

Imaging (Native) America: Pedro deLemos and the Expansion of Art Education (1919-1950)

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¹DeLemos (1864-1954) was a second-generation Hispanic American. His father, Francesco Lemos arrived in San Francisco from the Azores in the early 1860s, followed by his wife, Marie Josephine deBethancour. After deLemos's birth (1882) in Nevada, where his father ended up working as a cobbler, the family moved back to the Bay Area (Oakland). DeLemos formed an illustration and design business with his two brothers, Frank and John, in 1906 and successfully exhibited his prints and drawings. By 1915 he became the Director of the San Francisco Institute of Art, a position he held until his move in 1917 to Stanford University. True to his commitment to family, deLemos hired family members as staff at both Stanford University and *School Arts Magazine* (Munsey, 1999).

This article examines the imaging of Native Americans in the pages of *School Arts Magazine* during the second quarter of the 20th century. During this period, Pedro deLemos, Hispanic-American artist and educator, established his legacy as the longest serving editor of *School Arts Magazine* (1919-1950). This position allowed him to have an effect upon the depiction of Native Americans through their arts and crafts in mainstream American schools. Design theory and the Household and Everyday Art movements influenced deLemos's ideas about art education. He viewed traditional Southwestern Native American art as the perfect synthesis of these interests. Three other forces—the aesthetic interests of the California Arts and Crafts Movement, the commercial interests of the Southwest tourist industry, and the scientific interest of archeologists—influenced deLemos's ideas about Native American art. Central to the dissemination of this perspective was the rich network of people, including Native American artists and educators, Indian School administrators and teachers, archeologists, museum directors, publishers, and art teachers that deLemos nurtured through *The School Arts Magazine*.

For 30 years (1919-1950), *The School Arts Magazine*, American art education, and American school children were to be affected by the editorial work of Pedro deLemos. During his tenure, deLemos came to identify Native American art as a foundational source for America's restructuring of its unique aesthetic identity. This is significant because until the 1948 establishment of National Art Education Association (NAEA), periodicals like *School Arts* functioned as a national platform for art educators. Prior to his editorship, *School Arts* made few gestures toward the inclusion of the values, customs, and forms produced by America's minorities. DeLemos's own identity, a working-class, second-generation, Hispanic-American artist who obtained administrative positions both at *School Arts* as Editor and at Stanford University as Director of its Museum and Art Gallery, placed him on a border between under-represented people and mainstream institutions.¹ These conditions urge a reading of the historical importance of deLemos's work as a transition period during which the presence and importance of minority contributions were identified and valued but not fully emancipated.

In *Indian Decorative Designs*, deLemos's first portfolio of instructional materials to explicitly identify art as a form of cultural production, deLemos (1926a) articulates his views on the importance of Native American arts and crafts.

American designers, for many years have studied design sources of the Old World for inspiration and guidance in producing designs for American industrial arts requirements. Egyptian, Grecian, and

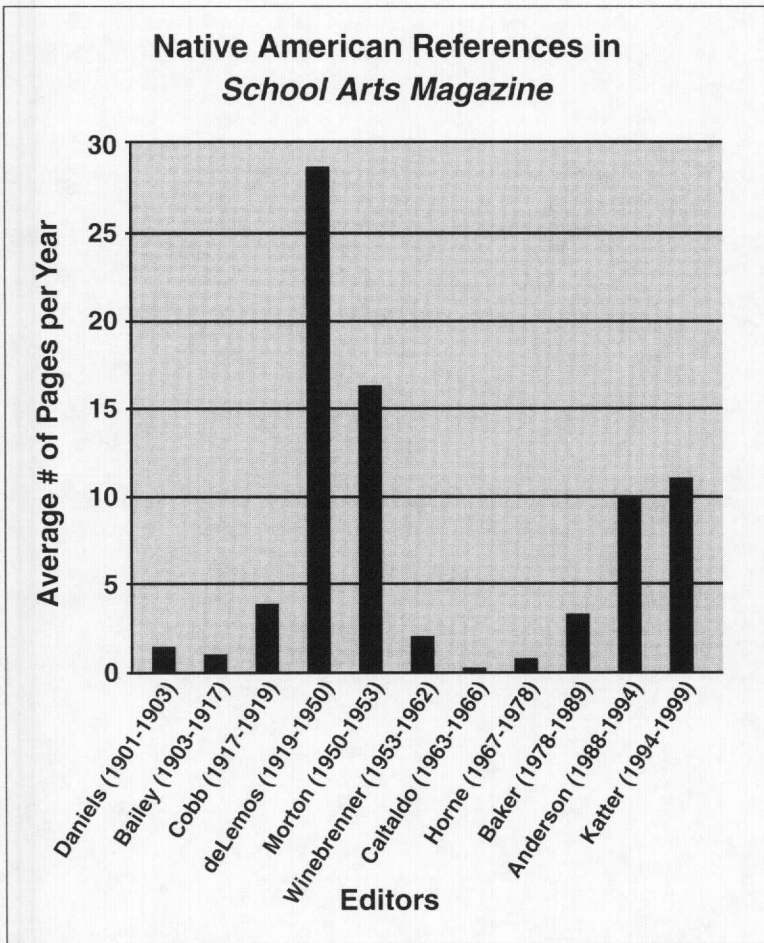


Figure 1. Native American references in *School Arts Magazine*.
Morton (1950-1953) is deLemos's daughter, Ester deLemos Morton.

