# VIEWS ON COLLECTING: MULTIPLE MEANINGS AND PERSPECTIVES SURROUNDING LOWER COLORADO RIVER YUMAN WOMEN'S BEADED CAPES

by

Katherine Elizabeth Brooks



A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN INDIAN STUDIES

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2014





ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Dissertation Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Katherine Elizabeth Brooks, titled Views on Collecting: Multiple Meanings and Perspectives Surrounding Lower Colorado River Yuman Women's Beaded Capes, and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

_____ Date: November 21, 2014
Dr. Richard W. Stoffle

_____ Date: November 21, 2014
Dr. Ronald L. Trosper

_____ Date: November 21, 2014
Dr. Maria Nieves Zedeño

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

_____ Date: November 21, 2014
Dissertation Director: Dr. Richard W. Stoffle

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This dissertation has been submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.



SIGNED: Katherine E. Brooks

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of my professors, family, colleagues, and friends. I have had so many wonderful people guiding me along the way, without their advice I would not have made it this far. I wish to extend my deepest thanks and appreciation to my mentor and dissertation chair, Dr. Richard W. Stoffle, who has encouraged me throughout my studies, stood by me during my doctoral comprehensive exams, supported me through my candidacy, and advised me in making difficult decisions relating to my work, career, and academic matters. The guidance that my dissertation committee members have provided deserves my deepest gratitude. My gratitude extends to Dr. Ronald L. Trosper who has provided me with insight and support throughout my graduate career at the University of Arizona. Finally, my thanks is given to Dr. Maria Nieves Zedeño who has offered guidance over the years, and so willingly stepped up to assist in my hour of need.

This research began with the help of Dr. Nancy J. Parezo and Dr. Candace Green at the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History. Without the dedication and expertise of Dr. Green and Dr. Parezo I would never have accomplished a project of this magnitude, nor acquired the skills to complete such a task. Many thanks to all of the librarians, archivists, and curators who have so kindly welcomed me into their museum collections; assisted me in finding the materials that I needed; responded to my numerous collections inquiries; and tracked down the whereabouts of elusive beaded items within their museums. I would also like to extend my deepest thanks to the Arizona State Museum, The Arizona Historical Society, National Anthropological Archives, The Museum of Northern Arizona, The Heard Museum, The School of American Research Museum, The Maxwell Museum, The Autry, The Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Bancroft library, Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian, The Denver Art Museum, The Denver Museum of Natural Science, The American Museum of Natural History, The Harvard Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, The Chicago Field Museum, The San Diego Museum of Man, The San Diego Historical Society, and San Bernardino County Museum.

The research and knowledge presented by this dissertation would not have been possible without the help of the Fort Mojave Tribe and Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe. Thank you for helping me to understand the significance that beaded capes hold, and for allowing me to share in the rich, meaningful, cultural traditions that continue to flourish today. I am so fortunate to have been able to get to know expert beadworkers, artisans, and members belonging to such wonderful communities. I would like to thank Joe Scerato, Kim Cameron, Isadora Bricker Evanston, Aida Evanston, Roxanne Hunter, Rachel Andrews, Yolanda Hart Stevens, and many others. Also, I wish to extend my deepest thanks to the Fort Mojave Cultural Department, and the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the tradition of beaded capes among the Lower Colorado River Yuman groups, with the goal of understanding the meaning and cultural significance that the capes held in the past and continue to hold for those that wear and create them today. Questions posed by this study ask how and to whom do beaded capes hold meaning; and why were the beaded capes overlooked by collectors if they are culturally significant? As a marker of River Yuman identity and artistic expertise, the lack of historic beaded capes that are held within museum collections is surprising, with only twenty-two museums across the United States and Europe housing a composite total of fifty-eight River Yuman beaded capes. This study attempts to answer the proposed questions by conducting interviews with River Yuman beadworkers and community members, regarding their perspectives on the meanings and symbolism presented by beaded capes, and the cultural significance of these items. In contrast, this study examines the views of Euro-American collectors that were collecting beaded capes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries when others were not. An understanding of outsider perspectives and motivation for collecting beaded capes is achieved through analysis of collector's field notes, journals, and museum accession files. Combining ethnography, archival research, and museum collections-based research, this study seeks to present a more detailed understanding of the River Yuman beaded cape as a marker of gender and ethnic identity. This research addresses the existing voids in knowledge about the cultural significance that the beaded capes hold for Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav people, and introduces that information to outsiders, creating a record of the views of River Yuman community members on the contemporary meanings that the beaded capes hold.

# CHAPTER 1

# INTRODUCTION

In the Southwestern United States, pottery, jewelry, rugs, baskets, and a variety of other American Indian decorative arts and utilitarian items were purchased in great volume by tourists, Native arts dealers, museums, and anthropologists during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Today, ethnographic and Native art collections housed in museums around the world feature Native arts, repositories of the iconic material culture that has come to represent Native peoples. One significant item, absent from the majority of museum collections, is the Lower Colorado River Yuman women's beaded cape (Figure 1.1), an intricate mesh of twine and seed beads, constructed using a vertical netting technique.

Figure 1.1 Mojave Beaded Cape, Collected by Daniel Dorchester,1938. Photograph Use Permission Granted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 44-40-10/27487 (Digital File# 60742497).

River Yuman societies include the *Pipa Aha Macav* (Mojave), *Quechan* (Yuma), and *Xawiłł kwñchawaay* (Cocopah) peoples, who are settled on the Lower Colorado River between Arizona and California (Furst 2001: 9). The traditional homelands of the Lower Colorado River Yumans are highlighted in Figure 1.2. As the most southern group

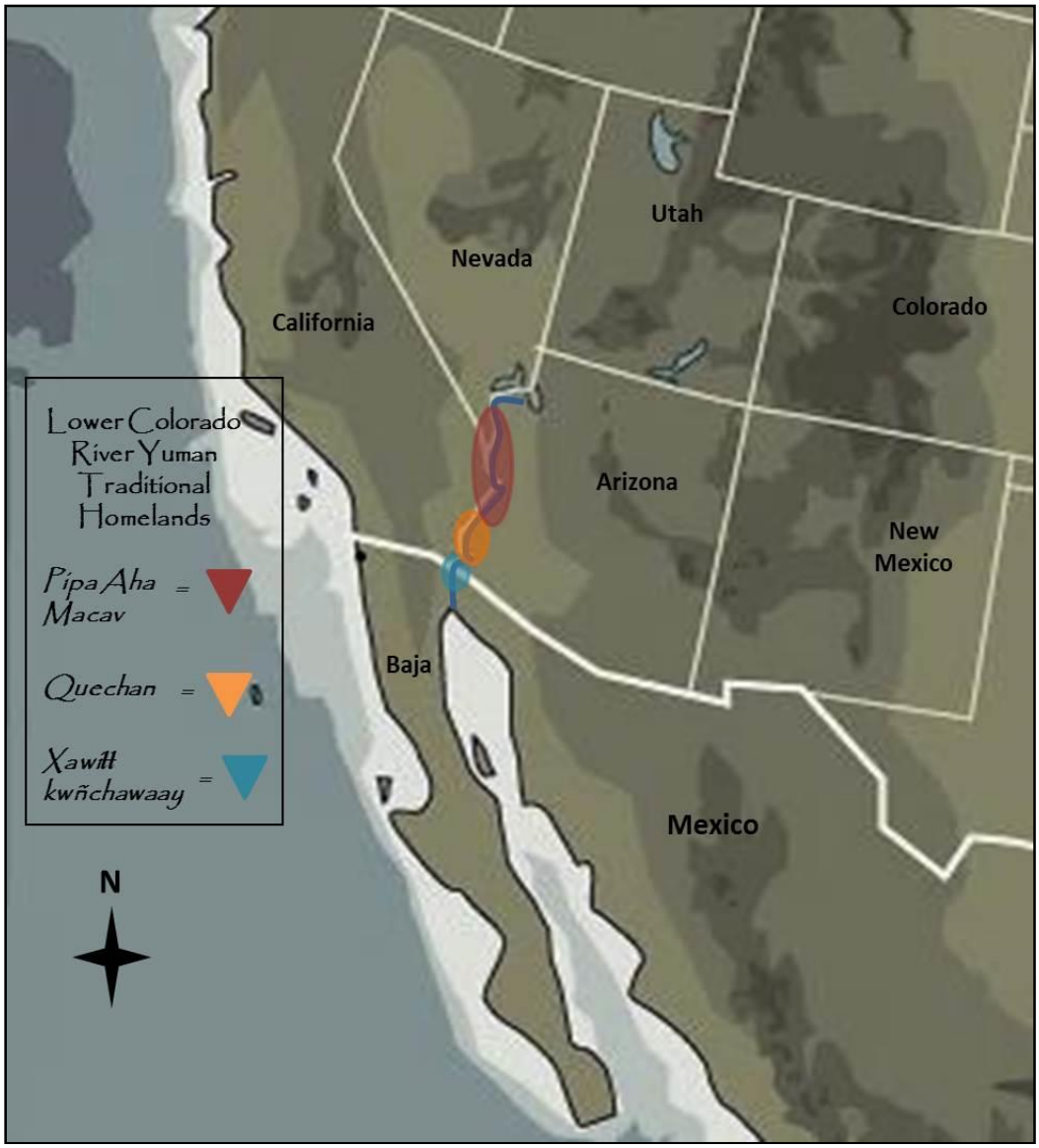


Figure 1.2 Map of Lower Colorado River Yuman traditional homelands

of River Yumans, the Xawiłł kwñchawaay held territory that traditionally spanned the U.S.-Mexico border, but have reservation lands located today south of Yuma, Arizona

today. The Quechan occupy a central position, and hold both banks of the Colorado from fifteen miles south to sixty miles north of the Gila confluence (Harrington 1908: 324). To the north of the Quechan is the territory of the Pipa Aha Macav. The Pipa Aha Macav traditionally occupied a homeland that stretched for two hundred miles from where the Hoover Dam now stands, south through the Mojave and Colorado River Valleys to present day Parker, Arizona and perhaps even to Blythe, California and beyond (Furst 2001: 9). Living along the Colorado River, the River Yuman communities flourished, with access to food, water, fertile flood plains, and a host of resources that made life in the middle of the Mojave Desert possible. The Colorado River served as a resource for subsistence, and as a trade and travel route, connecting the Xawiłł kwñchawaay, Quechan, and Pipa Aha Macav with each other and their neighboring Native communities, in times of both peace and war. Later, the Colorado River would serve as a route for Euro-American missionaries, explorers, settlers, and traders, bringing new items, like glass seed beads, to the River Yuman communities.

## 1.1 Purpose and Scope of Study

Research began with an inventory of beaded capes held within museum collections, with less than sixty beaded capes identified. As a way to understand the limited number of beaded capes present within museums and art galleries, something greater than collections-based research was necessary. Research on collections housing beaded capes generated minimal information, prompting the need and desire to collaborate with the River Yuman communities who create the beadwork capes today. Following a series of conversations with Pipa Aha Macav community members,

questions that this research seeks to address became clear. These questions ask how and to whom do beaded capes hold meaning; and why were beaded capes overlooked by collectors if they are culturally significant?

Decorative arts and accessories, such as beaded items, may seem to have no meaningful purpose in defining a group or culture, but actually claim a form, practice, or symbol that serves as an element of group identity (Nahwooksy 1994: 86). The Lower Colorado River Yuman beaded cape is an example of a decorative item that symbolizes both ethnic and gender identity. The beaded cape is a piece of material culture, but also an object of cultural significance, packed with multiple layers of meaning that are displayed publicly but interpreted by viewers in many different ways. This study examines the tradition of making and wearing beaded capes among the River Yuman groups, focusing on the Quechan, "those who descended by water", and Pipa Aha Macav, the "People by the River". To answer questions related to the cultural significance of beaded capes, interviews were conducted with both male and female beadworkers; women that wear beaded capes in ceremonies and at other cultural events; and elders with cultural knowledge. Through these interviews and interactions with tribal members from Fort Mojave and Fort Yuma Quechan, this research is able to present a River Yuman view on the meaning and symbolism that beaded capes hold, with regard to gender, ethnicity, and cultural heritage.

This study attempts to provide an understanding of the meaning and cultural significance that the capes held in the past and continue to hold for those that wear and create them today. The combination of an ethnographic study with collections-based research enables a multidimensional assessment of an important piece of River Yuman

material culture. Documenting the cultural significance of the beaded cape from a Native perspective, and in contrast, providing knowledge of its value for a non-River Yuman audience are additional goals for this study.

As a marker of River Yuman identity and artistic expertise, the lack of historic beaded capes that are held within museum collections is surprising, with only twenty-two museums across the United States and Europe housing a composite total of fifty-eight River Yuman beaded capes dating from 1880 through 1980. Museums play a large role in determining what people consider traditional or authentic for producers as well as consumers (Dubin 2001: 83). The examination of collectors' views' of beaded capes demonstrates a strong influence in their collecting practices and their collection-formation processes that can be explained through the acknowledgment of a preconceived notion of authenticity in Native art. This research seeks to explore and invalidate the misconceptions reflected by the views of outsiders' that note River Yuman beaded capes as a Western construct based on composition materials like glass beads and the reinterpretation of Euro-American lace Bertha collars, evolving into the beadwork capes that appeared in the early 1880's. The presentation of River Yuman viewpoints, and those of 19$^{th}$ and 20$^{th}$ century collectors illustrates a stark contrast in perspectives surrounding culturally appropriate dress, outsider influence in Native arts and crafts, and the ways that material culture items are ascribed multiple meanings.

Through a detailed chronological analysis of several collectors' lives, educational backgrounds, and theoretical perspectives, an overview of outsider's or non-River Yuman views on beaded capes is accessible. This study attempts to answer the proposed questions regarding outsider-collecting practices through the use of archival documents

such as field notes, personal journals, and collecting lists. Other resources contributing to an understanding of what and why collectors sought to collect certain items include autobiographies, and scholarly publications that explain their theoretical views.

The use of correct and preferred terminology is a priority for this research. The limitation of this dissertation is its confinement to predominately Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav views, with no participants representing the Xawiłł kwñchawaay. The information found within this dissertation reflects the existing knowledge put forth by, and published about the Quechan, Xawiłł kwñchawaay, and Pipa Aha Macav communities and uses the autonym, or preferred name of the community. Due to the incorporation of not just Pipa Aha Macav or Quechan background information, cultural history, and historical observations of the region, the continuation of the term, River Yuman, will be used throughout this dissertation in reference to all material and statements that are not Pipa Aha Macav specific.

During the period of time from about 1875 to 1900, when the majority of large American Indian collections were formed, the River Yuman groups were minimally included. From 1875 to 1885, James Stevenson, Matilda Cox Stevenson, and Frank Hamilton Cushing shipped about ten thousand objects out of Zuni to Washington, D.C. (Swentzell 1994: 134). A stark contrast to the number of River Yuman objects collected during that same period. Actually, these ten years of collecting activities at Zuni outnumber the total number of River Yuman items collected over the past century. River Yuman beaded capes are one of the key cultural objects absent from museum collections and have consistently been overlooked in studies focused on both historic and contemporary Southwest material culture. A single article was published on the Mojave

[Pipa Aha Macav] beaded cape by Michael Tsosie (1992), and a small number of other sources such as early ethnographies and museum exhibition catalogs have briefly touched on the beadwork cape as a finely crafted item, and a piece of women's ceremonial attire. Aside from the limited publications and Euro-American observations, little information is available to outsiders about the beaded cape, and likewise, its cultural significance. In an attempt to provide information about the River Yuman beaded capes and answer the unknowns this research sought to gather Native knowledge from skilled River Yuman artisans, as well as women who wear the beaded capes, and culturally knowledgeable tribal members. This research addresses the existing voids in knowledge, differing perspectives, cape origins and the cultural significance that the beaded capes hold for Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav.

## 1.2 Dissertation Outline

Chapter one presents an understanding of the beaded cape and the River Yuman communities that make and wear the cape. For those unfamiliar with the Lower Colorado River Yuman people an image of the beaded cape (Figure 1.1) and map (Figure 1.2) are present. The first chapter of this dissertation also introduces the study by providing an outline for the subsequent chapters.

