dorothy Dunn Collection of the Museum of New Mexico," *American Indian Art Magazine* 5 (winter 1979): 48–53. Much later, Dunn recorded some of her recollections in Dunn, "The Dorothy Dunn Collection of American Indian Painting," *El Palacio* 83 (winter 1977): 2–17. Clara Lee Tanner, *Southwest Indian Painting: A Changing Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973) documents the work of many of the artists who studied under Dunn.

31. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999. In explaining her methods, Dunn said that beginning students worked alone, but group work was gradually incorporated as students progressed. Dunn, *American Indian Painting*.
32. Pete, interview by author, 17 May 1997.
33. Pete, interviews by author, 24 November 1997 and 26 August 1999.
34. Another contentious issue between them may have been that, after Morrow was hired at Santa Fe, the Indian service considered replacing her with Dunn. See Edna Groves to Dorothy Dunn, 2 November 1931, folder 93DDK.160, box 13, Dorothy Dunn Kramer Collection, Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
35. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999.
36. J. F. Zimmerman et al., "Twenty-Five Years of Achievement: Address at the Annual Meeting of the Managing Committee of the School of American Research," *El Palacio* 34 (7–14 June 1933): 175.
37. Pete, interview by author, 19 March 1997.
38. Pete, interview by author, 28 July 1999.
39. Ibid.
40. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999.
41. Pete, interviews by author, 24 November 1997 and 22 June 1999.
42. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
43. Josephine Myers Wapp, interview by author, telephone, 28 May 2002.
44. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999. The *Santa Fe New Mexican* reported on 3 February 1933 in an article titled "Laboratory Aid to Indians in Studying Traditional Designs" that "This morning a bus load of students from the Arts and Crafts department of the U.S.I.S. spent several hours in the Laboratory of Anthropology studying historic designs on silver and blankets in collections there. This group is one of many from the Indian school that is making use of the facilities of the laboratory to further their work in their native crafts. At the Indian school they have a library of reference works from the Smithsonian, Field museum, Southwest museum and the public museum of Milwaukee. The teachers at the school are conversant with the old designs and have instilled into their pupils a love of the work done by their ancestors. But it is a big help to have the collections at the laboratory so the students can actually see and feel the types of work being studied. By having access to the finest work of Indian craftsmen they can really gain an understanding of the objectives for which they are striving. In this way they are

gaining in appreciation of their own and getting away from the 'ginger bread' ornateness that was being cultivated in many sections in an effort to appeal to the ignorance of tourists."

45. Dunn, *American Indian Painting*, 263, 261.
46. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
47. Pete, interviews by author, 24 November 1997 and 26 August 1999.
48. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
49. Pete, interview by author, 21 March 1998; and Pete, "The Indian Child and His Education," 13.
50. Pete, interviews by author, 26 August 1999 and 28 July 1999.
51. Pete, interviews by author, 19 March 1997 and 26 August 1999.
52. Pete, interviews by author, 24 November 1997 and 26 August 1999.
53. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
54. For comprehensive discussion of the concept of the "cultural broker" see the introduction in Connell Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*.
55. Pete, interviews by author, 24 November 1997 and 26 August 1997.
56. Ibid.
57. The *mide* were priests or shamans; Myers Wapp, interview by author, 28 May 2002.
58. On the Mide Wiwin Club, consult *Tequayo*, eleventh-grade annual, 1932–1933, Santa Fe Indian School, 23; copy in author's possession courtesy Sally Hyer.
59. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
60. "Oakville Girl Scores," *Portland Oregonian*, 18 July 1934, 5.
61. Pete, interview by author, 26 August 1999.
62. Pete to Ryan, 10 April 1933, Graduate student folder 634, box Case Files, Chemawa Indian School, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, Pacific-Alaska Region, National Archives, Seattle, Washington [hereafter BIACIS].
63. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997; and Pete, "The Indian Child and His Education," 13.
64. Pete, interview by author, 19 March 1997.
65. Pete to Ryan, 21 February 1934, folder 634, box Case Files, BIACIS.
66. Pete, interview by author, 24 November 1997.
67. Pete, interview by author, 19 March 1997.
68. Collins, "A Future with a Past," 15–28.
69. Ibid.
70. Theda Perdue, ed., *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).
71. A possible explanation for Dunn leaving the Indian Service may have been her low opinion of the agency. She once advised a friend seeking federal employment: "For you to obtain a position of any kind in the Indian Service, you will first have to write the U.S. Civil Service Commission and ask what examinations for art positions, if any, are being given. If you take an examination, you sometimes have to wait a year or two for an assignment. Political backing makes all the difference in the world, as I have observed, and positions are actually made, sometimes, for the 'right' people. The Civil Service regulations don't seem to matter in such cases.

I'm saying this in case you have a friend among the senators, cabinet members, brain trusters, etc. Frankly, the Indian Service in the Pueblo area is practically a 100 % political machine at present, and moreover, a *little dictatorship in every* sense." Dunn to Paul Love, 29 March 1938, folder 93DDK165, box 13, Dunn Collection, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

72. Morrow's low-key personality—particularly when contrasted with Dunn's vivacity—may have contributed as well. According to student Josephine Myers Wapp, Morrow "just wasn't the type of person who advertised herself." Myers Wapp, interview by author, 28 May 2002. See also note 24.