Renaissance sources were rigorously studied and rigidly copied. The result was that American homes became decorated with forms and motifs excellent in source and fitted to the land of their birth, but unrelated to a new period and in most instances inadaptable to a different background.... Where the early arts of the Old World had, through the years of refinement and elaboration, together with the ornate period of the Renaissance, become over-intricate, the arts of the early Americas come on the scene in contrast with a bold, almost crude, but refreshing simplicity.... It is hoped that with all the study of the world's rich gathering of design forms that the student will include those forms so excellently achieved by the early

²Previously, *School Arts* represented Native Americans from the eastern woodlands, often in relation to Longfellow's Hiawatha or the Pilgrim landing in New England (Blackboard, 1902; Sandtable, 1907; Bigelow, 1911; Bishop, 1914; Good ideas, 1915). Hammock and Hammock (1906) includes an image of a Pueblo for children to copy. Influential too were calendars from the Santa Fe railroad that were displayed in schools throughout the country (Wilson, 1997).

³This national celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal followed the practices of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial Exposition in St. Louis and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago of displaying technologies, artworks and natural phenomena that signified the colonial reach of Western culture. The Panama Canal established the American West as an international center of trade and identified the United States' neo-colonial power. Organizers of The Panama Pacific International Exposition sought, "to promote a new national style derived from prehistoric Indian art" (Rushing, 1995a, p. 42).

designers and craftsmen of the American continents and thereby more truly achieve an American expression in the design created for use in America today.

DeLemos imagines a non-European American consciousness situated in the American home and delivered through American public schooling. Native American crafts, designed in an evolutionary relation to America's natural environment, presented a challenge to art education's use of Old World influences. For a nation that was largely a collection of Old World immigrants, the new American landscape, rather than race or culture, provided a shared foundation for understanding the aesthetic dimension an American identity. Native American crafts were granted a near-magical power that carried the "authentic" aesthetic of the land into American homes and schools.

These issues illustrate the roles that Native American cultures were given within art education's development of its own identity. That process is set within the larger question "What is it to be an American?" that emerged as a function of America's evolving role as a world power in an industrial world. Participants in these discussions in the pages of *School Arts* included: deLemos; supervisors and teachers working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs both within Government Indian Schools and in Washington, DC; anthropologists, archeologists, and art historians associated with museums; Native American artists and educators; artists associated with the art colonies of Taos and Santa Fe; mainstream art educators; the New Mexico tourist industry; and businesses selling artist materials and supplies. Throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, *School Arts* presented a version of Native American culture that contributed to art education's ideas about its own identity and about American life.²

Crafting America Out West

DeLemos's appointment as editor was undoubtedly influenced by the opinion of former *School Arts* editor, Henry Turner Bailey. DeLemos had published articles on printmaking in the magazine since 1913, but it was probably Bailey's 1915 trip to San Francisco as a juror for the education exhibits at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition that secured their professional relationship.³ Bailey, also seeking an American aesthetic identity, states in his first article on the exposition, "We have seen the art of imperialism; we have yet to see the art of triumphant democracy" (1915a, p. 21). He also reminds his readers (1915b) of Hegel's idea that "Art is the free and adequate embodiment of the idea in a form particularly appropriate to the idea itself" (p. 158). Among those images that Bailey chose to represent the embodiment of triumphant democracy was *The Peacemaker*, a painting of Native Americans from the Southwest, by Ernest L. Blumenschein, a founding member of the Taos Society of Artists. To exemplify excellence in art education Bailey chose a display of

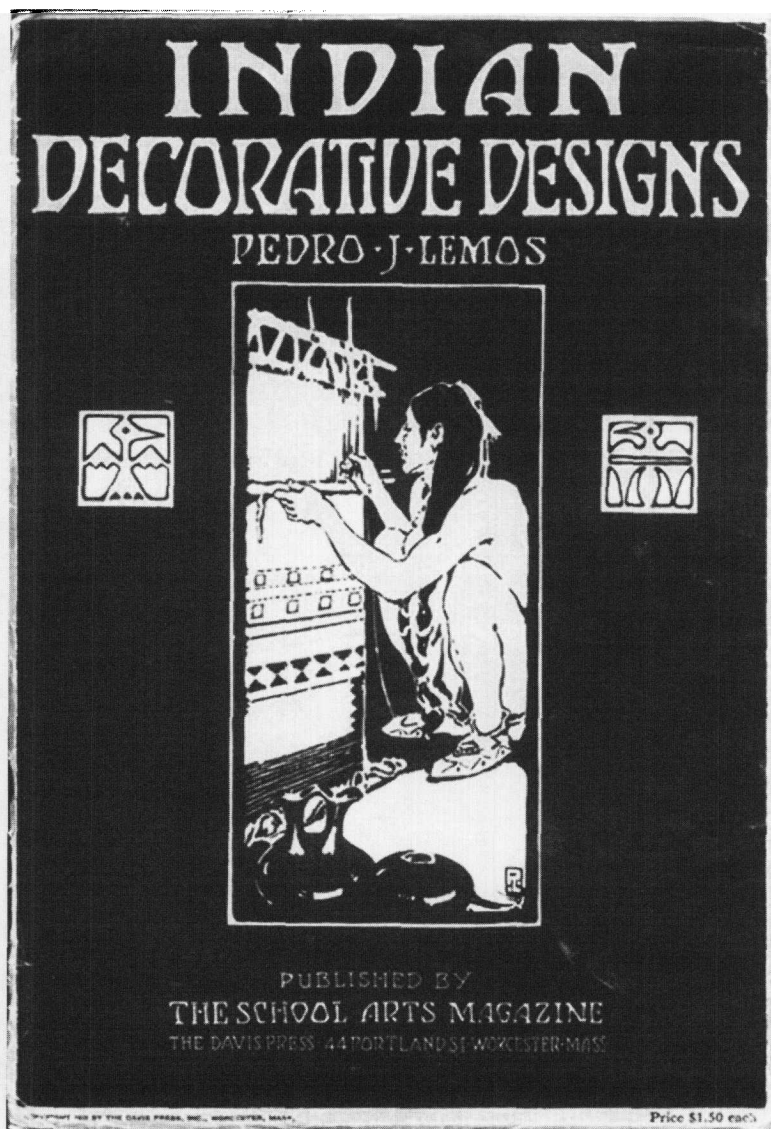


Figure 2. Cover for *Indian Decorative Designs* by Pedro Lemos (1926).
Reproduced with the permission of Davis Publications.