Included within the second chapter of this dissertation is a literature review. The literature review focuses on the key areas of scholarship used for building the foundation of this research. One area of the literature review focuses on previous European and Euro-American observations and ethnographic studies of River Yuman societies and cultures. Within chapter two, background information on River Yuman culture and

history is present, taken directly from anthropologists and ethnographers notes and observations in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Chapter three focuses on material culture and ethnic identity, more specifically visual elements within cultures that symbolize identity and belonging. These visual elements include dress, material culture, and body art. Designs, bead colors, and manufacturing techniques used within the construction of beaded items represent the wearer's cultural identification and status within a community. The third chapter of this dissertation also focuses on the appearance and evolution of the beadwork cape among River Yuman communities and their neighbors. The history of beadwork and netting techniques among the River Yumans provides insight into the strong connection that the communities have with the beaded cape in its contemporary glass bead form.

Chapter four of this dissertation examines the methods used for collecting and assessing data. As an interdisciplinary study the development and use of multiple methodologies for data collection and assessment is crucial in asking and answering the proposed questions. Combining interviews with members of the Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe and Fort Mojave Tribe, archival research, and museum collections-based research this study examines multiple perspectives on the meaning and cultural significance that River Yuman beaded capes hold.

The fifth chapter of this dissertation explores the views of Euro-American collectors regarding the River Yuman beaded capes. A discussion of previous scholarship on American Indian art collecting with publications exploring a mix of professional American Indian art collectors, dealers, and tourist perspectives, is also present in chapter five. The data providing the foundation of chapter five includes biographies, field notes,

and publications written by the collectors, supplemented by museum collections and associated collections documentation. Examination of the collecting practices by men and women who acquired beaded capes during the 19th and 20th century presents a unique platform for the analysis of outsider's views of River Yuman culture and identity. Studies focused on collecting and fieldwork in the disciplines of archaeology and sociocultural anthropology are relatively undeveloped, but in the past ten-to-fifteen years there has been a noticeable rise in interest (Lucas 2010: 229). An understanding of popular anthropological theories relating to Indigenous people at any given point in history plays a crucial role in the non-Native perception of American Indian cultures, and many of these theories strongly influenced the collecting practices and views of the individuals who collected beaded capes. Views and written accounts from outsiders also assist in documenting the historical changes that communities experienced across time. Often these accounts explain changes that may not be visible through material culture alone. Museum collections cannot be used blindly, for these objects do not speak for themselves, rather, in working with these collections today, our task is to hear the rest of the conversation, through the use of written records, careful investigation of documentation, and collaboration with living Native peoples (Bernstein 1989: 13). As a means for learning as much about River Yuman beaded capes as possible, consultation of both museum collections and River Yuman community members occurred.

The sixth chapter of this dissertation presents information that was shared by River Yuman beadworkers, artists, and culturally knowledgeable elders, regarding the meaning and cultural significance of beaded capes. Interview participants belonging to the Fort Yuma Quechan and Fort Mojave Tribes answered a series of twelve questions. A

list of the twelve interview questions are present within Appendix B. Information in this chapter, shared by beadworkers and culturally knowledgeable elders, presents Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan views on the meaning that the capes hold, and the role that past styles, colors, and patterns play in the creation of beaded capes made today.

Within chapter seven, the conclusion to this study is present, with an explanation of the continuing importance and cultural significance of River Yuman beaded capes. The association of the beaded cape with River Yuman female identity and the current roles that beaded capes hold in Native beauty pageants, cultural gatherings, ceremonies, and funerals are discussed. A summary of findings focuses on the ways in which the beaded capes denote cultural affiliation and continue to connect the River Yuman people with their cultural heritage despite the adoption of new bead colors, styles, and patterns in cape design. Though museum collections may lack historic beaded capes for a multitude of reasons, this dissertation illustrates that cultural continuity prevails despite the perceptions of outsiders, confirming the role of material culture as a marker of ethnic identity, gender, and cultural heritage.

# CHAPTER 2

# BACKGROUND ON LOWER COLORADO RIVER YUMAN SOCIETIES

Existing ethnographic scholarship focused on Lower Colorado River Yuman culture provides a foundation for understanding epistemological views, the ways in which society and culture function, and the role that material culture plays within River Yuman life and the afterlife. Early Spanish missionaries, American explorers, personnel from military expeditions, and ethnographers observed and interacted with River Yuman communities in Arizona and California, commenting on River Yuman art, culture, language, and ceremony. Outsiders' observations of the River Yumans and neighboring groups from Contact Era throughout the historical period provide a written record of the dress, adornment, and skill displayed by material culture items and visual ethnic identifiers like tattoos and body paint designs. The following sections explore the existing literature and historical records that contribute to the knowledge base for River Yuman ethnography, while incorporating River Yuman worldview to present a holistic understanding of the people and their history.

## 2.1 Lower Colorado River Yuman Origins

The Lower Colorado River Yuman groups have a long and rich cultural heritage centered on life along the fertile banks of the Lower Colorado River. The River Yumans were created at *Avikwa'ame* (Spirit Mountain) in Southern Nevada, not far from present day Laughlin, Nevada (Furst 2001:25). Creation narratives include slight differences by each individual and the full cycle of the origin story can be lengthy. The River Yuman

origin narrative as told by the Pipa Aha Macav is summarized in the following text because it plays an important role in understanding ethnic identity.

> In the early days only Earth and Sky existed, Earth was female and Sky was male, a drop of rain fell from Sky and Earth conceived a child. The child was *Matavilye*, the First Creator. Immediately following his birth, he began to create geographical features and populate the world with animals and First People. He led all the followers to *Aha'av'ulypo* (house-post water), a site in Black Canyon, along the Colorado River where he built a sacred structure called Great Dark House (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 770).

River Yuman origin narratives often differ on the next series of events, with some narrators recounting *Katheña* (Frog Woman) and *Mastamho* as Matavilye's children, and others tell of the two as Matavilye's brother and sister, either way Katheña and Mastamho were made from the body of Matavilye (Furst 2001: 21). The origin narrative continues with Matavilye offending his daughter, Katheña, who was so greatly angered that she bewitched him by eating his feces, causing his death (Bourke 1889; Kroeber 1976[1925]; Furst 2001). Matavilye's passing was the first death in the world, and sorcery caused it, the First People cremated his body and burned the Great Dark House to the ground (Furst 2001: 23). The cremation and mourning ceremony of the River Yumans is intended to perpetuate the ritual taught to the first man after the death of the Creator (Forde 1931: 214).

After the death of the Creator, his son Mastamho finished creating the world and caring for humans. Furst (2001) summarizes that Mastamho was of gigantic stature, and he gathered up all of First People in his arms when they arrived at the mouth of the

Colorado River (25). Many accounts of the River Yuman creation narrative mention that Mastamho made the waters return to the sea, and then he started north carrying his charges to the end of the Mojave lands, where he heaped up dirt to make the sacred site of Avikwa'ame (Bourke 1889; Kroeber 1976[1925]). Other accounts focus on Mastamho as a teacher, who taught the River Yuman groups how to farm, how to count, and assigned the proper language for the Pipa Aha Macav, Walapais, Chemehuevis, Kamias, and Quechans (Furst 2001: 28). Above all else, Mastamho established nearly all of the cultural practices and rituals for the River Yuman groups, and divided the roles of men and women. The roles of both Matavilye and Mastamho in the creation process are fundamental in understanding the cultural practices, duties, and worldview of the River Yuman groups in the past and present. Likewise, the origin narrative draws connections between the land and the people who have occupied the Lower Colorado River region since time immemorial. Strong ties with the land and the natural world are present in River Yuman clan names, songs, dances, pottery motifs, beadwork designs, ribbon work on dresses, and many other items of cultural significance.

## 2.2 Cultural Practices

The practices and culture structure of the River Yuman people was established by the Creator, changing very little from the time of First People until the encroachment of Euro-American settlers. The earliest accounts from Spanish missionaries and military leaders like Anza, Font, and Garcés noted the River Yuman groups as a healthy and robust people, with large populations at each settlement that was visited (Scherer 1994). Historically, settlements were large and sprawling, sustained by the agricultural expertise

of River Yuman farmers along the fertile flood plains of the Colorado River (Whipple 1853; Castetter and Bell 1951). The settlements constituted a local group, the nucleus was an extended family, either patrilocal or bilocal, however, because of the shifting population, and because of marital instability, unrelated families might reside in a single settlement (Stewart 1983: 57). Included within these settlements were captives from neighboring cultures, often described as living amongst Quechan, Pipa Aha Macav, and Xawiłł kwñchawaay groups, as noted in journals kept by various explorers and military personnel (Sitegreaves 1962[1850]; Whipple 1856; Ives 1861). The constant interactions between the Pipa Aha Macav and their Quechan and Xawiłł kwñchawaay neighbors assisted, no doubt, in the rapid diffusion of goods, ideas, stories, customs, and language, with the Lower Colorado River serving as a highway for exchange. Drucker (1937) notes the extensive trade in beads and other goods that the Pipa Aha Macav facilitated with neighboring groups.

One of the most notable historical features of the River Yuman groups was the division of labor and gender roles. Women did most of the farming, but the men were not averse to participating, and there may have been no formal division of labor (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 736). Among the River Yumans, women held as much power, if not more than men with regard to daily life. Marriage among River Yumans was casual, arranged without formality by the couple themselves they simply began living together (Stewart 1983: 64). In the event that a marriage did not work, women were able to return to their maternal community or take-up residence with another man or woman as they pleased. Among the Xawiłł kwñchawaay, divorce was informal and consisted of a simple parting of ways (Kelly 1977: 61). Women played an important part in ceremonies, and held

positions as healers, singers, and midwives (Forde 1931; Devereux 1937). The Creator, Mastamho, established women's work, this consisted largely of caring for the home and children, harvesting, preparing food, and making pottery (Furst 2001: 28). Additional skills and duties usually under the control of women included basket weaving, gardening, shell and beadworking, and clothing manufacture.

Since the weather was hot or warm for the greater part of the year, a minimum of clothing was necessary, children went naked, and the garments of both men and women were scant (Stewart 1983: 59). All the females, even infants at the breast, wore little skirts made from the inner bark of the willow and the cottonwood (Font 2011[1775-1776]: 91). Font described the process of bark skirt construction in his journal from 1776. They soften the bark, tear it into strips, interlace or interweave them, and make a sort of apron which they tie around the waist with a hair rope, one piece in front and the other behind, the one behind being somewhat longer than the one in front and reaching clear to the knees (Font 2011[1775-1776]: 91). Forde argues that the women's bark skirt was not accurately described by the early travelers, and actually consisted of two aprons of shredded willow-bark strips hung from a girdle of bark twine, with the upper part of the rear girdle frequently bunched up to form a large bustle (1931: 92). The shredded willow bark skirt was worn on a daily basis until the late 19$^{th}$ century, when cotton calico skirts and dresses replaced the traditional female attire. Harrington wrote the name of the bark skirt as *távaava*, translated as women's dress, in his field notes on Pipa Aha Macav linguistics in 1908 (Harrington Papers, Notes on Material Culture 1908: Box 3). The transition from the willow-bark bustle to ankle length, cotton skirts was gradual. In the

1850's and 1860's some accounts from U.S. military personnel described the bark skirts as made from a combination of both willow and cotton cloth cords (Tsosie 1992: 38).

An understanding of the history, development and evolution of beaded capes among the River Yuman societies requires an examination of the history of European and Euro-American activity throughout the Mojave Valley and Lower Colorado River region. Unlike other cultures residing in the Southwest, the River Yuman societies experienced minimal contact and interaction with Spanish explorers and missionaries between 1540 and 1780 (Bee 1981: 1). Foundational elements of the beaded cape such as netting techniques and the donning of a cape or collar-like accessory among both men and women, was recorded in drawings by Venegas-Burriel during 1757 in Baja, Mexico. These netted accessories made use of shells, and bone beads for decorative purposes.

Beads made from clay, bone, and shell predated the arrival of European trade goods, with the desire for beads as a form of personal adornment among the River Yuman communities dating since time immemorial. Archaeological examples present evidence of the construction of strands of clay, bone, and shell beads worn in the same fashion as the later strands of glass trade beads. Later, Spanish explorers and missionaries introduced colorful glass beads, and other non-Indian goods to the Native peoples of Baja, Mexico and the River Yuman groups during the early periods of exploration and missionizing efforts, whether by gift, trade, exchange, or other means (Ritter 2006: 3).

## 2.3 Early Spanish Ethnography and Observations

Early Spanish accounts from the diaries of missionary Francisco Garcés (1900[1775-1776]), explorer Juan Bautista de Anza (1930[1776]), and Fray Juan Diaz

(1930[1774]) describe the lifestyle, culture, and dress of the River Yumans prior to extended contact with Euro-American's. Of the Quechan people Diaz writes:

> The men wear no other cover than their painting or daubing with which they stripe all the body with various colors. The women wear a kind of short skirt made of strips of the inner bark of the willow and cottonwood with which they cover themselves from the waist to the knees. They also made blankets woven from the same material (willow and cottonwood), and others from the skins of hares and rabbits, which serve them somewhat for shelter and decency (Bolton trans. Diaz 1930[1774]: 265).

Accounts of River Yuman women's dress from the 18th century provide a point of reference for narrowing down the first appearance of the beaded cape, and defining the extent that elements, such as fiber netting and non-glass beads were used by River Yumans and their neighboring communities.

Drawings and accounts of dress and adornment from Venegas-Burriel (1757) document the presence of the foundational elements of the beaded cape among the Indigenous cultures of Baja California. These drawings represent women and men wearing netted capes and hats, with beads and shells woven into the mesh. Venegas-Burriel drew images of the Guaycura near La Paz, Baja Sur, Mexico in 1757 and from these images Mathes (2006) writes a summary of the attire that documents the appearance of netting techniques, beads interspersed on the netting, and fiber materials.

> Women were covered below the waist by reed canes tied together in front, and behind they wore deerskins or closely woven threads.

> On their heads they wore a small net made of grass or agave fibers. Their necklaces hung to their waist and were of mother of pearl shell interspersed with berries, reed canes, and snail shells with bracelets of the same materials. The captain [chief] was dressed from his shoulders in a thread net with hair intertwined (Mathes 2006: 52).

These images and verbal accounts of the use of netted items for personal adornment reaffirm the purely Indigenous origin of the technique, symbolism, and skillset or knowledge base needed for the construction of beaded capes. The practice of threading beads made of shell, wood, and clay onto the fibers used in netting construction is replicated in the 1880's with the appearance and use of glass trade beads in the construction of the *hunakch*, or cape of glass beads.


Figure 2.1 Netted Capes Worn by Native Baja Californios, Venegas-Burriel (1757)

Early Spanish accounts also serve to document the dispersal of glass beads through trade and gifting. Large quantities of glass beads were sent along with missionaries and parties crossing River Yuman lands to reach California, for trade and appeasement of the Native peoples they encountered. In his diary on February 10, 1774, Diaz writes about an encounter with over 800 Quechan's of both sexes, noting that they presented all of these Indians with a great quantity of tobacco and glass beads (Bolton trans. Diaz 1930[1774]: 269). Similarly, Father Pedro Font notes in his diary on November 15, 1775 while among the Cocomaricopas (Piipaash) tobacco and beads were distributed among them all (Font 1775: 221). Of the Pipa Aha Macav, Father Thomas Eixarch writes on May 10, 1776, that each one of them would like to have their own Father who would give them plenty of tobacco and many glass beads (Eixarch 1776: 381). The introduction of metal and glass beads in the Southwest was not a unique occurrence. Early explorers in all parts of the world found beads of glass, porcelain, and metal so acceptable to the aborigines of the lands in which they traveled, that a flourishing industry was established in Venice, Italy for the manufacture of glass beads in the early part of the 14$^{th}$ century (Orchard 2002[1929]: 95). Men, as well as women coiled strands of blue and white Venetian beads in thick masses around their necks and wrists (Kroeber (1976[1925]: 740).

The Spanish missionaries and explorers that infiltrated the River Yuman societies along the Colorado River during the 17$^{th}$ and 18$^{th}$ centuries came on proselytizing missions, and swiftly departed once the conversion process was successful and allies were made. The good fortune to have avoided outsiders in the Lower Colorado River

region for many decades ended with the onset of the Gold Rush in the 1840's, and settlement of the region followed shortly after.