⁴The term "concrete pottery" refers to the casting on colored concrete to form household art tiles and vessels. *Colored Cement Handicraft*, (Lemos, P. & Lemos, R., 1922), provides instruction for constructing of "concrete pottery" and is to this date the most authoritative source of this forgotten craft.

"concrete pottery" from the San Francisco Institute of Art (SFIA) by the students of its director, Pedro deLemos (Comments, 1915).⁴

The events surrounding the Panama-Pacific International were concurrent with a business decision by Davis Press to expand *School Arts'* appeal beyond its Worcester, Massachusetts and New England center. To this end, in 1916 Davis Press chose an editorial board for *School Arts* that equitably represented the country's geographic regions. DeLemos represented the Bay Area of California. In 1919 the board appointed deLemos editor. This appointment was both evangelical, in that it spread *School Arts'* vision for art education, and utilitarian, in that it increased *School Arts'* demographic base and revenues. DeLemos continued the magazine's applied arts perspective but shifted its emphasis to the West to include the more American focus of the California Arts and Craft Movement. This shift included a greater reverence for Spanish-Colonial and Native American crafts as fundamental sources for an emergent American aesthetic.

Equally important, however, and true to his own working-class, immigrant perspective, deLemos believed that democratic truth was to be found in the aesthetics of everyday practices of peoples around the world. Prior to a trip to Europe, deLemos (1928c) speaks of a vision of tourism that is based upon populist sensibilities:

These pilgrimages have been made largely through itineraries organized by travel organizations that think of art in old terms, in terms of painting and sculpture. Today the art teacher needs to find inspirational sources for the correlation of art and everyday life, for ideas in home building, in pageantry, in industrial design, in producing finer streets, better toys, artistic stagecraft, individual doorways, a finer sense of all the art principles that go toward producing more beauty and unity in life. I hope to see some day an art journey for teachers of art that will include the seeing and finding and appreciating of many of these principles in the unconscious fireside crafts, the peasant art, and rural homes and communities of Europe. I know there are many such sources to be found. *They may be off the beaten path, but I hope to find and describe and thereby create new points of interest for the art teacher who believes in progress and art ideas that are greater than only what may be found in the galleries and museums of Europe* [italics added]. (p. 516)

The search for an authentic and democratic truth to be found "off the beaten path" was a common aspiration of tourists (MacCannell, 1976, Lippard, 1999) that prefigures contemporary aesthetic sensitivities to craft, folk art, and material culture (White & Congdon, 1998). DeLemos found in the arts and crafts of working people a fundamental source for the aesthetic identity of American democracy.

DeLemos's American vision, informed by his family's immigrant history, saw the need for Americans to self-consciously extract themselves from their identities as former citizens of Europe. For example, deLemos, along with Bay Area artist Lorenzo Latimer, sought to diminish the perceived corrosive effects of the German culture industry in American schools and daily life (*Fighting German Art*, 1918). DeLemos's (1918) first public discussion of Native American design occurred in an article titled, *Are you an Assyrian?* This questioning of identity unites deLemos's interest in design and culture into a pointedly anti-German plea for an original art based upon American motifs. As deLemos (1918) states, "Copying—that's the weak part of individuals, and when a nation reverts to it, its artistic days are numbered" (p.18). DeLemos (1918) believed that the copying used in and as a result of the influence of German designs was a faddism that affected the viewer with "nervous glints" rather than the "peace and repose" fitting the American home (p. 19).⁵ DeLemos reinforces the isolationist implications of his aesthetic by linking design to the environment, a move drawn from anthropology stating, "Here we have distinctive flora and fauna, different ideals and customs, a different environment, all waiting for someone to develop a distinctive American design. If we must copy from primitive sources, let us not allow someone else to digest it for us, but let us go to our own continent's primitive design—the Aztecs, the Peruvians, the American Indians..." (1918, p. 18). A developmentally sound and authentic American art that reflects the triumph of American democracy would draw inspiration from local environmental and cultural sources.

Several articles in *School Arts* (Beckwith, 1918a & 1918b; King, 1922) contribute to this developing interest by art educators in New World designs. Beckwith (1918a), prior to deLemos's 1918 article, states, "Is it not possible to lay aside the traditions of our neighbors across the water and with the dawn of universal freedom bring about through the children a form of design which shall be the individual expression of their own experiences" (p. 202). Isolationist-minded Americans would not miss Beckwith's allusion to their autonomous development in the New World and the self-development of students through design. This enthusiasm fostered a limiting neo-colonialist view of Native Americans. Mainstream educators and scientists were hesitant to grant Native Americans the power of reflective or critical thinking (Cushing, 1892). Indian artists were not seen as conscious of their talents for "savages made symbols without recognizing them as such" as opposed to civilized people who "must know what constitutes one before being able to draw it" (Beckwith, 1918b, p. 285) DeLemos is not explicitly in agreement with Beckwith's ascription of second class consciousness to Native Americans but neither was he unsympathetic. For example, he published essays written by Native Americans (Peters, 1928; Horne, 1935) that spoke against stereo-

⁵Anthropologists in the late 19th century were busy constructing arguments for the role of the hand in the development of culture. Anthropologist Holmes (1890) felt that copied designs contained traces of abstract mental processes not thought to be present when a design is generated directly through handwork.

types and for the importance of Native American rights and tribal identity but he showed little interest in nontraditional Native American imagery.

Within this complex context, deLemos did much to introduce Native American culture to a national audience. From the 1929 to 1944 *School Arts* surpassed all other educational publications in its coverage of Native American topics (White, 1997). Not only were Native American artworks featured in *School Arts* during deLemos's term as editor, Native American artists and educators wrote articles and essays, a practice not repeated until the late 1990s under the editorial guidance of Eldon Katter.⁶

The inclusion of Native American cultural contributions as a primary force within the imaging of an America identity also shaped art education's own practices and policies. One example would be the inclusion of handicrafts, previously associated with Industrial or Household Arts, within art education programs.

Situating the American Home

This imaging of an American identity, in opposition to a largely European ancestry, was part of a wider response to shifting relations within the industrial world. Artists, reframing their relationships to democratic ideals, used everyday life as a placeholder to distance themselves from Fine Art (European). The avant-garde reframed everyday objects and experiences within non-habitual contexts. Artists in the Stieglitz circle, such as Arthur Dove and Georgia O'Keeffe, used sensation to transform the everyday into art. The Arts and Crafts Movement valued the most conservative of these relationships, privileged traditional art making processes. Handicrafts, with their holistic design, manufacture, and everyday use, represented an anti-modern critical response to modern life (Lears, 1981). All three groups of artists became enamored with the idea of the universal applicability and the domestic integrity of Southwestern Native American arts and crafts. Pedro deLemos (1933) relates these sensibilities to the work of Native American artists:

Because American Indian art has been and still is part of the Indian life, an interwoven part of his needs, is the reason I have become an ardent sponsor of their arts and crafts. Not only do I feel they are the first in art today but also that they are the "last word" in American art. They are artists primitive and ancient as regards their source, but are at the same time modern as any of the modernists in their art. (p. 10)

Similarly, John Sloan and Oliver LaFarge (1931) state, "The Indian artist deserves to be classified as a modernist, his art is old, yet alive and dynamic" (p. 7).⁷ Native American art provided a point of convergence for Modernist and anti-modernist aesthetics.

The Arts and Crafts Movement located the home as a powerful symbol for the tacit knowledge derived from everyday labor (Lears, 1981). These

⁶Wide identification with these initiatives can be seen in *School Arts* articles written by art teachers from both mainstream and Indian School settings (Dunn, 1931 & 1935; Custer, 1933; Edelstein, 1935; Rehnstrand, 1936; Kassel, 1938; Wadsworth, 1924, 1938 & 1943). DeLemos's support was much broader than *School Arts* teacher/readers. Articles written by Native Americans (Peters, 1928; Horne, 1935; Chalee, 1936), prominent artists (Parkhurst, 1931a; Bynner, 1932; Lukens, 1938), museum directors (Amsden, 1935; Douglas, 1935; Colton, 1938), and government officials (Morrison, 1927; McKittrick, 1931 & 1940; Pierce, 1938) were published regularly.

⁷Sloan and LaFarge organized the Exposition of Indian Tribal Arts held at the Grand Central Galleries NYC in 1931 (Brody, 1997). The first NYC showing of Native American paintings was organized by Mable Dodge Luhan and Sloan (1919) at the Society of Independents (CSR/deHuff papers; Cahill, 1922).

values conjoined with conservative images of family and community. *School Arts* used the metaphor of “family” to define its relation to its readership. DeLemos’s (1924) first Santa Fe article *The Household Art of the Indian Pueblos* was published in an issue devoted to Household Art.⁸ The Household and Everyday Art Movements, which were devoted to an aesthetic integration of life and art within the home, were actively endorsed and promoted by deLemos.⁹ Magazines such as *Ladies Home Journal* promoted the merits of interior design as a means toward a more integrated world (Gilbert, 1977). Other articles in the issue related to domestic life such as dress and costume design (Welling & Hutchings, 1924; Wadsworth, 1924). In his article, deLemos included a description of his entrance into the San Ildefonso Pueblo and home of Maria Martinez. Entering the home of another signified an authentic connection with the center of another culture, a center that deLemos brought back to the de-centered modern homes of his American readers. In Martinez’s domesticity deLemos found the ideal symbol of the union of art and life. To his readers deLemos (1924) proclaims:

This work was truly a Household Art, as she produces this pottery aside from the work of grinding the vari-colored corn into meal and cooking and housekeeping, to say nothing of the care of her small child, who was blissfully asleep in a swinging cradle hung from the rafters.... Undoubtedly theirs is the most wonderful household art in American life, and it holds much for teacher and student of art to study. (p. 341)

Martinez and other Pueblo artists authenticated an idealized aesthetic of home and hearth. It is not surprising that this value is gendered with Maria becoming the symbol of an integrated life, child in hand, and pottery being fired. The staging of the passage suggests that Martinez is engaged in the production of personal house wares. It becomes clear however, as Martinez escorts deLemos to a room filled with unfinished pots, that Martinez is producing work for the art trade. This is not surprising in that Martinez had already experienced intense exposure to the public and Pueblo potters had a long tradition of trading pottery.¹⁰

Trade however was not a grounding symbol of Household art. To generate that sensibility Martinez was imaged as bound to home and family. DeLemos’s search for an authentic symbol for Household Art never fully clarifies that Martinez’s pottery is a commercial venture that provided income for her family. Instead it is cloaked within the rhetoric of daily household activity. So it was with deLemos’s use of Native American culture as an exemplar of Household Art and American values. Images are continually placed within a domestic context while their commercial or critical values are under-represented.

⁸The first issue devoted to Native American Art was in November, 1927. The articles emphasize Native American art from the Southwest.