## 2.4 Euro-American Ethnography and Observations

Accounts from 19th century military expeditions such as those of Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple (1853, 1854), John P. Sherburne (1853, 1854), and Joseph C. Ives (1866) document interactions with the River Yuman groups along the Colorado River, providing detailed notes on trade good preferences and River Yuman mannerisms and customs. During the early 1850's, the U.S. Government sent an expedition to survey the 35th parallel stretching from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Los Angeles, California, with Lieutenant Amiel W. Whipple as the leader (Conrad 1969: 147). Accounts of the Lower Colorado River Yuman groups are noted in the journals of Whipple, as well as others on the expedition, such as H. Balduin Möllhausen, D. S. Stanley, and John P. Sherburne between 1853-1854. Much like the early Spanish accounts, trade beads, clothing, and other trinkets were dispersed amongst the "Indians" as the exploration traversed through Yuman territory.

Trade beads brought by military expeditions during the mid-19th century consisted of blue and white seed beads, and larger white pony beads. Blue and white beads were particularly favored because they were reflective of the colors of the waters in the Lower Colorado River. The River Yuman tribes took to imported glass beads more eagerly than most Californians (Kroeber (1976[1925]: 739). The variety of beads most commonly used as gifts and for trade were seed beads, ranging in size from about a sixteenth to an eighth of an inch or more in diameter (Orchard 2002[1929]: 95).

> The introduction of great quantities of colored trade goods, especially cloth and glass beads, coincided with shifting ethnic boundaries. Color preference and designs became highly visible resources for advertising hardening ethnic distinctions within a broadly shared cultural understanding of the appropriately clothed and decorated (Kratz and Pido 2000: 45).

Similar to the experience of the Massai, the introduction of trade beads and other goods among the River Yuman groups altered the previous forms of ethnic identification, such as clay bead manufacture, and face and body tattooing. Beaded capes and ribbon dresses came to be adopted as symbols of River Yuman identity, replacing the old materials and style, yet maintaining the same meanings and symbolism. Regarding the Whipple expedition of 1856, Pipa Aha Macav elder Mrs. Frances Stillman writes: "The Mojave's [Pipa Aha Macav] hopes were high, their spirits refreshed, and their bodies bedecked with foreign imports, strips of blankets, calico, coats, shirts, hats, pants, and blue and white beads galore; symbols of a new day and a new friendship" (Sheerer 1994: 63).

Most notable among the journal entries from the Whipple party are those by Möllhausen, who sketched many aspects of Pipa Aha Macav dress, housing, body painting and tattooing (Möllhausen 1854: 253). Additionally, Whipple notes that the 600 or more Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] came to camp outfitted in their finest attire, but no drawings of the beaded cape or netted accessories were recorded, noted, or physical specimen collected. The beaded cape has always been viewed as a special possession, therefore if none of the women wore one it would seem that perhaps the time between the 1750's and 1850's marked a transitional period in dress and adornment. Evidence that

men and women developed a fondness for the glass trade beads during this period and wore numerous strands at a time. They may have replaced the netted fiber capes with clay and shell beads from previous eras, with the blue and white trade beads. This offers a possible explanation for the undocumented netted capes at the time of the Whipple Expedition 1853-1854. Likewise, Whipple and illustrator, Möllhausen did not record the appearance of glass beaded capes, further supporting the possibility that the years between 1750 and 1850 served as a transitional period between netted capes with clay beads, to multi-strand glass bead necklaces, with the 1870's or 1880's giving rise to the netted glass seed bead cape.

The diffusion of Western dress and Euro-American clothing came into River Yuman culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, in part as trade items, but also as a mechanism for assimilation. Between about 1870 and 1890 the Mojave went through a depressing period of demoralization during which they were poverty-stricken, disease ridden and the object of contempt from White settlers, who were moving into the area in increasing numbers (Stewart 1969: 232). This period follows the establishment of reservations like Colorado River at Parker, Arizona (1865), Fort Mojave (1870), and Fort Yuma Quechan (1884).

As mentioned, the traditional clothing of the River Yuman groups was minimal; therefore, one of the top priorities of Euro-American settlers was to persuade the local Natives to adopt "proper" clothing. In the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1879, Colorado River Agent, Henry R. Mallory explains that they [the Pipa Aha Macav] have had clothing furnished to them and are glad enough to wear civilized dress, but they could not afford to buy it (Mallory 1879: 4). Mallory goes on to describe

the general dress of the Mojave in 1879. The men wear breechcloths and shirts, while the women's garb is a knee-length bustle of willow bark and a piece of calico across the shoulders, tied in a knot across the breast (Mallory, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1879: 4). Mallory's 1879 account provides documentation for the transition period in both men's and women's clothing, noting the predominance of traditional River Yuman clothing at this point in time, and marking the preference and push from outsiders toward the adoption of Euro-American style dress among the Native communities. The beaded cape presents a complicated blend of Euro-American materials, styles, and influences, combined with pre-contact River Yuman techniques in netting and beadwork. Just as culture is a dynamic process, so is the development of traditions as elements of culture, therefore the use of modern tools and materials should in no way devalue new traditions as they arise (Nahwooksy 1994: 87).

## 2.5 Anthropologists and Ethnographers in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Other accounts documenting late 19th century River Yuman cultural practices, Native dress, cultural materials, and language features were written by ethnographer, Edward Palmer (1869, 1870, 1876); and Dutch physical anthropologist, Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate (1888). Anthropological accounts of River Yuman culture written by Alfred L. Kroeber (1902, 1920, 1976[1925]); John Peabody Harrington (1908); Edward Harvey Davis (1910-1920); Daryll C. Forde (1931); Leslie Spier (1933); E.W. Gifford (1933); and William H. Kelly (1942) create the foundation of Lower Colorado River Yuman ethnography. Of these anthropologists and ethnographers, the accounts of Kroeber, who spent a substantial amount of time working within the Ft. Mojave

community, comprise the most substantial portion of background information for this study.

Later work of psychoanalyst George Devereux (1941, 1948) is significant because he is one of the first scholars to study Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] dream life, sexuality, and views of the supernatural world, all essential to understanding River Yuman culture. Edith Taylor and William J. Wallace (1947) co-authored a short article on Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] tattooing and face painting which provides an in-depth description of designs and their symbolism. Many of the colors and designs mentioned in this article are reflected in the beaded capes. Face-paint designs and tattoo markings have descriptive names such as 'lines going down', but there are also symbolic names such as 'coyote teeth' for a triangular pattern or 'snail' for circular spirals (Taylor and Wallace 1947: 8). Other scholars who studied the River Yuman groups include Robert L. Bee (1981, 1983, 1989) with research on Quechan history from the early 1800's to present day, and Kenneth M. Stewart (1969, 1983) researching the culture and history of the Mojave Indians since 1950. The Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest, Volume 10, provides summary chapters on each of the River Yuman cultures including the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] by Kenneth M. Stewart; the Xawiłł kwñchawaay [Cocopah] by Anita Alvarez De Williams; and the Quechan by Robert L. Bee (1983).

Recent publications include Jill Leslie Furst's (2001) book on Mojave pottery and culture, which is one of the most comprehensive pieces of River Yuman scholarship, containing crucial information relating to origin narratives, beliefs, gender roles, and kinship historically practiced among Pipa Aha Macav communities. Linguistic anthropologists, A. M. Halpern, Amy Miller, and Margaret Langdon worked with

Quechan elders to compile a record of the ceremonial practices associated with the *kar?ūk,* or Quechan Mourning Ceremony (1997). The work of Halpern, Miller, and Landon is especially useful in understanding ritual burning events and the large amount of cultural materials burned at death and anniversary mourning rituals. These accounts assist in understanding the general absence of River Yuman material culture from museum collections.

# CHAPTER 3

# MATERIAL CULTURE AND IDENTITY

Among the River Yuman groups, the act of getting dressed, whether for daily tasks or for ceremonial occasions, did not stop with the donning of clothing, but included self-adornment in nearly every aspect of daily life (Wallace and Taylor 1947: 1). An important part of River Yuman culture and identity still revolves around dress, adornment, and body decoration today. Historically, people painted and tattooed their faces, applied grease, ochre, beads, and feathers to their hair, and wore earrings, bracelets, and necklaces made from beads, bones, and shells (Thompson 2013: 20). Regarding identity, Nagel notes:

> If identity is the cognitive, cerebral component of ethnicity, then culture is its heart and lifeblood, and those ideational and material aspects of social life, language, religion, ceremony, myth, belief, values, folkways, mores, kinship, and worldview, as well as the worlds of art, music, tools, food, housing, dress, and adornment are the substance of a people (1996: 43).

With minimal clothing worn by all River Yuman genders historically, the role of accessories, such as jewelry, tattoos, hair, face, and body painting all acted as signifiers of personal and ethnic identity.

## 3.1 Ethnic Identity Displayed by Material Culture

Scholarship on ethnic identity and material culture is an area of importance in the development of this dissertation. Previous research within the field of American Indian

ethnic identity is extensive, but the works of Michael Green (1995), Joane Nagel (1996), and Duane Champagne (1999) were instrumental in the development of this dissertation. Champagne's (1999) text is a compilation of essays written by multiple American Indian scholars, covering topics on gender, identity, representation of Native peoples in the media, and contemporary powwows. With the powwow as an arena for displaying and claiming ethnic identity, Mattern (1999) makes clear the role that cultural gatherings serve to support American Indian identity. Similarly, Jon Shackt (2005) explains that Native or "Indian" beauty pageants serve as a venue for the proclamation of identity and play a critical role in assisting contemporary American Indian communities in learning about their cultural heritage.

Other studies with a focus on identity and material culture incorporate ethnographic findings regarding contemporary indigenous peoples and cultures in many areas of the world. Research by Corinne Kratz and Donna Pido (2000) focuses on gender and ethnicity visible through Massai and Okiek beadwork. Designs, bead colors, and manufacturing techniques used within the construction of beaded items represent the wearer's cultural identification and status within a community. Similarities between the representations associated with River Yuman beadwork and that of the Massai were numerous, with both cultures tying identity and community belonging to their material culture. Lidia Sciama (2001), Margret Carey (1998, 2001) and Lynn Meisch (2001) published chapters on the representation of gender and ethnicity demonstrated through beadwork, within Sciama and Eicher's (2001) edited text on beads and female beadworkers. Each of these researchers examines a particular element of beadwork and identity, ranging from bead colors as symbols of gender, to beadwork as an indicator of

kinship, economic, and social status. These scholars contribute to the understanding and deconstruction of the various elements of cultural significance that River Yuman beadwork capes held in the past and the meanings that they hold for men and women today.

## 3.2 The Introduction of the Glass Beaded Cape

It has long been thought that beaded capes are a recent addition among River Yuman societies, with little documentation of the appearance of glass bead capes before 1880. The historic glass beaded capes appear to share similarities and technologies with River Yuman netted capes and accessories documented in the early Spanish contact period. Examples of bone, shell, and clay beads, that act as ornaments and spacers between netted stitching are known of, but the netted glass seed bead cape is undocumented by outsiders until 1883. Archaeological Pipa Aha Macav materials are rare, due in part to the lack of excavations in their territory, and in part to the River Yuman custom of ritual burning at death. River Yuman communities generally destroy all physical possessions associated with the dead, whether utilitarian or sacred, historically all things were cremated with their owners (Furst 2001: 79). The practice of ritual burning, coupled with the harsh climate of the Mojave Desert makes tracking the appearance and origins of the beaded cape difficult.

Previous research has been unable to account for a specific point of introduction for beaded capes. The lack of a developmental stage is evidence of external intervention or the Euro-American introduction of this technique, a style variation of the cape, or the type of ornamentation (Tsosie 1992: 40). The beaded cape appears to have been a product

of the diffusion of Euro-American style during the 1860's or 1870's mixed with pure River Yuman ingenuity, and their existing knowledge of beadwork and fiber netting. We see an item similar to the historic and contemporary glass beadwork cape worn by men and women in 1757. Drawings made by Venegas-Burriel (1757) depict American Indian individuals from Baja, Mexico wearing netted capes that look quite similar to River Yuman cape sizes, designs, and patterns.

The beaded cape demonstrates cultural continuity, which Barnett (1953; 1983) defines as the persistence of elements through time. By demonstrating the continuation of elements used since time immemorial, with the addition of new ideas grafted onto old ideas, the River Yuman beaded cape epitomizes continuity and cultural preservation in a rapidly changing time. Netted accessories, making use of the diamond-stitching pattern, were created and worn among River Yuman populations long before Spanish contact. Similarly, bones, clay beads, and shells served as spacers in the netting, and along the edges as a decoration, as depicted in the drawings by Venegas-Burriel in 1757. The addition of glass trade beads and a cape that was fully beaded presents a new idea grafted onto an existing tradition, item, and technique.

Through the consultation of ladies' fashion guides and historic clothing manuals it appears that elements of the netted beaded cape are an adaptation of a popular woman's clothing accessory from the 1850's and 1860's. The *Ladies' Complete Guide to Needle-Work and Embroidery* (1859) contains detailed instructions and drawings of netting techniques within an entire section dedicated to netted accessories, many of which incorporate beads. The openwork-netting pattern for the single-diamond stitch, diamond netting technique with five stitches, and treble-diamond netting technique are presented

with step-by-step instructions (Lambert 1859: 230-236). This instruction manual contributes to the belief that the beaded cape originates from a combination of Euro-American influence and River Yuman ingenuity, playing off previous technologies used in netting. Euro-American women filtering into the Colorado River region in the 1870's would have brought with them clothing items and ideas that differed greatly from their River Yuman neighbors. By sharing ideas, clothing items, and other resources, like the craft manual described here, Euro-American women may have felt as though they were active agents in the process of "civilizing" the Indigenous women who served as their domestic help. Any number of scenarios for the diffusion of Euro-American ideas may have taken place but this serves as one example.

The diffusion of fashion in the 1850's and 1860's was significantly slower than the stylistic trends of the 21st century, especially to remote areas of the Southwestern United States. If the netted lace Bertha cape came into fashion on the East coast in the 1860's, it would be likely that either the garment itself or the technical skill would not have reached areas along the Arizona-California border until the mid-1870's. Available information indicates the netted bead collars [capes] were first made by either the Pipa Aha Macav or Quechan between the years of 1879 and 1883 (Tsosie 1992: 39). Young River Yuman women who embraced other elements of Western dress such as Jews harps, calico dresses, and silk scarves readily adopted the glass beaded cape. Harrington notes the modernity of the wide capes of beadwork among the younger Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] women in 1908 (Harrington Papers, Notes on Material Culture 1908: Box 3).

Development of the River Yuman glass beadwork cape coincides with a number of influential events and interactions in the late 19th century. These events include

increased traffic and settlement of the Lower Colorado River region; the invitation of Pipa Aha Macav tribal leader Chief Iretaba to travel to Washington, D.C., Philadelphia and other major urban centers; the instatement of federally funded schools located on the reservations; and continued contact with other neighboring American Indian groups. The idea that Native cultures existed in isolation from other Native cultures and outsider influences, completely devoid of inter-marriage, trading, sharing ideas and so on, is not probable (Bernstein 1989: 7). Origins of the glass beadwork cape might have come from other American Indian groups in Northern California, Baja, or elsewhere in North America. Any of these avenues of contact could have assisted in the introduction and diffusion of the beaded cape, but the ability to pinpoint a specific occurrence is not possible at present. It is possible though, to trace the history of the glass beaded cape through documentation and collecting activities.

Herman ten Kate collected the earliest example of a River Yuman beaded cape in 1883. In the following years, other ethnographers, visitors, and travelers began to document the prominence of glass beaded capes. An early account comes from George Nock, the Colorado River Indian Tribes reservation schoolteacher in 1887 noting that the Mojaves [Pipa Aha Macav] manufacture very little, only beaded capes, pottery, and hair rope (Walker 1967: 265). In 1908, while working on research in Needles, California, Alfred L. Kroeber noted that women donned showy shoulder capes of a network of beads (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 740). Photographers also assisted in documenting the earliest appearances of glass beaded capes. The earliest photographs of the glass beaded capes worn by River Yuman women date from 1884, and are seen in studio portraits taken by photographer J. C. Burge of Mojave women from Needles, California (Tsosie 1992: 38).