⁹DeLemos had studied Household Arts at Columbia in 1910 and was devoted to its objective to bridge art and life. Household Art played a significant role in the shaping of art education and education and public education in general. Much of the content of crafts (clay, weaving,) and design (interior) courses came into art education through Applied and Household Arts initiatives. As scientific efficiency became more prevalent, Household Arts morphed into Home Economics leaving the crafts within art departments.

¹⁰For 300 years prior to the introduction of American trade routes, railroads and tourists, Pueblo artists had been trading their crafts and adapting them to market conditions (Barkin, 1999). By the turn of the century, traders and curio dealers had established outlets for Native American crafts in the Southwest and cities in the East and the West. Traders had also built upon a synthesis of their own practices and Native American gatherings, established Indian fairs, such as the Gallup Intertribal Ceremonial and the Santa Fe Southwest Indian Fair. In these venues mainstream tourists bought Native American curios and crafts to infuse the mystique of the Southwest into their own homes (Wade, 1985).

¹¹Like in Lummis's (1892) influential book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, deLemos pictured his own *School Arts* travel essays as exploits, using titles like *Art on the Run*. It was however not the tramp-like conditions but the consistently good quality of the food and lodging services, provided by the Fred Harvey Company, that made travel through the Southwest a pleasurable tourist experience. Their first hotel, El Tovar at the Grand Canyon, provided quality rooms, food services, design features, and shopping opportunities that promoted the mystery of the region's Native American cultures. The Fred Harvey Company set up an Indian Department, which provided show rooms for Native American art in each of their newly developed hotels (Weigle and Babcock, 1996; Dilworth, 1996; Wilson, 1997).

¹²Two articles, *Wick Miller, friendly Indian trader, and his post for Pueblo Indians* and *Crafts del Navajo: A unique Navajo trading post* (Lemos, 1931c & 1931b), introduce *School Arts* readers to Miller and Staples. In the Stanford galleries, artists Totchen-Utsida, Deni-Chili-Betsua, Jema-Bah, Harry Paquin and Maria Paquin demonstrated their crafts. These artists stayed with deLemos in his Palo Alto home and traveled with his family to their beach house in Carmel, California.

Documenting and Collecting Indian Arts and Crafts

Two institutional forces, the commercial interests of the tourist industry and the scientific interests of archeologists, dominated America's self-imagining through Native American art. While Americans may have hoped for a unique non-European perspective, the mixture of promotion, collection, documentation, and education had roots in European antiquarianism. Those initiatives included travel to ancient sites and the documentation of those travels through sketching scenes and recording ornamental motifs.

The selling of the Southwest by the tourist industry showed up in *School Arts* in articles, advertisements, artworks and artifacts, illustrations, and travel itineraries. The promotional and motivational techniques of the tourist industry however could not supply a means to codify these experiences with Native American arts. For a formalized technology for teaching Native American design, deLemos turned to the imagery of archeologists and anthropologists who had been working intensely in the Southwest since the 1880s.

Tourism and the Romance of the Trail

American's identification with home and hearth is counterbalanced by their identification with the wonder of travel and tourism. DeLemos's tourist and community sensibilities had ample opportunity to develop through his career as Director of the Stanford Museum, Editor of *School Arts*, and independent artist. His trips to Santa Fe and the Southwest were organized around collecting artworks, arranging exhibitions at Stanford, visiting Indian schools and pueblos, and sketching pueblos, missions, and Indian crafts.

One of the influential forces in the development of deLemos's image of Native Americans was the tourist industry created by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway (AT&SF) and its corporate partner, the Fred Harvey Company. Faced with bankruptcy in 1895, the AT&SF initiated an aggressive marketing strategy for their train route running through the deserts of New Mexico and Arizona. Native American cultures provided an appealing attraction for a trip that otherwise could be both hot and dusty. Writer Charles Lummis provided American culture with the literary image of the Southwest as a timeless world (Wilson, 1997). The cultural industry sold tourists on the possibility that this timeless vision could be experienced as phenomena, as a photographic opportunity, and as a pre-industrial commodity.¹¹

Beginning in 1922, deLemos developed relations with several Indian trading posts, including Frank Patania's Thunderbird Shop, The Spanish and Indian Trading Company and The Spanish Chest through which he collected work for Stanford, his wife Rita's shop in Palo Alto, and his own collection. In 1929 deLemos, through an arrangement with Bert Staples, owner of Crafts del Navajo of Coolidge, New Mexico, held his first show of Native American artists and their work at the Stanford University Art

Gallery (Lemos, 1931b). School children from the greater Palo Alto area came in busloads to see Pueblo and Navajo artists perform ongoing demonstrations of their craft in the galleries. As with so many of his projects, deLemos followed this exhibition with an article in *School Arts*, *My five Indian guests, each one an artist* (Lemos, 1930).¹² This exhibition led to other shows at Stanford, including the one organized in 1931 by trader Wick Miller of San Yasidro, New Mexico. This exhibit led Miller to develop a commercial venture, The Exhibit of Indian Craftsmen at Work that traveled the country displaying Native Americans and their crafts in department stores, museums, and expositions.¹³

By the mid-1920s relationships amongst tourism, commerce, science, education and aesthetics were becoming increasingly complex. DeLemos was quick to pass along to *School Arts* readers his growing interest in the Southwest and Native American cultures. Although deLemos planned his 1922 and 1923 trips with little direct sponsorship by the Santa Fe tourist industry by 1927 art teachers are referred to a map of the Santa Fe Railroad's routes to pueblos and reservations (Lemos, 1927). In 1930 deLemos organized a trip with his publisher Warren Davis and their families through the southwest on a Harveycar Motor Cruise.¹⁴ Readers were prompted, "Therefore, young man or young woman, and especially those art teachers who are a little older, when you 'go West' to see the art centers of the west, take my advice and do it by the Harveycar cruises" (Lemos, 1931a, p. 405).