It is important to note that a number of other tribes in the Southwest, Great Basin, and California such as the Piipaash (Maricopa), Northern Paiute, O'odham, Apache, and Mono produce and wear netted beadwork capes, but none of the photographs or glass beaded capes from these other tribes date prior to 1900 (Pardue 1989; Tsosie 1992). Even the Xawiłł kwñchawaay, the southernmost River Yuman group did not begin creating beadwork capes until the 20th century (Alvarez de Williams 1991:41). Pardue (1989) mentions that the Apache glass beaded cape or shawl necklace dates to only the early 1900's (117). The Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan communities appear to have created the glass beadwork cape initially, and for a time they were producing these items for sale or trade with neighboring cultures. The River Yuman tribes participated in wide-ranging trade networks incorporating numerous groups in Arizona, southern California, and northern Mexico, traveling as far east as Zuni Pueblo in New Mexico and as far west as the California coast (Davis 1961; Forbes 1965; Gifford 1936). Intertribal trading in crafts such as pottery, blankets, and jewelry predated European contact and characterized the earliest Euro-American trade activities, and more recently continue to provide incentives for American Indian artists to produce both new and traditional goods (Nagel 1996: 48).

### 3.3 Function, Style, and Technology Behind Glass Beaded Capes

Many different terms have been used to refer to the beaded cape throughout its history including, collar, cape, necklace, apron and beaded Bertha by Euro-Americans and other non-Native people. Among the Fort Mojave community the glass beaded cape is known as *hunakch*, or *hulap* the generic word for necklace, and was recorded by J. P. Harrington in 1908 as *suku'uulúnaaka* or cape of beadwork (Harrington Papers, Notes on

Material Culture 1908: Box 3). The Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] community at Colorado River Indian Tribes refer to the beaded cape as *vethaman*, which translates in English as "the lengthy one" or "where it ends" (Tsosie 1992: 37). The continued use of the Yuman words for the beaded capes reaffirms the importance of the item as part of women's dress and its place of belonging within the Yuman culture.

The beaded cape is a large circular ornament made of a mesh of vertically netted glass beads (Tsosie 1992: 37). Several styles and sizes of beaded capes exist among the River Yuman groups. The classic River Yuman beaded cape generally measures between 16 to 20 inches wide, and 90 to 180 inches in diameter, and designed to cover the upper portion the chest and shoulders. The glass beaded capes made by the Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan differ greatly in design, technique, style, materials, and form from neighboring cultures.

Within the inventory of historic River Yuman beaded capes dating from 1880-1980 (Appendix A) the majority of the capes are quite large, even those capes designed for young girls to wear. In the manufacture of the glass seed bead cape the beading technique employed is refered to as netting, nearly identical to ancestral Yuman netting techniques. Orchard (1929) describes the construction technique of the Pipa Aha Macav style glass beaded cape using vertical netting stitches.

> In this instance the supporting strings for the beads are vertical, doubled over a foundation cord with two beads between the crossings. A band about an inch and a quarter wide  is made of meshes with one bead between points and the remaingin width has the mesh extended by the use of two beads. A fringe along the lower edge is made by beading about an

> inch of the vertical strings and tying the ends together in pairs, with a larger bead over the knots (Orchard 2002[1929]: 145).

An early account describes the construction process of a beaded cape, noting that in one hut a young girl was employed upon a lovely bead necklace, using as a support a beer bottle, steadied by filling it with sand (Bourke 1889: 178). Other artisans used a loom made from two sticks and a single foundation cord, to construct beaded capes in the late 19th and early 20th century. Manufacture of a well-fitting cape required considerable skill, because women's lacelike bead capes fit snuggly around the shoulders (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 740). Historically, the finished glass beaded cape was designed to tie in the back using the excess foundation cord. One beaded cape, collected by Kroeber in 1908 utilizes a used shoelace as the foundation cord and subsequently the closure. Beaded collars [capes] made after the 1930's often display a metal hook-and-eye fastner, or in some capes a length of narrow silk ribbon replaces the traditional cord tie (Tsosie 1992: 42).

The netted beadwork cape is worn around the neck of a woman and rests on the back and chest with beaded fringe hanging at the edges. The length of the cape differs between Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan women, with the Pipa Aha Macav cape ending at the shoulder and laying across the upper chest, whereas the Quechan cape completely covers the breast and ends near the elbow (Tsosie 1992: 45). Length of glass beadwork capes varies based on cultural standards, but the weight of each bead cape was the choice of the individual beadworker and was dependent on the type of thread, bead size and the amount of beads used in cape construction. In some instances, the beaded capes can to weigh up to ten pounds. Glass beadwork capes end with either looped or straight fringe,

and frequently have a single, large white pony bead attached at end of each piece of fringe, but in some of the historic capes, a coin is used. The fringe is usually at least one to three inches in length and the end is sometimes undecorated but more often decorated with a silver dime, a faux pearl, or a large bead (Tsosie 1992: 43). While many of the historic glass beaded capes are no longer in existence, photographs taken in the late 19th and early 20th centuries provide information on the designs, materials, and styles that demonstrate the ways that the capes were worn by River Yuman women, presenting a standard for comparison today.

Early photographs from the turn of the century depict River Yuman women wearing the beaded cape in a variety of ways, including the cape with multiple strands of beads; the beaded cape worn underneath a cotton or silk shawl; or the beaded cape worn as an accessory to a cotton skirt without a blouse, shift, or shawl. In the Ben Wittick and J.C. Burge photographs dating from 1883 and 1884, glass beadwork capes worn in combination with Euro-American dress are seen, but the images never show the indigenous style, with a beaded cape, bare chest, and a skirt (Tsosie 1992: 39). Posing Pipa Aha Macav men and women in the Burge photographs attests to the outsiders' desire for modesty among the Yuman groups, demonstrated through the manipulation of the clothing worn in the photographs. Images taken by Edward Curtis serve as a prime example of the desire of photographers to portray American Indian people in a way that diverges greatly from the ways in which they are in reality, often diminishing undesirable qualities like nudity, or in other instances exoticizing Native people. The photographer's arrangement of Western clothing often differs significantly from candid images taken by tourists and anthropologists. One of the earliest ways that River Yuman women chose to

wear a beaded cape is illustrated by Charles C. Pierce's photograph of a recently married Pipa Aha Macav couple around 1900 (Figure 3.1).

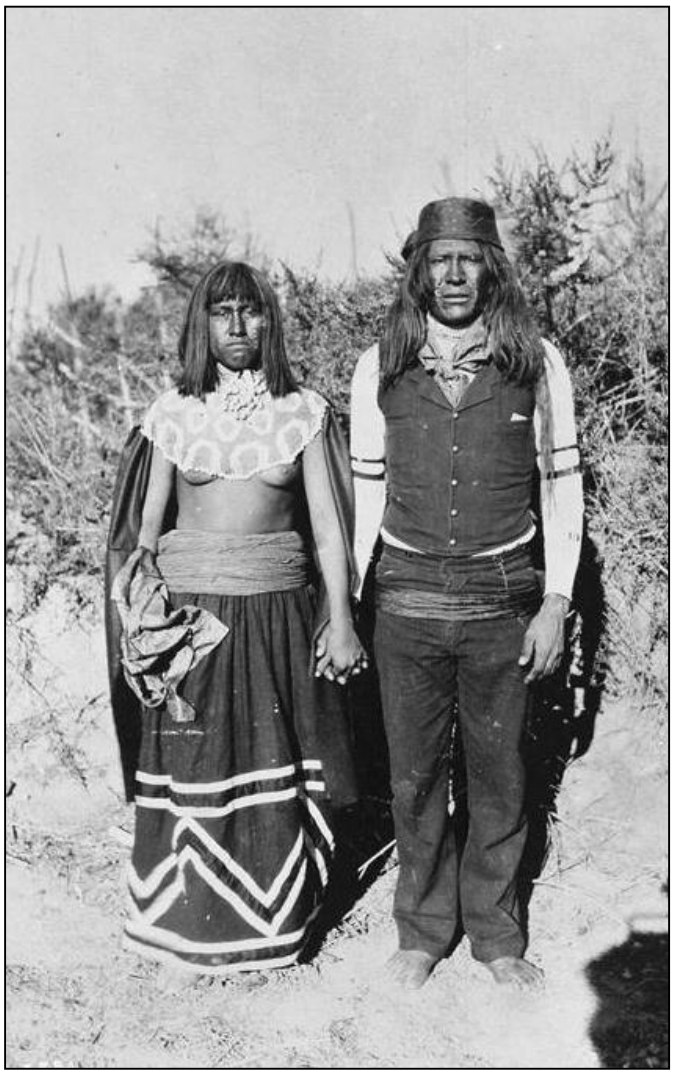

Figure 3.1 Recently Married Mojave Couple, c.1900. Photograph by Charles C. Pierce. Black and White Photonegative, 26 x 21 cm. California Historical Society Collection,1860-1960, CHS-3851. Courtesy of the University of Southern California Libraries.

Construction of the glass beaded cape was an important part in creating a meaningful object, both as a representation of the maker's skill and execution of desired designs. The construction process also serves as an opportunity to pass on the skill set

and socialize with friends and family. When women do beadworking in Africa, it tends to be a social activity, with gossip and skill-sharing going on in a group (Carey 1998: 87). This statement is also applicable to the River Yuman women and the construction of glass beaded capes. The activity of beadworking was done sitting in front of the home or inside with children, husbands, animals, neighbors, and friends joining in conversation as they played games or worked simultaneously on projects and chores. Descriptions of River Yuman communities in many historical accounts note them as bustling with activity, filled with noise, and occupied by many men, women, and children. Passing through a Mojave village in 1853, Lt. Whipple notes, "at each dwelling, we count from twenty to thirty persons, all apparently at home" (Foreman 1941: 240). "Two bead capes were seen in making, one around the bottom of an inverted olla, with two women working on it, and the other by one woman, on a string in the air between two sticks" (Kroeber, Field Notes 1904: 34). Socializing and community, whether doing beadwork, face or body painting, or routine tasks, has always been an integral part of River Yuman life and culture, and continues to maintain the same importance in the 21st century.

### 3.4 Becoming Visual Symbols of Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity can be defined as the extent to which a person identifies with a particular ethnic group or groups and can refers to one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership (Phinney 1996). The River Yuman glass beaded cape serves as an example of an external identifier, representing both ethnic identity as Pipa Aha Macav, Quechan, or Xawiłł kwñchawaay, and gender identity, female. Ethnic identity, then,

serves as dialectic between internal identification and external ascription (Nagel 1996: 21). Personal ornamentation provides a prominent example of the ways that people constitute a common ground for understanding identity through a set of signs, with general similarities representing both form and function, and yet simultaneously differentiating among those who use these signs (Kratz and Pido 2000: 43).

River Yuman communities have favored beads since time immemorial, with early pre-contact beads made from shell, bone, and clay, and cordage constructed from natural plant fibers. The Pipa Aha Macav traded for shells to make ornaments before Spanish contact, but the most favored materials quickly became blue and white trade beads, which women strung into necklaces, ear ornaments, and elaborate capes with geometric designs (Furst 2001: 52). Historically, all genders and age groups wore multiple strands of beads, both prior to, and following the introduction of glass trade beads. Therefore, it is not simply the act of wearing colorful glass seed beads that signifies identity, but the meaning held by bead colors and their connection to the past. Likewise, the patterns, styles, and designs presented by glass beaded capes denote its complex role as a symbol of River Yuman femininity.

Material culture serves as a visual marker of identity, through clothing, ornamentation, and scarification, human beings use the body to indicate age, marital status, class, ethnicity, sex differences, and sense of style (Boswell 2006: 440). Similarly, we use the appearance of the body to express ourselves, our identities, and to let others understand us (Kuwahara 2005: 226). The enhancement of the physical body with ornaments, paint, and tattoos is an act of beautifying and therefore, it is important not to overlook the beaded cape as both a meaningful symbol, and an object of beauty. Makers

and wearers alike derive considerable aesthetic enjoyment and pride from clothing that is not only skillfully made from good materials, but meaningfully and beautifully decorated as well (Thompson 2013: 12). The fibers and glass beads together exhibit movement similar to the river, with the bead colors serving as a physical representation of light glistening from the deep blue waters of the Colorado River.

Historic River Yuman beaded capes generally incorporate geometric designs, ranging from triangles and linear bands, to complex arrangements of concentric hexagons and diamonds. Each beaded cape is different in its color scheme, design elements and layout, but the general symbols chosen are distinctly River Yuman yet they still allow for the artist to express creativity and individuality. An exhibit at the National Museum of the American Indian in 2005 presented a theory regarding the origins of River Yuman beaded cape designs (McMullen et al. 2005). When River Yuman women began to wear Western styles of clothing that covered the parts of the body that were traditionally decorated by body paint, women began replicating the traditional body paint motifs into the beaded capes conveying the same kinds of meanings (McMullen 2005: Exhibit Text, Case 4, "Beauty Surrounds Us").

It is more likely that inspiration may stem from sacred rock art (Figure 3.2), also reflected in the body painting and tattoo designs just as pottery designs, and symbols seen on bows and gaming sticks reflect the same patterns. Given to the River Yumans by the Creator, all of these symbols connect them with the land, water, plants, and animals that have surrounded them since time immemorial. An emphasis on patterns and motifs rooted in indigenous symbols and conceptions represents continuity from Pre-Colombian to modern times (Schackt 2005: 276). Among the River Yuman designs utilized on

pottery, gaming sticks, beaded capes, and in body painting, a striking number of design elements appear to have originated from rock art symbols, located within or nearby traditional River Yuman regions of occupation. If the River Yuman designs used to enhance their material culture hold such ancestral connections, then it is obvious why items such as the beaded cape, that display those ancient symbols, would serve as markers of ethnic identity and cultural pride. Additional rock art designs matching beaded cape motifs are displayed in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.2 Beaded cape reflecting rock art designs (Right); Ancestral Yuman rock art, Laughlin, NV. Personal Photo, August 9, 2013 (Left).

In the 19th century the adoption and wearing of Western dress was associated with any given society moving from a state of "primitivism" to one of "civilization" (Eicher and Sumberg 1995: 303). Beaded capes became an integral part of the dress style adopted by Pipa Aha Macav [and Quechan] women in the late 19th century (Tsosie 1992: 39). For many cultures, contact and relations with colonizers is viewed as the death of a society, in other examples the contact period marks a tale of survival, adaptation, and innovation. The River Yuman glass beaded cape is just one example of a unique style of American

Indian dress that developed after contact with outsider's new ideas and new materials, but retains pre-contact elements and meaning. When combined an exciting blend of never before seen traditions and meanings came into being. Despite the origins or route of introduction, the River Yuman glass beaded cape has grown to be a symbol of ethnic identity and gender.

Figure 3.3 Drawings of Rock Art Images (Right) and Corresponding Cape Designs (Left)

# CHAPTER 4

# METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Methodology for the design and implementation of this study combines museum collections-based research, archival research, and interviews with tribal members from two River Yuman communities. The first step of this research process sought to locate River Yuman beaded capes in museum collections, requiring hundreds of email inquiries to museums and art galleries globally. Twenty-two museums across the United States and Europe have been identified as housing fifty-eight historic River Yuman glass beaded capes created between 1880 and 1980. An inventory of museums and the associated beaded capes is present within Appendix A. Several museums did not respond to research inquiries, while others were in the process of moving collections and requested more time to find River Yuman items. Therefore, the inventory of beaded capes housed in museum collections may be slightly larger than documented within this dissertation.

After locating collections housing beaded capes, the next step in the research process focused on sending requests for photographs, collections documentation, accession files, and measurements associated with each item. The majority of museums were willing to email photos for research purposes, while other museums required an in-person visit to photograph, measure, and copy accession records. Photographs and measurements of the beaded capes have been beneficial in documenting bead colors, materials, and techniques used during the time period when the capes were constructed. Visitation of collections and photographs of beaded capes served to identify the correct cultural placement of the beaded cape, because many collections have mislabeled beaded

capes as River Yuman when they are actually Paiute, O'odham, or Hualapai. Additionally, images of River Yuman glass beaded capes serve as a way to document changing styles and materials across time, and serve as a means for providing a date range for beaded capes with minimal documentation.

When conducting collections-based research the documentation available for each item varies significantly. Collections documentation includes catalog cards, accession files, manuscripts, photographs, and field notes associated with each object or group of objects. Accession files refer to the records for a group of materials received from a single source at one time, and are the primary source of information on how a collection was acquired (Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History 2011: 2). The consultation of collections documentation occurred at various stages throughout the research process, with each piece of information serving as a clue in understanding the collection-formation process and the motivation behind the acquisition of certain items for each collector.