Art teachers, receptive to deLemos's reports, responding with their own articles, letters, and lesson plans. This was not lost on the railroad companies, which from the early 1930s through World War II regularly placed advertisements in *School Arts* for summer travel and excursions. Art educators, like Beula Wadsworth, supervisor of art education for Kalamazoo, Michigan, traveled to the Southwest and incorporated Native American crafts and designs into their classrooms. Wadsworth became an assistant editor of *School Arts* and attended classes in Santa Fe at the Laboratory of Anthropology with Kenneth Chapman. Her articles on the Hopi (Wadsworth, 1943) encouraged teachers to dramatize their classes by taking their students on an imaginary journey to Holbrook, Arizona to experience the Kachina ceremonies. Through art teachers like Wadsworth, the culture industry promoted by commercial and civic organizations was extended into the learning of American children.

Travel Portraits

For deLemos, sketching was associated with both travel and documentation.¹⁵ In articles with names like *Art Rambles*, deLemos conveys the impression that through sketching one gains access to a particular way of seeing and being in foreign lands. DeLemos's family members speak of how people would gather about deLemos as he sketched local scenery (Munsey, P. L., personal communication, December, 1999). Santa Fe's

¹³Miller gives deLemos credit for this project. Miller made this arrangement with: The Emporium in San Francisco; Joseph Horne in Pittsburgh; Lazarus in Columbus; Ayres in Indianapolis; Bloomingdale's in NY; Bullock's in LA; the Brooklyn Museum; and the Buffalo Museum of Natural Science (Miller, 1932). In 1933 Miller arranged for an exhibition of Native Americans and their works at the Century of Progress fair in Chicago (C. Luna, personal communication, October 2, 1999).

¹⁴Harveycar Motor Cruise was started by the Fred Harvey Company as the "Indian Detours" in 1925 to move railway passengers closer to the Pueblos, ruins, and natural attractions (Weigle, 1996).

¹⁵Sketching was a popular pastime in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. DeLemos taught in several summer sketching clubs, including one that took place at Rionido, CA on the Russian River north of San Francisco. The attendance for these clubs was often comprised of art teachers honing their skills over the summer months.

Native American and Spanish Colonial ancestry and its Anglo art colony all contributed to deLemos's preference for it as a travel destination that provided ample sketching opportunities.

DeLemos, willingly mixing education, culture, and business, credits his use of products made by Binney & Smith to produce sketches used in the magazine. Two works, *Old Church at Santa Fe, NM* and *The Indian Oven* (Lemos, 1926b & 1926c), are typical in his use of shimmering color to produce a romantic world. Each image uses warm and cool colors to create a Santa Fe filled with mysterious and ancient scenic opportunities. Most prominent is the recording of local architecture to highlight the pedestrian life and common culture. These drawings provided *School Arts* readers with a stroll down a dusty cobblestone street. They also implied the importance of experiencing those streets first hand through travel. While encouraged to do their own traveling, they also were invited to participate vicariously in travel through *School Arts* and to develop their students' classroom travels. Interestingly enough, in *School Arts* from 1919 to 1940 the emphasis of the curriculum shifted from outdoor sketching to the construction of the handmade objects deLemos had sketched on his trips. Over time the objects of desire, crafts, appropriated through the technologies of the sketch, became education's romanticized goal.

The technological replacement for the sketch was the photograph. The portable Kodak and the movie camera facilitated the sacralization of the southwest (McCannell, 1976, Dilworth, 1996). DeLemos relied upon professional photographers from the southwest to secure images of Native Americans, their crafts, and scenes from Indian Schools. J. Harmon Parkhurst stands out as a source for Native American imagery in *School Arts* from 1921 to 1935. Parkhurst produced three *National Geographic* style photo essays of Native American artists and the Pueblo communities (Parkhurst, 1931a, 1931b, 1933, & 1935). *Indians of the Southwest* (Parkhurst, 1931a) features 15 full-page photographs, including images of the governor of Taos, Maria and Julian Martinez in ceremonial costume, and Clah, a famous Navajo singer. One remarkable reminder of the distinction between Native Americans and *School Arts* readers is the inclusion of a Cochiti woman breast-feeding her child, an image that would not have been tolerated if it had been of a White woman.

The photographs of Parkhurst are also used in photo-collages that highlight Native American artists and their artworks (Parkhurst, 1931b & 1933). The backgrounds of these photo-collages are Parkhurst's photographs of Native American artists in pueblo settings. In front of these images, extending toward the reader, are collaged images of the artisans' products including pots, jewelry, weavings, and baskets. The graphics simultaneously materialize Native American crafts and culture providing American teachers with images of a land of authentic artifacts.



Figure 3. "Indian Moccasin Makers. Photograph by J. Harmon Parkhurst." (1931). *School Arts Magazine*, 30, 444. Reproduced with the permission of Davis Publications.

These artifacts seem to be blessed by the background photos that serve as references to the spirit of the American West.

The Anthropological Motif

DeLemos's concern for the preservation of Native American design was affected by an interest in history and anthropology. This interest was developed while serving as the Director of the Stanford University Museum, which housed an eclectic collection of art, artifacts, and natural objects. DeLemos shared these interests with artist/anthropologist Kenneth Chapman, an early Santa Fe contact. Chapman introduced deLemos to Pueblo people, residents of Santa Fe, Indian traders, Government Indian School teachers, administrators and students.

Chapman, an influential figure in the world of Santa Fe art and archeology, is perhaps best known for the role he had in developing the Indian Fund which in turn inspired John D. Rockefeller to fund the Laboratory of Anthropology in 1927. Like many, Chapman moved to New Mexico in the late 19th century for health reasons. His employment at the State Normal School in Las Vegas, New Mexico in 1899 led to his development of instructional resources that contained drawings of Native American pottery forms and their decorative motifs.¹⁶ Chapman's real specialty, however, was the interpretation of bird motifs found on pottery from the post-Spanish Colonial period (Ellis, 1968, Chapman, 1916).