Information relating to the year the item was accessioned into the collection, and the name of the donor or date of purchase by museum personnel is generally available. In many instances, items have little or no further documentation associated with them other than the accession date, item title, and possible origin culture. Another term for this information is provenance. Provenance provides contextual and circumstantial evidence for an items original production or manufacture, collection and later history, especially the sequences of its formal ownership, purchase and even acquisition. Most of the written information for collections of 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ century ethnographic items includes nothing more than a series of trait lists (Barnett 1983: 158). On occasion however, items

come into the possession of museums with substantial background information on the collector, the item, and the culture or region where the item was procured. Scenarios such as this, and others were experienced within the course of this research. Substantial collections documentation was available for about 70 percent of the beaded capes identified in museum collections. Using the information provided by accession files and other collections documentation research began on the glass beaded capes and associated collectors. From that basic data, it was possible to attain further information about the person that collected the item(s) and the location of the item when it came into the collectors' possession. After learning the names of the collectors, it was possible to move forward with the research and examine further details about the collector and their motivation for collecting beaded capes.

The next stage in the research process placed a focus on documents in libraries and archives. An in-depth review of existing ethnographic literature on the River Yuman groups was a large part of the research process. Archival documents consulted included maps, journals, ethnographers' and collectors' field notes, and historic photographs. These sources of data contribute to a deeper understanding of who was collecting, and provide insight into when, where, and how certain collectors came to acquire beaded capes. These archival documents have been useful in pinpointing the date range for beaded cape acquisition, and helped to identify the other types of cultural materials purchased by collectors. Knowledge of material culture preferences for any given collector assist in understanding that individual's collecting behavior, or their reasons and desire to acquire certain types of items rather than others. In some of the personal journals and field notes, it was possible to identify a collectors motivation for the

selection of certain River Yuman items. Travel to visit libraries and archives at several locations was necessary to access the personal journals and field notes of people who collected historic River Yuman material culture between 1880 and 1980. Extensive research visits were required to view and obtain copies of documents at the National Anthropological Archives; San Diego History Center; University of California Bancroft Library; Heard Library and Museum; Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives at Tempe; and Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives in Tucson.

### 4.1 Interviews with Contemporary River Yuman Beadworkers

As a way of bringing contemporary River Yuman perspectives and cultural knowledge into this study, interviews took place with beadworkers, beaded cape wearers, and cultural experts belonging to the Fort Mojave Tribe, and Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe. Research participants were selected either by their reputation as well-known beadworkers, or based on their extensive knowledge of cultural traditions. Younger River Yuman women who wear the beaded cape in Native royalty pageants also spoke about their perspective on the cultural significance of the beaded cape. From these initial contacts, a snowball sampling method generated other participants. Snowball sampling is a non-probability interview sampling technique that occurs when existing study participants recruit future subjects that are their acquaintances so the participant group appears to grow like a rolling snowball. Assistance in finding participants with knowledge of beadworking also came from the Aha Macav Cultural Department at the Fort Mojave Tribe, who allowed me to visit with the director and staff at their office. Additional interviews with Pipa Aha Macav beadworkers, artists, and other culturally

knowledgeable community members belonging to the Fort Mojave Tribe occurred at their homes and the tribally owned Avi Casino, where artist sell their beadwork on the weekends. Fieldwork took place in Needles, California and Laughlin, Nevada with the Fort Mojave Tribe whose land holdings span the Arizona, California, and Nevada tri-state area (Figure 4.1).

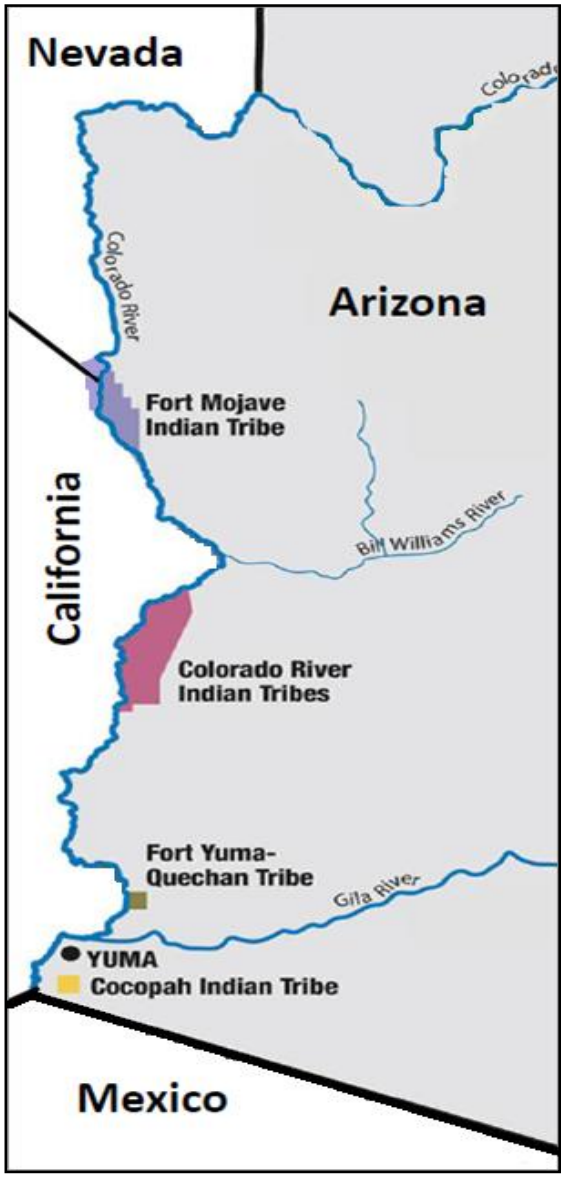


Figure 4.1: Map of Lower Colorado River Yuman Reservations in 2014

Interviews with beadworkers from Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe, in Yuma, Arizona took place at cultural gatherings and powwows. Interviews with Quechan beadworkers and River Yuman royalty titleholders took place outside, on the San Pasqual High School football field in Winterhaven, California, and on the University of Arizona campus in Tucson. Several of the young Quechan and Xawiłł kwñchawaay tribal royalty titleholders attend the University of Arizona, and sat down to discuss their views on the beadwork cape with me at various locations near the University of Arizona campus.

Interviews provided a better understanding of the meaning, cultural significance, and symbolism that beaded capes held and continue to hold among River Yuman women. Ultimately, these interviews assisted in the formulation of questions relating to beaded capes that were important to the River Yuman communities and gave deeper meaning and direction to the project. Interview questions are present in Appendix B. The technique used during the interviewing process was a semi-structured verbal interview. Each participant took part in a semi-structured interview, based on a general set of questions serving as a framework for discussion.

Several knowledgeable elders spoke on multiple occasions, adding to previous interviews and information, also allowing the researcher to establish a relationship and build trust (Figure 4.2). While some of the questions are designed to gather basic information, the other questions are designed with the goal of identifying personal history, skills, thoughts, and views on beaded cape meanings and symbolism. While interviewing the artisans, beadworkers, and other community members at Fort Mojave and Fort Yuma Quechan each research participant was entitled to a private interview, meaning that no other people were present. During this one-on-one interaction, the semi-

structured interview took place. A digital tape recorder was used to record interviews, and supplemented with hand written notes to serve as precautionary measure in case of technological malfunction. If the research participant granted permission, a photograph of he or she was taken for personal records. Transcription of all interviews and interview notes followed each session of fieldwork with the Fort Mojave and Fort Yuma Quechan communities.

Figure 4.2 Pipa Aha Macav beadworker with researcher. Needles, California, February 2014. Personal Photograph.

Throughout the course of this research, twenty interviews took place, with male and female community members participating in the research. Figure 4.3 depicts the ratio of men and women interviewed from each River Yuman community. The glass beaded cape is traditionally a piece of women's ceremonial attire therefore the majority of beadworkers that create capes are women. Over the past fifty years, the skills needed to create the beaded cape have come to be shared with men, therefore presenting the opportunity to discuss the beaded cape with several males.

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fort Mojave | 1 | 9 | 10 |
| Fort Yuma Quechan | 3 | 7 | 10 |
| | | | 20 |

Figure 4.3: Ratio of research participants by community and gender

The combination of these research methodologies produces a multi-dimensional study by providing a level of contextual and social meaning that neither museum collections nor archival research can produce when used singularly. In combination, different perspectives from historical documents and ethnographic fieldwork come together to answer key questions focused on the meaning, symbolism, and cultural significance that River Yuman women's beaded capes hold, while simultaneously exploring the outsider's views of the beadwork capes by assessing the presence and absence of capes within museum collections.

# CHAPTER 5

# COLLECTIONS-FORMATION PROCESSES, COLLECTORS, AND BEADED CAPES

By regarding a single implement outside its surroundings, outside of other inventions of the people to whom it belongs, and outside of other phenomena affecting that people and its productions, we cannot understand its meaning, without context an item is only a sum of its physical properties (Boas 1887: 485). This statement applies to the present study because neither the examination of museum collections nor simply interviewing River Yuman community members can answer the proposed questions singularly. Together, the combination of multiple data sources and methodologies enables a holistic study for understanding beaded capes.

## 5.1 American Indian Art and Material Culture

Scholarship focused on American Indian art and material culture provides an important portion of the foundation for this dissertation, with specific attention directed towards women's artwork and cultural identification represented through material culture. In this study, the term material culture simply defines physical objects that people use to assist in defining their culture (Glassie 1999: 41). Defining material culture is an important step in understanding the importance of beaded capes as cultural markers. Material culture properly connotes physical manifestations of culture and therefore embraces those segments of human learning and behavior that provide a person with plans, methods, and reasons for producing and using things that can be seen and touched

(Schlereth 1982: 2). The beaded cape is a piece of material culture, and an object of cultural significance, packed with multiple layers of meaning that are displayed publicly but interpreted by viewers in many different ways. A number of studies served as a directive in the development and execution of the research presented here on cultural significance and symbolism, visible through American Indian material culture. The work of Jeffrey D. Anderson (2013) focuses on the symbolic meaning found within Arapaho women's meticulous quillwork designs. Judy Thompson (2013) examines Athapaskan women's art focusing on the presentation of beauty, skill and identity, through the tedious construction of clothing. Beautifully decorated dresses with quillwork, fringe, and pigments provide a means of artistic expression signifying ethnic identity and conveying information about the physical, social, and spiritual well-being of the wearer (Thompson 2013). Other works, such as Ellen Moore's book on Navajo beadwork (2003) contributes to understanding the ways Native peoples transform non-traditional artistic practices and materials into culturally significant items.

Collette A. Hyman's (2012) study of Dakota women's beadwork as a means of cultural preservation was useful in designing interview questions relating to meaning, symbolism, cultural practices, and identity. David W. Penney (1991) analyzes processes of culture change made visible through shifting styles in Métis floral motif beadwork. Penney's work reflects the ways in which introduced techniques and materials such as floral embroidery have come to be representative and significant within Native culture. Previous research by Tsosie (1992) focuses on the history and development of Pipa Aha Macav beaded cape. Tsosie's article examines beaded cape construction techniques used historically among Pipa Aha Macav beadworkers, discussing the patterns and styles, and

attempts to pinpoint beadwork cape origins (Tsosie 1992: 36-49). The article provides a foundation for understanding changing beadwork cape styles and trends across time. Answered within this dissertation are several of the unknowns left open by Tsosie's research. Together Anderson, Hyman, Penney, Moore, Tsosie, and Thompson's research has provided a framework for understanding aspects of River Yuman beadwork that are deeper than its aesthetic properties. Previous studies assisted in the development of research questions.

## 5.2 Collecting American Indian Art

The topic of collecting American Indian art is critical for understanding collecting practices. Existing publications explore a mix of professional American Indian art collectors, art dealers, and tourist perspectives, all of these are vital in assessing collectors lives and motivations. American Indian art expert Margaret Dubin (2001) researches the trends and appeal of Native art items. Dubin's work provides theoretical insight into the types of Native art that collectors and buyers purchase (2005: 3). The work of Paige Raibmon (2005) explores cultural authenticity through an analysis of several Native cultures in the Pacific Northwest. Raibmon examines the ways that they interacted with outsiders regarding traditional practices and modernity. Concepts and frames of analysis presented by Raibmon serve as a roadmap for interpreting interactions with outsiders, much like what the Pipa Aha Macav experienced in the 19$^{th}$ and 20$^{th}$ centuries.

During the early 20$^{th}$ century researchers, collectors, and tourists came to the Southwest to experience American Indian cultures and acquire a piece of authentic Native art. Scholars who have focused on collecting American Indian and Indigenous art

as a tourist activity include Nelson H.H. Graburn (1976); Nancy J. Parezo (1983,1996); and Nancy J. Parezo, Kelley A. Hays, and Barbara F. Silvac (1987). Scholarship focused on the acquisition of American Indian art in the form of items produced specifically for tourist consumption, rather than internal use is presented by Ruth B. Phillips (1998); Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (1999); and Shepard Krech and Barbara Hail (1999). Elizabeth Hutchinson (2012) provides an overview of the popularity and accessibility of American Indian arts in the early 20th century, and presents information on the sale and procurement of baskets, Navajo rugs, and ethnographic knick-knacks sold at local department stores.

Without knowledge of the collector, his or her collecting practices, and the formation of the collection, American Indian art collections are often misinterpreted. However, through the application of behavioral theory and an assessment of the collection-formation processes a more detailed interpretation of a collection is possible. Scholars including Mieke Bal (1994); Susan M. Pearce (1992, 1995); Catherine Fowler and Don Fowler (1996); Marjorie Akin (1996); Michael Brian Schiffer (1995; 1996); and Janet Catherine Berlo (1992) have provided research studies that explain the basic principles of collections formation and collecting practices. These authors provide a framework for understanding the behaviors and processes that influenced collectors.

Research regarding specific Native art collections with a focus on the collectors is a theme within publications by Beverly Gordon and Melanie Herzog (1988); Rhonda Packer (1994); Joyce Herold (1999); Ira Jacknis (1999); Clara Sue Kidwell (1999); Ralph T. Coe (2003); Margaret Dubin (2004); Neil Chambers (2007); and Suzanne Cochrane

and Max Quanchi (2011). Despite the location or time period that each of these authors focuses, the dominant collecting trends are globally similar for each era.

## 5.3 The Collection-Formation Process and Collecting Practices

Outsiders and non-Native American Indian art collectors describe the utilitarian functions, materials, and physical properties of the items that they collect (Dubin 2001: 89). In contrast, a Native perspective on tribally specific cultural items reveals the deeper meaning of an item's function, cultural significance, and the greater context in which that item participates in the culture. By examining the collection-formation processes of several individuals, it is possible to gain an understanding of the reasons why they selected beaded capes as part of their collection, at a time when others saw the beaded cape as a product of Western influence. The examination of collection-formation processes further illustrates the views regarding beaded capes by Westerners or outsiders, whereas chapter six examines the significance that beadwork capes hold from a River Yuman viewpoint. The incorporation of multiple perspectives makes it possible to explain the significance and symbolism that the beaded capes hold. By providing researchers, museum professionals, and other non-River Yuman audiences with a better understanding of the long-standing tradition of beaded cape use and manufacture among River Yuman communities, affirmation of the beaded cape as a purely Indigenous item and identity marker for River Yuman women may begin to occur.

Collecting is the selective, active, and longitudinal acquisition, possession, and disposition of an interrelated set of differentiated objects that contribute to and derive meaning from the collection in its entirety and the collector (Belk et al. 1990: 8).

Collections containing historic River Yuman items appear in museums and art galleries scattered throughout the United States and Europe. Collectors representing universities and museums; Native arts dealers; and private collectors, acquired River Yuman items now housed in museums around the world. Even items gathered by tourists and visitors are present within these museum collections. Each collector had a specific reason for selecting or acquiring the River Yuman items that came to be part of their collection. While the number of historic River Yuman items included in each museum's collection is generally quite small, it is possible to explore the collectors motivation for the acquisition of River Yuman material culture, whether based on accessibility, affordability, beauty, or cultural salvage efforts. Focusing specifically on the museum collections that contain River Yuman beaded capes this chapter explores the collecting practices, collection-formation processes, and motivations for seven collectors between 1880 and 1980.

Research about the producers of Native art is abundant, whereas the inquiries into the preferences, socioeconomic status, and mindset of its Western collectors are quite rare (Lee 1999: 26). The examination of collectors within this study is necessary for understanding the collecting behaviors and perspectives of outsiders on River Yuman material culture. Formation processes create a historical record of the past that consists of objects in archives and private collections (Schiffer 1996: 75). Objects contain important information, and likewise, data about the collector, donor, and acquisition of the item provide valuable information. Through research focused on the collector, answers to questions about the deeper meaning of collected items are revealed, surpassing the recorded physical characteristics and cultural affiliation of items that are customary of museum collections. The collection-formation process can assist in answering these types

of questions, allowing for a sustained analysis of the process whereby collections of items took shape (Krech 1999: 2). Examination of the personal and professional aspects of a collectors life reveals a clearer understanding of their collecting processes and motivations. As a framework of analysis for the ways that a collection developed, the context of a collectors life, their thoughts, and interactions with the group(s) of Indigenous people whose material culture they gathered must be examined (Krech 1999: 2). Together, all of these pieces of information about the formation of a collection provide a means for understanding a collectors behavior, in turn helping us to understand how and what items held value.

A key point in understanding the behavior of a collector is familiarity with their collecting process. Many types of collecting processes exist, but this dissertation focuses specifically on systematic collecting and random collecting. Systematic collecting serves as a framework for achieving a complete or fully representative sample of the material culture of an ethnographic group (Fowler and Fowler 1996: 129). Often practiced by natural history and science museums, this taxonomic method of systematic collecting works well for flora and fauna, but inadvertently excludes important information about religion, language, and culture in the acquisition of ethnographic materials. In contrast, random collecting refers to the acquisition of individual objects, or curios, at various points in time, often from multiple cultures or groups of people (Fowler and Fowler 1996: 129). Random collections appear in anthropology and natural history museums often, especially American Indian collections gathered between 1870 and 1915, when railroad tourism was at its peak (Dilworth 1996; Gordon and Herzog 1988). Tourists purchased one or two items at each train stop, and then returned to their train, stopping at

another city in proximity to a different Native community several hundred miles away. Similarly, fine art collectors who purchase individual paintings from a variety of artists, rather than a representative selection of a single artists work demonstrate random collecting. These examples illustrate the strengths and weaknesses of both systematic and random collecting practices, and the ways that they affect collections-formation. Both methods serve a purpose, and are effective forms of collecting certain types of items, but without context and Native voice, neither systematic nor random collecting methods provide all the necessary information for understanding a collector or their collection.

With an understanding of the types of collecting that occur, a detailed assessment of the collection-formation process is possible, providing a framework of analysis for the lives of each collector, and their relationship with the items in their collections. Knowledge of what motivates collectors and what forces shape a collection of objects helps us to understand the meaning of the material to the collector (Akin 1996: 104). The following sections examine those collectors with a particular interest in American Indian material culture, especially those who acquired River Yuman beaded capes. Details surrounding the lives, education, occupation, time period in which each collector lives, and other personal details heavily influence the choices that each collector makes in the acquisition and collection of ethnographic items. The following sections present a short profile on the collection-formation processes and collecting behaviors for each of the highlighted collectors, shedding light on their views of beaded capes and River Yuman material culture.

## 5.4 Early River Yuman Collections: Edward Palmer, 1869-1870

In the 1860's and 1870's early collections of River Yuman material culture were amassed by various military expeditions and explorers. Dr. Edward Palmer, an army contract surgeon, was stationed in Arizona at Fort Whipple and later, Camp Lincoln in the early 1860's (Underhill 1984: 43). He returned to Arizona a number of times throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries to collect ethnological and ethnobotanical specimens, serving as a field collector for various institutions including the Smithsonian Institution, the Army Medical Museum, and the United States Department of Agriculture (Underhill 1984). Palmer's collections do not contain any beaded capes but he managed to collect one of the earliest and largest River Yuman assemblages of material culture and plant specimens from the 19th century, including women's willow bark bustles, and pigments used in face and body painting. The absence of the beaded cape from this large systematic collection attests to the first appearance of the glass beadwork cape later, since Palmer did not collect or note their presence. Likewise, Palmer did not gather any of the netted capes worn in earlier centuries, lending credence to the strong possibility that the mid-1900's demonstrated a transitional period from the existing netted capes of the mid-1700's, followed by multi-strand necklaces made of glass trade beads, with the appearance of the netted glass beadwork cape occurring around 1870 or 1880.

Of further value are the field notes from Palmer that describe his observations of the River Yuman, O'odham, and Apache communities with whom he interacted. Upon leaving Fort Mojave, following a collecting endeavor, Palmer wrote:

> The [Mojave] Indians did not want White people to take away their things, considering it bad medicine, which might be used against them to bring evil upon them, they could not devise what I wanted with all these things,

> as other White men never cared for their things (Palmer Journal, August 9, 1869: 103).

This view coincides with traditional River Yuman culture, that dictates that all personal property be burned with an individual following their death, or the soul will be unable to continue to the Land of the Dead (Furst 2001: 70). These Mojave men and women feared that Palmer would take their possessions far away and thus force them into an eternity of unrest. Palmer's field notes from 1869 and 1870 are invaluable in many ways, serving as testament to how uncommon the collection of River Yuman material culture was in the late 19th century.

As a scientist with an interest in the Native uses of local plants, animals, minerals, and rocks, Palmer found interesting the documentation of these resources that many of the later collectors and anthropologists overlooked. Likewise, the collection of items amassed by Palmer represent many aspects of River Yuman female life that few other collectors found of value, permanently preserving a representative sample of River Yuman culture prior to extensive contact with Euro-American's and subsequent assimilation efforts.

### 5.5 Ethnographer: Herman Fredrik Carel Ten Kate Jr., 1883

Dutch ethnographer, Herman Fredrik Carel Ten Kate Jr. planned a fieldwork journey to the United States and Northern Mexico in 1882-1883 (Ten Kate and Hovens 1995: 636). On this single trip Ten Kate collected many American Indian items, starting with material culture from Haudenosaunee communities in New York, and continuing into the Southwest with the Pipa Aha Macav, Xawiłł kwñchawaay, and Quechan tribes

along the Colorado River, and even further into Mexico. Among the River Yuman items collected, Ten Kate gathered two beaded capes in April of 1883 (Hovens 2010: 5). They were brought back to the *Rijsmuseum voor Volkenkunde* (National Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden, Netherlands, however, only one cape remains in the collection today (Ten Kate Collection, Catalog Number 362-69, 1883). Pieter Hovens, the leading Ten Kate researcher and curator of the North American Department at the Rijsmuseum voor Volkenkunde noted that poor storage conditions in Leiden have resulted in the deterioration of nearly all of the ethnographic collections, including the Ten Kate objects (Hovens 2010: 10). Sadly, complete deterioration has destroyed one of the beadwork capes, and the existing cape in collections (Cat. Num. 362-69) is in a fragile state, exhibiting initial signs of deterioration.

In an earlier publication, Hovens (1989) outlined Ten Kate's academic background in zoology, physical anthropology, and medicine. A background in these disciplines no doubt contributed to his desire to classify collections and determine the relationship between cultural groups based on physical traits. Ten Kate combined positivist science, a multidisciplinary orientation, and an explicit idealism, making him an exceptional representative of his time and disciplines (Hovens 2010: 4). In his fieldwork, Ten Kate displayed a clear salvage approach focused on the classification of physical types, the collection of ethnographic artifacts, the determination of intertribal relationships on the basis of physical, linguistic, and ethnographic data, and analysis of the effects of external domination (Hovens 1995: 636). Ten Kate studied scientific literature, bought artifacts, made both physical and ethnographic observations, interviewed both Native and non-Native informants, collected skulls and other skeletal

material, and completed the standard vocabulary lists for the Bureau of Ethnology (Hovens 1989: 45). Throughout his career, he returned to the Southwestern United States on several occasions, serving as both the physical anthropologist and ethnographer for the Hemenway Expedition of 1887-1888.

During the late 19th century, a large number of European collectors were drawn to the Southwestern United States, greatly intrigued with the idea of witnessing American Indian cultures before they were acculturated or eradicated. Although Ten Kate was most certainly a salvage collector, as mentioned previously, his collecting activities remain unique on several levels. One aspect that sets Ten Kate apart from others is that he collected among the non-Puebloan peoples in the Southwest at a time when these tribes were by-passed by the early collecting expeditions of the Smithsonian Institution and hardly the focus of individual researchers (Kaemlein 1967: 132).

A second unique aspect of Ten Kate's collecting practices relates to his selection of materials while in the field. It is a testimony to Ten Kate's modernity that he did not exclude the products of Native manufactures for the emerging tourist trade in his collecting activities (Hovens 2010: 17). A key reason for this revolves around the lack of funding for Ten Kate's first attempt at conducting fieldwork in United States. With minimal research financing, and the preconceived notion that the American Indian populations would be willing to trade their ethnographic items for beads, blankets, and trinkets, Ten Kate was greatly unprepared for the cash based economy and modernity occurring among the Native communities that he visited.

The third point of interest that sets Ten Kate apart from other collectors relates to his own cultural background. Herman Ten Kate, Senior was a well-known Dutch artist

had instilled in his son, Ten Kate, Jr. a love of fine arts, especially objects of beauty and music. Due to his social and educational background he appreciated art and was sensitive to aesthetic expression in non-Western cultures (Hovens 2010: 16). In many of Ten Kate's journal entries that he recorded while visiting American Indian communities, he reflected on the beauty, creativity, and skill expressed in the arts of the people.

These fundamental points in the collecting practices of Ten Kate, when combined with the external factors of limited financing, greatly contribute to the exemplary collection amassed by the young Dutch collector. In collecting River Yuman items that were constructed for both internal and external consumption, Ten Kate unknowingly produced a collection that allows researchers today to track the production differences between pottery, clothing, and beadwork that started to occur with the onset of tourism in the Lower Colorado River region. Differences in the types of materials used in the manufacture of objects for use versus those for sale are also visible through the Ten Kate collection. Ten Kate's appreciation of art and objects of beauty contributed to the fundamental differences in his collection, such as beaded capes, musical instruments, and jewelry, as opposed to other collectors at that time who sought to acquire weapons and ritual paraphernalia.

### 5.6 Gifting: Dr. Daniel Dorchester, 1889-1894

Dr. Daniel Dorchester served as the Superintendent of Indian Schools between the years of 1889 and 1894 (Lomawaima 1996: 6). During this interval of time, while serving as the Superintendent, Dorchester had the opportunity to visit and assess the progress and conditions of dozens of American Indian on-reservation schools and boarding schools

across the United States each year. In the *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, each reservation agency was able to present a progress report regarding the effectiveness of their civilizing efforts on each American Indian community, including health, farming, labor, and the education process. Dorchester described his own duties in the 1892 report as greater than simply inspecting schools and the school force. He wrote, "I studied the environments, the moral and social conditions of the agencies, the indications of progress among the Indian tribes, the evils militating against their advancement in civilization, and what can be done to promote their welfare" (Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools 1892: 526).

American Indian schools were established at Fort Yuma (1884), Colorado River (1879), and Fort Mojave (1890), and were visited by Dorchester a number of times during his employment as Superintendent. Dorchester and his wife, Merial, visited both Fort Mojave and the Colorado River Agency Boarding Schools in 1892 (Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools 1892: 526). The report text from Dorchester on Indian affairs reflects the education and ability of the Lower Colorado River Yuman tribe as generally favorable in 1890, 1892, 1893. Unlike the neighboring cultures, Dorchester believed that the Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan groups had every chance at becoming civilized individuals and demonstrated great potential as agriculturalists. Dorchester noted that "only six years ago neither men nor women of the River [Yuman] Indian tribes wore much clothing, now they are all fairly well-dressed; likewise, their fortitude to survive in such a rugged and treacherous climate is admirable" (Report of the Superintendent of Indian Schools 1892: 574). With an interest in the rapid progress of the River Yuman communities that Dorchester had become acquainted with, it is not

surprising that he received gifts during his multiple visits. The skillfully constructed beaded capes probably came into his possession as a gift from the female pupils at the Colorado River Agency Boarding School while touring with his wife in the 1890's.

Though beadwork capes were constructed by all of the River Yuman groups, it is well documented that the Colorado River Agency Boarding School, like many American Indian schools in the late 19th century, began to incorporate training in drawing and crafts that showcased the talents of the Native students, whether that was basket weaving, sewing, or beadworking (Lentis 2011). Tapping into the wide interest in handicrafts and Native arts at the turn of the century, Indian Office support of native craftspeople in the name of economic self-sufficiency assumed a characteristic paternalism (Lomawaima 1996). A photograph from 1907 depicts a student at the Colorado River Agency School making a beaded cape in her freshly starched pinafore on the dormitory porch. The caption reads, "Mojave schoolgirl Ruby Buckles Patch, known as the best beadworker in school, is finishing the ends or fringe of her cape on a lap pillow at the Colorado River Agency School" (Autry Southwest Museum, George Wharton James Collection 1907: Neg. 37685). Craft production was an aspect of traditional Native culture that was viewed as non-threatening to American assimilationist efforts (Hutchinson 2009: 33).

Following Dorchester's death, his great granddaughter Cleora Hatch acquired several of his glass display cases and American Indian items gifted to him throughout his tenure as Superintendent of Indian Schools. In 1944, Hatch contacted the Director of the Harvard Peabody Archaeology and Ethnology Museum offering to sell the museum an assortment of Dorchester's American Indian ethnographic materials and glass cases (Harvard Peabody Archaeology and Ethnology Museum Collections, Accession File, 44-

40-10: Correspondence). Two of the items found within the lot that Hatch sold to the museum were beaded capes. The construction of both capes includes dark navy blue seed beads, strung on thread in the vertical netting technique, with a foundation cord at the neck made from a natural fiber like Yucca. Similarly, each of the capes has looped fringe with a single white pony bead at the end of each loop, and both beaded capes are similar in size. Catalog Number 44-40-10/27486 is damaged and shows signs of deterioration near the neckline, whereas Catalog Number 44-40-10/27487 is in excellent condition, with minimal signs of wear or damage, and it is on permanent display in the *Hall of the North American Indian.*

Other than the period of acquisition during his tenure as Superintendent of Indian Schools, little information is known about the acquisition of the beaded capes that Dorchester had in his possession. Dorchester's comments and publications regarding the progress of the River Yuman people reflect his paternalistic views of the American Indians.

> Paternalism toward the Indians was not projected out of some conscious or unconscious needs of the whites, nor was it developed simply as a rationalization for crass materialistic gain. It grew out of a genuine, though often misguided, desire to aid peoples seen as inferior and dependent, to bring them the "blessings of Christian civilization" (Prucha 1988: 28).

Viewed as a fundamental piece of the civilization process, education assisted Native youths in becoming civilized American's through the acquisition of a skillset, and learning to read and write English, and do arithmetic. In his tireless efforts to chart the progress of Indian education across the United States, students at various schools

frequently presented gifts to Dorchester upon his visitation, serving as symbols or evidence of their excellent progress on the path to becoming civilized.

### 5.7 Museum Curator: Herbert E. Brown, 1900

Herbert E. Brown presents an interesting perspective on collecting, coming from a background in journalism and business, owning and reporting for several Arizona newspapers throughout his lifetime. One of Brown's most notable characteristics were his wide array of interests in other disciplines including ornithology, taxidermy, archaeology, and herpetology (Nelson 1913: 186-187). Throughout his life Brown held a number of different occupations, including his position as the first curator of the Arizona State Museum from 1893-1912, and a brief career as Superintendent of the Yuma Territorial Prison from 1898-1902 (Wilder 1942: 26).

Shortly after his arrival in Yuma, Arizona, Brown acquired two beadwork capes. Both capes are thought to be Quechan, constructed from blue and white seed beads in the traditional vertical netted style with looped fringe and a single large white pony bead at each tip. Brown's beaded capes were present within collections at the Arizona State Museum following their initial acquisition in 1900 (Catalog Numbers E-552 and E-553). Since 1992, catalog number E-553 has continuously been on display as part of the *Paths of Life* exhibit. With the exception of the designs, these two beaded capes are virtually identical in construction, style, color scheme, looped fringe, and the foundation cord at the neckline is from the same spool of twine on both pieces. Both of these beaded capes display so many similarities that they are without a doubt works from the same artist. In

comparison with all other Quechan beaded capes, these two pieces are substantially smaller in diameter, length, and width.