This instructional interest in motif paralleled other art educators' struggle with the problem of teaching Native American crafts. In *America's Own Historic Ornament*, Roy Fleming (1916), an art instructor from the Normal School in Ottawa, speaks about the logistical problems of presenting to his classes the collections of Native American arts and crafts held at the Victoria Memorial museum. Fleming's solution was to produce prints of the ornamentation of crafts. This practice, the movement of Native American cultural objects from their original use-context into museum displays and then systematized into two-dimensional designs, textualized Native American art within conventions of scientific recording and organization.

Similarly, Chapman introduced deLemos to the Pueblos of the Rio Grande region and to the use of motif as a tool for studying their pottery. In part because deLemos traveled to Santa Fe with some regularity, his perspective upon Native American art is both nuanced and supportive of Chapman's preservationist efforts. DeLemos (1924) builds a case for viewing Native American cultures as distinct from each other by clarifying that all Native Americans do not weave, make baskets, and make pottery. The article includes a display of motifs derived from Chapman's drawings and rendered in deLemos's distinctive graphic style. These studies, along with others related to the arts of the native people of Central and South America, were combined into *Indian Decorative Designs* (Lemos, 1926a), a portfolio that uses motif to document Native American art. Following

¹⁶Chapman also worked as a scientific illustrator for paleontologist Frank Springer and as a photographer for archeological digs headed by Edgar Hewlett. There he exchanged designs and ideas about pottery with Julian Martinez.

this portfolio's publication, the inclusion of articles submitted to *School Arts* by art teachers and supervisors inspired by Native American arts and crafts dramatically increased. Typical of these projects was a submission (Eby, 1927) showing the designs of sixth- and eighth-grade students from Oakland, California, derived from scientific illustrations of Native American pottery.

Chapman and deLemos used illustrations of pottery motifs, as a way to preserve traditions that they feared would be extinguished by mass commercialization. Chapman produced of his own portfolio for Davis Press, *Indian Art: Pueblo & Navajo* (1932). Included are sections on how to teach from motifs, illustrations of the development of motifs in different tribes, and illustrations of Native American craftsmen. Chapman (1931) states his rationale for preservationism:

So the average American must get his ideas not from a leisurely view of museum collections or from books, but on the jump as he rushes through curio shops on his hectic way from coast to coast. There he sees, usually in the utmost confusion, the arts and crafts of many widely separated tribes, each claiming his attention, and if to these are added a varied assortment of antiques, his confusion is complete. He sees no order in it all and concludes that there is no such thing as time honored tradition in Indian art... and that he is restricted in his products only by the tolerance of the buying public. (p. 387)

Chapman (1931, 1932, & 1936) uses language and motif to systematize the study of Native American artifacts. The extraction of the motif from the artwork, whether it was from a pot or a blanket or a piece of jewelry, provided a simple graphic text through which the art form could be categorized, studied, possessed, and communicated to others. These practices transferred a kind of magic to the motif. In that transfer of power, the practice of textualizing the product of the culture within a language of documentation exerted a stylized influence on the artwork of Native American and mainstream students.

The most notable example of this influence was to be found in the work of Dorothy Dunn. Dunn studied education in Chicago where she became fascinated with the collection of Southwestern art in the Field Museum. A trip to Santa Fe in 1928 resulted in a meeting with Chapman, who influenced her work from Southwestern Pueblo pottery, and resulted in a second-grade teaching position at the Santo Domingo Day School, Santa Fe (1928-1930). This position was followed by a fourth-grade position at the San Juan Boarding School, Shiprock, New Mexico (1930-1931), and a studio art at the Santa Fe Indian School, Santa Fe New Mexico (1932-1937) where she developed her well known "Studio School." Chapman influenced her use of copying motifs from pottery as a means to study and teach Pueblo art. She repeated this method with her students at the Santa Domingo Pueblo Day School, at the San Juan

¹⁷The first non-ceremonial two-dimensional paintings are cited as the 1885 work of Navajo artist, Choh (Brody, 1971). Rushing (1995b) sites an anecdote of Chapman's discovery of Api-Begay's (Navajo) drawings at a trading Post in 1901. Anthropologist J. Walter Fewkes commissioned Hopi men in 1900 to make drawings of ceremonial Kachina figures. This resulted in the publication of 200 drawings by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1903 (Brody, 1971 & 1997). Brody also places the beginnings of Anglo instruction of Native American painters with the work in 1900 of Esther Hoyt at the San Ildefonso Pueblo Day School northwest of Santa Fe, NM. By the time of Elizabeth deHuff's work with students at the Santa Fe Indian School in 1918, the production of paintings by Pueblo artists had developed into a lively site of cultural production.

Boarding School, at the Art Institute of Chicago where she returned briefly in the early 1930s to complete her unfinished degree, and at the Santa Fe Indian School. Dunn's use of motif contributed to the development of a style of painting that came to signify Southwestern Native American painting (Dunn, 1931, 1935, & 1968; Rehnstrand, 1936; Brody, 1971 & 1997; Bernstein & Rushing, 1995; Smith, 1999).