Few details are known about the circumstances of when or how Brown acquired these beaded capes, because he kept neither a daily journal nor purchase ledger. While in Yuma, Brown collected a large number of ethnographic artifacts from the local Yuman speakers (Wilder 1942: 26). Later notations on catalog cards at the Arizona State Museum were made by Wilma Kaemlein in the 1950's, stating that the beaded capes were shown to female Quechan beadworkers at the Methodist Mission in Yuma, Arizona in May of 1954. The women said that the capes were not as wide as the Quechan generally make them, but they could have been made for a child (Kaemlein, Catalog Card Notation 1954: E-552).

Brown's residence in Yuma and employment at the Yuma Territorial Prison at the time that the beaded capes were acquired supports the assumption that both of the beaded capes are Quechan. Likewise, Brown's location in Yuma, within a mile of the Fort Yuma Quechan reservation, the Fort Yuma Indian School, the Yuma train depot and the prison, presents numerous opportunities for the purchase of beaded capes or acquisition through gifting. The unusual size of the beaded capes that Brown collected and the statement from the Quechan beadworkers in 1954 regarding the capes as non-Quechan may support the idea that these two beaded capes were made for outsider consumption rather than use within the community. It is also possible that young Quechan girls at the Fort Yuma Indian School constructed beaded capes as art projects, much like the neighboring school at the Colorado River Agency. The exact details surrounding Brown's collection of these beadwork capes will most likely remain unknown.

Scholars and colleagues that were contemporaries of Brown have made notes regarding his dedication to the founding of the museum at the University of Arizona, known today as the Arizona State Museum. Brown's observations of American Indian life around him and the gathering of prehistoric and modern relics indicated his interest in building up the museum's collections to include all phases of the Territory's history (Wilder 1942: 26). With the goal of building the collections of a newly formed museum, Brown worked diligently to amass a large amount of items unique to Arizona, representing plants, animals, and American Indian cultures. The beaded capes, in whatever context Brown acquired them, were a stunning feat of ingenuity and creativity, which deemed them worthy of collection and display within the new museum. Most anthropologists of this generation understood their task as an imperative to collect and preserve, with little if any attempt at interpretation and synthesis (Lucic and Bernstein 2008: 7).

### 5.8 Anthropologist: Alfred L. Kroeber, 1902-1908

As a prominent figure in the history and development of the ethnography of California Indians, well-known anthropologist Alfred L. Kroeber contributed greatly to the collection of material culture and ethnographic information about the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav]. Due to the excellent field notes, correspondence, and records that Kroeber kept throughout his life it is possible to piece together the influences behind his collecting practices. A highly distinctive characteristic of Kroeber's thinking in his early years was based on an interest in the history of civilized societies both ancient and modern (Steward 1973: 24). Over the course of his career, Kroeber practiced archaeology, ethnography,

and linguistics, all of which had a profound impact on his view of cultures. As an anthropologist working at the turn of the century, Kroeber and others tried to break away from Lewis Henry Morgan's cultural evolutionary views dominating the field (Harris 2001[1968]: 321). Kroeber came to support the Boasian theory of historical particularism, which claims that rather than all societies evolving at the same stages, every society has its own developmental process. Harris explains historical particularism as each society has its own unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural context, especially its historical process (Harris 2001[1968]: 273). A brief review of Kroeber's life and career presents an assessment of his perspectives on material culture and collecting.

Appointed as an instructor at the University of California-Berkeley in 1901, Kroeber taught one semester each year, but his principal job was to investigate the diversified and little-known languages and cultures of Native California (Steward 1962: 198). During this time, Kroeber's interest shifted from Arapaho art, on which his dissertation focused, and turned fully toward the Native cultures of California, specifically language families and phonetic elements (Steward 1962; Rolston 2011). Linguistics comprised a significant portion of Kroeber's research interests due to his training under Franz Boas and Kroeber's previous degree and teaching experience in English (Steward 1973; Kroeber 1970). While working on documenting vocabularies and language structures, Kroeber became aware of the rapidly changing culture that the Native California tribes were facing (Rolston 2011). Attempting to salvage as much of the "traditional" Native Californian culture as possible Kroeber began systematically collecting a large number of ethnological specimens for the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of

Anthropology, and other institutions such as the Chicago Field Museum, American Museum of Natural History, and the Harvard Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology. In fact, the vast majority of modern museum collections were acquired during the salvage ethnography period of time (Bernstein 1989: 8).

In trying to find the range of Californian Native cultures, Kroeber found the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] to be the most divergent of all the Californian groups (Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Kroeber Papers, 1901-1902: Personal Papers). Therefore, the Pipa Aha Macav were appealing as an extreme contrast to the other culture groups living in California. The Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] are unlike the true Southwestern Indians, and they are essentially different from the central and northern California tribes, in lacking fetishes or any artistic or concretely expressed symbolism (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 780). It was the distinct cultural elements and the remote location of the Pipa Aha Macav that drew Kroeber's attention to them.

Kroeber gathered ethnographic collections from the Pipa Aha Macav communities living along the Lower Colorado River near Needles, California principally between 1900 and 1908. Between 1904 and 1908, Kroeber gathered 236 Pipa Aha Macav cultural items (Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Kroeber Papers, 1904-1908: Collection Lists). As a systematic collector, Kroeber focused on acquiring a representative sample of all things Pipa Aha Macav before they were completely overwhelmed with the ways of outsiders, and the use of the white man's goods and clothing. Based on his lists of "items to acquire," or "to get" it is apparent that Kroeber had a clear collecting goal in mind, for each of his benefactors and their respective museums (Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Kroeber Papers, 1904:

Field Notes, Collecting Lists). The gathered items represent all genders, age groups, and activities. Kroeber visited Needles and the surrounding area on six different occasions between 1900 and 1908, and purchased train tickets for his informants to visit him in San Francisco on several other occasions (Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Kroeber Papers, 1900-1910: Personal Papers). Through Kroeber's observations of the daily activities and cultural practices that occurred during his time among the Pipa Aha Macav communities living near Laughlin, Nevada and other locations near Needles, California, he acquired an extensive collection of River Yuman material culture, quite possibly the largest in the United States. Kroeber saw the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] as distinct and wholly unlike any other tribe encountered (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 726).

A desire to depict a culture in a preconceived manner often influences both the anthropologist and Native consultants on the types of materials selected (Bernstein 1989: 6). Alfred Kroeber traveled by train, to and from Needles, California frequently. The Pipa Aha Macav offered souvenir ceramic items at the train depot store and on the station platform, where great numbers of Native artists met the trains to sell clay and beaded objects (Furst 2001: 81). On one visit, while at the El Graces train station Kroeber noted that he did not purchase any of these items, no small platters or handled jugs or cups, because he was eager to impress on the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] sellers that he wanted only items of authentic origin that were Native, non-tourist objects (Kroeber and Harner 1955: 2). Kroeber was both intrigued and skeptical of the River Yuman beaded cape, reflecting on the stimulus diffusion of the beaded cape and its Euro-American origins, fueling the common misconception that the beaded cape is not a traditional Native art

form and tainted as insignificant, a meaningless product of Euro-American influence and origin.

Based on the records of Kroeber's multiple trips to and from Needles, California, the extensive collecting lists, and volume of the collections that he obtained; the fact that Kroeber collected beadwork capes during the early 20th century is unusual because of his view of the beaded cape as a product of the white man's influence. Kroeber selected not one, but two beaded capes while in Needles, California to bring back to the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology. One beaded cape is noted as belonging to a little girl (Catalog Number 1-13868), and the other, displayed in Figure 5.1 was designed to be worn by an adult (Catalog Number 1-13867).

In his personal field notes, Kroeber describes the construction process for making the beaded capes. "Two bead capes were seen in making, one around the bottom of an inverted olla, with two women working on it, and the other by one woman, on a string in the air between two sticks" (Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Kroeber Papers, 1904: Field Notes, 34). Kroeber made notes on the construction processes, use, wear, and destruction of beaded capes in 1902, 1904, 1906, and collected two of the beadwork capes in 1908, almost as if he had been convinced of the cultural significance of the beaded cape after six or seven years. Within Kroeber's 1925 masterwork, *The Handbook of the Indians of California*, he has included a photograph of the Pipa Aha Macav beadwork loom frame, used for the construction of beaded capes (Kroeber 1976[1925]: 560, Plate 54, Bottom).

Figure 5.1 Mojave Beaded Cape. Red, white, and blue seed beads, and large white pony beads, 150 cm diameter x 20 cm width. Collected by A. L. Kroeber, 1908. Photograph Courtesy of the University of California, Berkeley, Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Catalog Number 1-13867.

As mentioned, Kroeber was an organized and systematic collector, with a clear goal of obtaining a sampling of all cultural goods representative of the Pipa Aha Macav culture, so neither the purchase, documentation, nor the inclusion of the beaded capes in his key text was accidental. Previously, in 1901, Kroeber had submitted his dissertation titled, *Decorative Symbolism of the Arapaho*, in which he attempted to show that both decorative and symbolic art forms could occur simultaneously (Harris 2001[1968]: 320).

One can only speculate that the beaded capes illustrated a similar example for Kroeber, influencing his desire to include them in the formation of his collections, and later, within *The Handbook of the Indians of California* (1925). Kroeber continued to visit and maintain an interest in the Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] communities until the end of his life (Steward 1973: 15).

Kroeber turned to the historical record of invention and culture change, which inspired his contributions regarding the concept of stimulus diffusion and the significance of parallel inventions (Rowe 1961: 3). Kroeber's stimulus diffusion concept from 1940 provides insight into his views on American Indian items that demonstrated non-Native elements and outsider influences. In his article on stimulus diffusion Kroeber writes:

> Finally, this process is of interest because it combines development within a culture with influence from outside...What is involved in every true example of stimulus diffusion is the birth of a pattern new to the culture in which it develops, though not completely new in human culture. There is a historical connection and dependence, but there is also originality. Analogically, ordinary diffusion is like adoption, stimulus diffusion like procreation (Kroeber 1940: 20).

Written over thirty years after his collection of the beaded capes, it is ironic that Kroeber would write such a piece. His thoughts on stimulus diffusion mirror elements in the development of the glass beadwork cape. The Kroeber collections of the early 1900's would no doubt have been formed in a dramatically different way had the theories and practices of the 1940's and 1950's been in existence to influence his earlier views. However, it is the early views expressed by Kroeber, such as his support of cultural

evolution, an interest in the classification of linguistic and cultural traits, and distinguishing cultural elements between groups, that made his works and practices distinct (Steward 1973: 47).

5.9 Personal Collector: George Gustav Heye, 1919

George Gustav Heye is one of the most famous and subsequently well-documented collectors of archaeology and American Indian material culture in the 20th century. As a child, Heye grew up in an era when American Indians were exhibited regularly as examples of America's past, or as primitive types in a great evolutionary chain of human progress (Kidwell 1999: 234). Heye also enjoyed frequent travel with his family through Europe as a young man, and was exposed to museums and archaeological sites around the world. The travel and cultural exposure experienced by Heye in his youth contributed to his lifelong passion for collecting. It was not until after earning a degree in electrical engineering at Columbia College, and pursuing a variety of jobs that Heye finally decided to follow his passion as a collector and came to found the Museum of the American Indian (MAI) in 1917 (Mason 1958: 10-11). Reflecting on his first purchase, Heye wrote, "A Navajo shirt was the start of my collection, naturally once I had a shirt I wanted a rattle and moccasins, and then the collecting bug seized me and I was lost" (Heye Papers, National Museum of the American Indian New York, Cited in Mason 1958: 11).

One of the items acquired for the MAI early in its life was a beadwork cape purchased in 1919, and housed today at the Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) (Catalog Number 09/70). The beaded cape that Heye

purchased is constructed in the vertical netting technique, and it is made from blue and white seed beads with a single white pony bead at each tip of the looped fringe. Heye was more interested in American Indian cultures of the distant past than in the living cultures of his time (Kidwell 1999: 251). An interest in archaeology rather than ethnology is noticeable in Heye's collections, reinforced in his correspondence with colleagues, staff members, and contracted field collectors. It is noted that Heye demanded information on all items' provenance, and yet no information is available on this beaded cape, a testament to his minimal interest in ethnographic collections (Mason 1958).

Having found a source of materials in other people's collections, Heye bought extensively, and by 1906 had acquired more than thirty thousand objects (Kidwell 1999: 238). The second beadwork cape in possession of the MAI, now located at the Smithsonian Institution NMAI, was originally part of a large collection of items gathered by William McPherson Fitzhugh between 1890 and 1910 (NMAI, Catalog Number 19/3804). Following William M. Fitzhugh's death in 1929, his widow authorized the sale of his entire American Indian and Alaska Native collection to Heye in 1936 for the Museum of the American Indian in New York. Little documentation about the beaded cape acquired by Fitzhugh is available, but several other Pipa Aha Macav items were included in the purchased lot of items. A long-term resident of San Francisco, California, and frequent traveler, Fitzhugh most likely passed through Needles, California by train, where he would have had the opportunity to purchase the very few types of Mojave items represented in his collection. All of these items included in the purchased lot would have been easily attainable at or nearby the El Graces train station, such as a clay effigy figurines, beadwork, and tourist style pottery. Availability of objects for sale by

American Indians influences the choice of items that anthropologists have access to, as well as the way the anthropologist constructs a cultural inventory (Bernstein 1989: 2).

The collections assembled by Heye, whether they were gathered, purchased, gifted, or excavated came to set the standard for American Indian art, culture, and history. Each piece that Heye acquired and kept for the MAI was exemplary, representing the finest material, the most exquisite craftsmanship, the best preserved, or other striking characteristics (Mason 1958). Today, the Heye collections housed within the NMAI still hold a prestigious place as some of the finest pieces of American Indian art and culture in the world. Despite Heye's lack of interest in the collection of ethnographic materials, he managed to acquire two beaded capes, both of which are unique in comparison to any others seen in collections. Heye's stated aim was to gather and preserve for students everything useful in illustrating and elucidating the history and anthropology of the aborigines of the Western hemisphere, and to disseminate the knowledge gained by its research (Ganteaume 2010: 275). One can only assume that a world traveler and connoisseur of American Indian material culture like Heye saw a learning opportunity in the designs, materials and origins of the Pipa Aha Macav beaded cape.

### 5.10 Hired Field Collector: Edward Harvey Davis, 1923

Edward Harvey Davis was fascinated by American Indian life and culture from an early age and shortly after moving to California his passion for Native culture led him to begin collecting various items of material culture from the Mesa Grande community near his home (Quinn and Quinn 1965: 27). Davis was concerned about the loss of the traditional American Indian way of life based on the decimation of their population by

disease and assimilation. Quinn and Quinn (1965) note that Davis was convinced that evidence of American Indian culture required preservation for historical, educational, and museum purposes. For this reason, as well as his personal interest, Davis began collecting mortars, metates, bows, arrows, stone implements and other household items before American Indians were completely obliterated (San Diego History Center 2014: About Edward H. Davis).

In the time of only a few years, Davis had collected hundreds of Native objects. He valued his collection at $6,000 but discovered that it would have no real value unless cataloged, and in 1913 Davis began the work of recording the history of each object (San Diego History Center 2014: About Edward H. Davis). His efforts proved fruitful because in 1915, a representative from the Museum of the American Indian (MAI) visited Davis and purchased the entire collection. A year later, in 1916, George Gustav Heye hired Davis as a field collector of ethnological specimens for the MAI, and Davis continued to collect for Heye from 1917 to 1930 (Quinn and Quinn 1965: 30). Davis collected thousands of American Indian items for Heye over the course of his employment as a field collector. On behalf of the MAI, Davis' collecting duties focused on material culture created by American Indian societies from Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Northwestern Mexico (Quinn and Quinn 1965: 31). One of these items was a brightly colored Quechan beaded cape from Yuma, Arizona (National Museum of the American Indian, Catalog Number 120952). The seed beads used in the construction of the cape collected by Davis are red, green, light blue, yellow, and white, with large red, white, and light blue pony beads at the tips of the fringe. This beaded cape is traditional in design, technique, and materials, but the color-combination is unlike any other beaded cape seen

prior to 1923, therefore it serves as a valuable piece of evidence for documenting not just Davis' collection-formation process, but the introduction of new bead colors and use of new color combinations. Davis collected the Quechan beaded cape in an attempt to salvage remnants of the old ways of life that were still practiced among some members of remote cultures in California, Northern Mexico, and areas of the Southwest United States. As a piece of women's traditional attire, generally worn on special or ceremonial occasions, it is likely that Davis viewed women wearing the cape throughout the Lower Colorado River region, noted that the beaded cape held some type of significance, and therefore felt it was important to preserve such a specimen.