Prior to 1900, the known production of secular paintings by Pueblo artists was rare. Religious paintings were executed in the kivas for ceremonial purposes and images were painted on pottery. Well before Dunn's work at the Santa Fe Indian School in the 1930s, members of the Santa Fe arts community, including archeologists Edgar Hewlett and Kenneth Chapman, poet Alice Corbin Henderson, educator Elizabeth deHuff, artists Olive Rush and John Sloan, art patron Mabel Dodge Luhan, and others collected and promoted the exhibition of Native American drawings and paintings (deHuff, n.d.; Dunn, 1968; Brody, 1997, Rushing, 1995a & 1995b).¹⁷ DeLemos's entrance into this world in 1922 marked the beginnings of its greater dissemination of Native American art, first with pottery, then with paintings, into American classrooms. With the help of

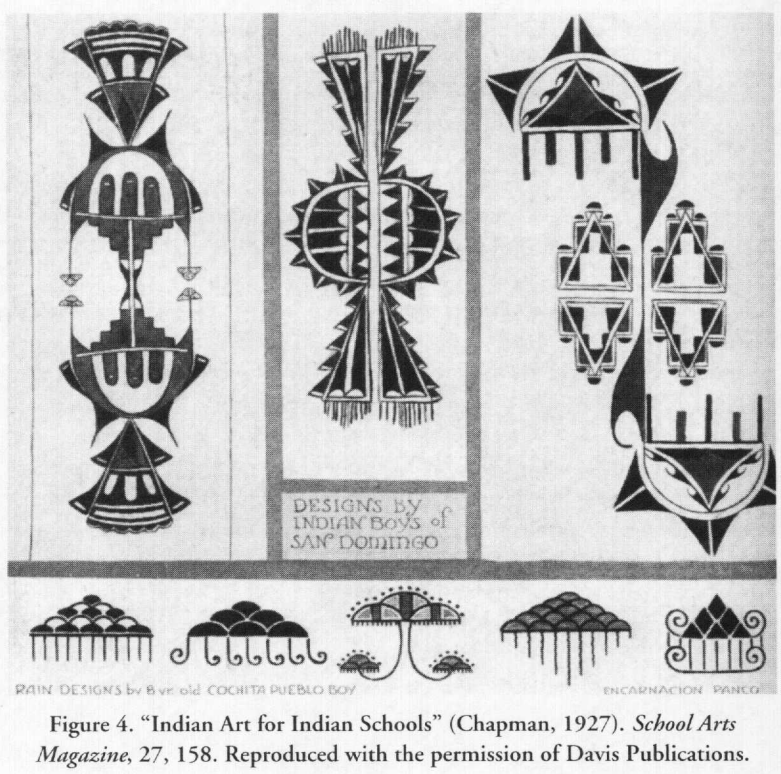


Figure 4. "Indian Art for Indian Schools" (Chapman, 1927). *School Arts Magazine*, 27, 158. Reproduced with the permission of Davis Publications.

Chapman, deLemos used the space at the Stanford galleries in 1928 to produce his first of several exhibitions of Native American paintings from the Southwest. The earliest *School Arts* reproductions of Native American painting appeared in a 1927 issue devoted to Native American art. One image is of a Hopi village painted on a classroom wall in the Government Indian School in Oraibi, Arizona by a 12-year-old boy (Fogg, 1927). Fogg supports his vision of Native American artists as naturally gifted by noting that the student painted this immense scene in one afternoon. Other paintings are found in "Indian Art for Indian Schools" (Chapman, 1927), which calls for the use of Native American art as exemplars for Native American students. From 1927 through the early 1950s the reproduction of artworks by Native American people from the Southwest was a commonplace practice in *School Arts*.¹⁸

Both Chapman and deLemos made attempts to educate mainstream and Native American populations about Native American art. DeLemos and Chapman encouraged teachers to emulate their practice of converting pottery images into two-dimensional designs. Chapman distributed designs and pottery shards to teachers in the Government Indian Schools while deLemos published motifs in *School Arts* (Chapman, 1927). Chapman's concerns led to the establishment of the Indian Art Fund in 1924 which was used to buy back pottery and other arts and crafts, store and catalogue them, and use them for Native American education.

For his part, deLemos published articles by educators about Native American art and Indian Schools. He also published articles by Native Americans, which urged teachers to view Native American cultures as diverse and subjugated, and articles by teachers, supervisors, and students about the art programs in Indian Schools (Morrison, 1927; Horne, 1935; Chalee, 1936). These articles often include sections and illustrations of the use of motif as an objectifying process. Motif, used to catalogue items from archeological digs or tourist ventures, altered the way Native American work was understood by teachers in mainstream and Native American schools.

Conclusions

Bailey's original call for an art that embodied "the triumph of American democracy" had little use for the inclusion of the voices and values of Native American artists. DeLemos's Hispanic identity, set within the Anglo worlds of *School Arts* and Stanford University, situated him on the border between minority representation and mainstream institutions. His story in many ways is how one minority represents another within mainstream culture. It is also a story of how mainstream America, through art education, sorted out its changing role in the world. Two forces dominated these representations: a search for identity and stability symbolized by the home, and a search for reestablishing the order of

¹⁸In "A letter from Zuni Children to *School Arts Magazine* Readers," artwork and descriptive letters by four students from the Blackrock School in Zuni, NM are reproduced (Poncho, Tsabetsi & Lakesty, 1928).

things symbolized spatially through travel and temporally through archeology.

Despite the logic of history, it is not clear that *School Arts* or art education would have embraced Native American cultures without the leadership of deLemos. During the 1930s *School Arts* dominated all other educational publications in numbers of pages devoted to Native Americans.¹⁹ Within deLemos's aesthetic, the tradition, handwork, mentoring, tacit knowledge and embodied practice he found in Native American crafts imaged a resistance to technology and bureaucracy. Despite his neo-colonialist leanings, which limited Native Americans to traditional crafts, his efforts can be seen as a transition period during which the presence and importance of minority contributions were identified and valued if not fully emancipated.

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¹⁹Education Index. From 1929 through 1944, sixteen percent of the pages indexed were attributable to *School Arts*.

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