Davis visited over two dozen American Indian communities in his lifetime, travelling tens of thousands of miles by wagon, horseback, boat, train, and foot (San Diego Historical Society 2014: About Edward H. Davis). This list of communities is not definitive but provides a representative grouping of the cultures that Davis collected from, including the *Akwa'ala* (Pai Pai), *Náayarite* (Cora), *Wixáritari* (Huichol), *Òpata*, *Yoereme* (Mayo), *Comcáac* (Seri), Xawiłł kwñchawaay, O'odham groups, Piipaash, Pipa Aha Macav, Hualapai, *Yoeme* (Yaqui), and Quechan. Through his photography and collecting, Davis tried to salvage as much of traditional American Indian life as possible before it was completely lost. The perspective of salvage ethnology is common from the turn of the 20th century until the 1930's, and like historical particularism, it stemmed from the genius of Boas. The salvage ethnology paradigm presents the notion that it is up to science to preserve the remnants of dying aboriginal cultures (Berlo 1992: 3; Lucic and Bernstein 2008: 7). Salvage ethnography and its supporters, like Davis, felt that it was important to gather as much information as possible on cultures before they became

extinct through disease, assimilation, or acculturation due to expanding Euro-American cultures (Erickson and Murphy 2008: 95). As a hired collector, Davis had parameters placed on what types of goods to acquire, because Heye was very particular (Mason 1958: 18). As a friend and personal collector of ethnographic items from the Native communities that he had become acquainted with, he sought to salvage what he could of their culture. Davis felt honored to be able to place these ethnographic treasures in a secure place where they would survive through time (Quinn and Quinn 1965: 31). Despite good intentions, Davis' cultural salvage thought process serves as an example of the mainstream views that dominated the eras in which he collected.

### 5.11 Tourist Acquisition: Trains, Planes, and Automobiles, 1930-1960

The turn of the 20th century marked the major American Indian collecting boom. Through the promotion of the American West by the Fred Harvey Company and likewise, stemming from a popularly held belief in the vanishing Indian, an increase in railroad travel and tourism through the west occurred (Howard and Pardue 1996; Gordon and Herzog 1988). The fervor for collecting American Indian items by tourists between 1880 and 1915 is visible today in museum collections, and demonstrated by large quantities of various tourist items gathered from the Southwest and California (Dilworth 1996). Most scholars concur that the American Indian collecting craze was over by 1915, during World War I Americans were drawn more deeply into European and global concerns rather than the vanishing Indian and collecting tourist trinkets, thus ending the collecting boom (Gordon and Herzog 1988: 8). The acquisition of beaded capes is an anomaly however, and does not fit with this trend.

Of the River Yuman beaded capes housed in museum collections today, the acquisition of only twenty occurred between 1880 and 1920, with the other beaded capes dating from 1930 until 1980. The majority of the men and women gathering these items prior to 1930, can be considered as professional collectors, representing institutions such as the Chicago Field Museum, Arizona State Museum, or Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology. Tourism in the Southwest brought about several substantial changes in the production and sale of material culture, but tourist collection of beaded capes and other types of River Yuman items did not see a peak until after the 1930's, coinciding with the construction of dams, highways, and paved roads in the Lower Colorado River region.

Interestingly, the beadwork cape never experienced much success as an item designed for railroad tourist consumption because the cape was quite large and bulky, therefore not easy to pack. Additionally, the beaded cape requires a time consuming production sequence, known to take from three weeks to three months depending on the size and amount of attention that an artist is able to dedicate solely to beadwork. The time needed to make the beadwork cape in comparison with the purchase price that the average tourist would be willing to pay made the sale of beaded capes less than appealing to the maker. Therefore, the experience of the River Yuman groups differed greatly from many of the other tribes in California and the Southwest regarding railroad tourism, with greater tourist traffic occurring between 1930 and 1960.

With the construction of the first Ocean-to-Ocean Bridge in Yuma, Arizona in 1914, and the Historic Route 66 highway passing through Needles, California in 1930 on the way to the California coast, automobile tourism created many opportunities for the sale of Native goods on the side of the road, at motels, and near gasoline filling stations.

The Oakies of the Dust Bowl, the convoys of soldiers during World War II, and a post-war America on the move looking for excitement all passed through Needles, California during the hey-day of Route 66 (California Route 66 Preservation Association, Route 66 in Needles, California 2003).

An hour south of Needles, California, across the state line, the Parker Dam and Power Plant, the namesake of the nearest town, Parker, Arizona was constructed between 1934-1938 to control the unruly Colorado River (United States Bureau of Reclamation 2003: Parker Dam and Power Plant). Construction of the dam brought with it an influx of laborers and employment opportunities for Chemehuevi and Pipa Aha Macav men from the nearby Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation. Hydroelectric development on the Lower Colorado River is a story full of great tensions between patterns of exploitation and opportunity (Colombi 2010: 89). During the construction of the dam, the small town of Parker provided food, lodging, and other facilities for the construction and administrative employees working on federal projects along the Colorado River (Town of Parker 2013: Historical Perspective).

In 1937, a highway bridge was completed across the Colorado River connecting Arizona to California, and following World War II, tourists, sportsmen, and winter residents became attracted to Lake Havasu, a 45 mile long reservoir filling the valley behind the Parker Dam (Town of Parker 2013: Historical Perspective). The construction of the bridge and dam, and subsequent filling of Lake Havasu greatly contributed to the growth of tourism through the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation, creating a larger market for roadside crafts made by local River Yuman artisans.

New economic opportunities arose among the River Yuman communities with the increase in tourism, and permanent growth in residents and businesses in Parker, Yuma, and Needles. Some of the beaded capes in museum collections dating from the 1930's are represented by donations from tourists, such as Army Colonel John Hudson Poole and Caroline Boeing Poole in 1935, and psychologist, William Henry Burnham in 1938. The Poole's and Burnham presented beaded capes to the Autry National Center of the American West, formerly known as the Southwest Museum. Poole acquired a River Yuman beaded cape in 1932 while traveling (Catalog Number 648.G.137). Author of the Poole family history, Henri Bergson wrote:

> One of the biggest donations to the Southwest Museum was from Colonel John Hudson Poole who donated 2,500 baskets, collected by his wife Caroline. Beside baskets, Poole also donated a number of other Native artifacts, and the Poole family financed a new museum wing in 1942 that provided space for the exhibition and storage of the museum's basketry collection (Bergson 1911: Forward).

Later donations from the 1940's and 1950's include beaded capes acquired by residents of small towns near the River Yuman reservations like Parker and Yuma. A third beaded cape, also present within the collections at the Autry National Center of the American West (Catalog Number 149.G.94), was donated by Mrs. Rose Dougan in 1943. Mrs. Dougan acquired the cape from Mrs. Rosalie Black, a Quechan beadworker and mother of four, who had constructed the beaded cape for her daughter to wear in the August ceremonies, but sold it instead to make ends meet (Autry National Center of the American West, Collections Documentation 1943: 149.G.94). Corresponding with the

difficulties experienced by many people due to the Great Depression and Second World War, many items that otherwise would not have been parted with were sold due to desperation. The 1940's mark the beginning of a shift in beaded cape production, with River Yuman women making beaded capes in the traditional way for members of their family and community, but also manufacturing smaller, vertically netted choker-style necklaces for tourist consumption.

The Museum of Northern Arizona (MNA) contains a beaded cape (MNA E6780) acquired by Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Barth, of St. Johns Arizona from the J and J Trading Post near Holbrook, Arizona, quite distant from the River Yuman communities along the Lower Colorado River (MNA, Barth Accession File 1978: E6780). Their collection of American Indian items gathered between 1950 and 1970 is housed at the Museum of Northern Arizona and holds over 1,600 American Indian items from the Southwest, with a large portion of items considered tourist merchandise, including a River Yuman vertically netted beadwork watch fob.

Later collectors and their collecting practices came to include, the purchase and exchange of River Yuman items between institutions; a resurgence in active institutional collecting of artwork and fine art done by Native artists; and the donation of important types of cultural materials to museums by American Indian artists themselves. The late 1960's and 1970's gave rise to a renewed appreciation in crafts and folk art, facilitating a resurgence in the legitimacy and popularity of "primitive" art, therefore American Indian art quickly became a valued commodity again (Gordon and Herzog 1988: 11). The majority of beaded capes collected in the 1960's and 1970's are not the anonymous pieces of previous decades, with only a cultural affiliation as associated documentation.

Beaded capes and other American Indian goods began to display the artist's name, tribe, and other identifying information by the 1960's and later years. This move toward collecting with intent to understand the culture, maker, and community serves as an important marker of changing collections-formation processes and collecting practices.

## 5.12 Interpreting Outsider Collecting Practices and Motivations

Material culture collections are heavily skewed toward the theoretical orientation of the collector (Bernstein 1989: 12). A common perspective among the collectors of the late 19th century, such as Dorchester and Brown, revolved around Lewis Henry Morgan's cultural evolutionary scheme. Morgan envisioned human history as consisting of three major periods and levels within those periods; Lower Savagery, Middle Savagery, Upper Savagery, followed by Lower Barbarism, Middle Barbarism and Upper Barbarism, with Civilization as the pinnacle, all of the categories were defined by the cultures' technological innovations (Harris 2001: 181). Anthropologists of the late 19th century may have held some level of support for Morgan's cultural evolutionary scheme, but in later years, his theories were sharply criticized by anthropologists.

Material culture was so fundamental to the development of both anthropology and archaeology in the late 19th and early 20th century that it was often taken to "reflect" culture (Fowler 2010: 354-355). In this view, a given society could be seen simply as a sum of their material goods. By the turn of the 20th century, the theory of cultural evolution was displaced by the eugenics movement and Franz Boas' new cultural anthropology (Bieder 1986: 250). Kroeber and his contemporaries who had studied under Boas became proponents of historical particularism, documenting cultural elements,

culture histories, Native languages, and collecting American Indian material culture in bulk as an explanation of the past. Ethnographers were interested in reconstructing the past, thus it became necessary to collect anything possible from these people, as long as the items did not show any acculturated elements, but remained purely Native in their materials and manufacture (Bernstein 1989: 6). As discussed, beaded capes were seen as a recent addition to the River Yuman cultures, possessing both non-Native materials in combination with some Native elements, they were therefore deemed as exhibiting Western influence. This view provides a partial explanation for so few collected beaded cape specimens in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Anthropologist, Frederic Ward Putnam, of the Chicago Field Museum instructed collectors in 1893 that the most important things to be collected from American Indian groups are those of genuine Native manufacture, especially those objects connected with olden times, and the objects traded to the Natives by Whites are of no importance (Jacknis 1991: 99).

The desire to collect American Indian objects arose in part from the assumption that American Indians were a dying race (Dubin 2001: 18). The notion of the "vanishing Indian" was the driving force behind salvage ethnography (Seaburg 1994). Salvage ethnography is demonstrated by the practices of Ten Kate, Heye, and Davis and other mid-to-late 19th century collectors seeking to preserve as much of the past as possible, before the American Indian was completely assimilated. As the collection-formation processes of Davis illustrate, virtually every item that was available was collected under the guidance of Heye, and it was estimated that his collections would have filled completely one entire 12,000 square foot floor of the MAI (Quinn and Quinn 1965: 31).

Examination of the views and behaviors related to collectors of beaded capes and their collections-formation processes informs us about the ways in which the capes hold meaning for outsiders. For both Ten Kate and Kroeber a strong connection with the creativity and aesthetic properties displayed by the River Yuman beaded cape influenced their collection's-formation process. In contrast, Heye found the beaded cape to be of importance in future research and understanding of the totality of River Yuman culture. The collections-formation processes of Palmer and Brown are more mysterious since both men were predominantly interested in natural history and biology. Brown sought to gather all aspects of the history of American Indian cultures within state of Arizona, and randomly collected as many items representing the land, people, and history in the region as his budget would allow. For Brown, the beaded cape was symbolic in presenting the past, present, and future of Arizona.

The collections of American Indian goods amassed by Dorchester were haphazard, with many items entering into his possession as gifts, rather than careful selections of objects. Throughout Dorchester's collection of Native arts, there is an underlying theme present, focusing on crafts produced for Native economic self-support, and exemplary items demonstrating Native progress in assimilation efforts. The items donated to the Harvard Peabody Archaeology and Ethnology Museum reflect the views that Dorchester held throughout his career with regard to the progress and development of American Indians. The beaded capes in Dorchester's collection may not have held the same types of meaning that they held for other collectors, but they did symbolize progress and thus held meaning.

After reviewing the personal and professional aspects of a collector's life, a clearer understanding of their collecting practices, motivations, and collection-formation processes becomes apparent. Likewise, enabling researchers a glimpse of the ways that beaded capes hold meaning to outsiders. Knowledge of collections-formation processes is of vital importance for assessing the representativeness of any collection, and therefore its value in answering questions of anthropological significance (Fowler and Fowler 1996: 131). The relationship between people and things has been a central subject for the anthropological study of material culture since the 1920's (Miyazaki 2010: 246). Understanding these relationships can be difficult, especially when few written documents are available to assist.

While life in the field is an individual experience it is institutionally filtered, and it is extremely important to consider the roles of sponsoring institutions in differing historical contexts in accounting for the nature of fieldwork, as experienced and as reported (Hinsley 1983: 55). Euro-American collectors of River Yuman material culture came to the Lower Colorado River region with institutionally determined research questions and study goals, as was the custom for anthropologists of the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ centuries (Seaburg 1994: 254). Therefore, it is also important to consider the collector as a representative of the institution that supports them. Collectors like Davis and Kroeber who were sponsored by museums were faced with a host of criteria that governed their collecting process; each institution demanded certain types of goods. However, personal preference and individual perspectives determined what to collect and why in many instances. Ten Kate's background in fine art fueled his appreciation for objects of beauty, contributing to the fundamental differences between his American

Indian ethnographic collections and those of other collectors in the late 19th century. In contrast, Heye sought to form a research collection. Through examination of the processes by which these collections took shape, a better understanding of the materials in each collection and the behaviors of the collectors becomes apparent (Krech 1999).

# CHAPTER 6

# *HUNAKCH*: RIVER YUMAN VIEWS ON THE MEANING AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF BEADED CAPES

Expert beadworkers and beaded cape wearer's representing the Pipa Aha Macav of the Fort Mojave Tribe and Quechan of Fort Yuma Quechan Tribe of Yuma, Arizona shared their perspectives on the meaning and cultural significance of the *hunakch*, the Yuman term referring to the beaded cape. Elements of the beaded cape have been in existence among the River Yuman societies since time immemorial, while other components came from Euro-American introduction in the 1870's. Despite the combination of Native and non-Native elements the beaded cape has become a symbol of Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav female and ethnic identity, and is a source of pride in River Yuman cultural heritage.

Quoted from responses to interview questions, the following sections outline some of the views that beadworkers and women who wear beaded capes shared, relating to the cape's symbolism. Their responses covered topics on the production and wearing of the cape; the role it plays as a cultural marker; the meaning and symbolism of the object and designs; and cultural regulations surrounding beaded cape production. Beadworkers were asked if beaded capes and designs created in the past influence their own work today. The knowledge of beaded capes shared by Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan community members provides insight into the meaning and cultural significance that the beaded capes hold.

## 6.1 Designs and Symbolism

As a culture living along the Lower Colorado River since time immemorial, the blue and white seed beads brought by the Spanish represent a likeness of the sunlight glistening on the river. The netted beading enabled hundreds of glass beads to shine and move like water. The symbolism behind the beaded cape designs has been a source of debate for many years, with some scholars claiming that the designs mimic body art and tattoo motifs (McMullen 2005). Others favor the premise that the designs reflect pottery motifs (Furst 2001). With elements of the beaded cape tied to the natural world, it is important to understand if all of the beadwork cape designs draw inspiration from nature, or if there is different source of inspiration.

Consultation with Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan beadworkers sought to answer questions about design inspiration. The designs are unique to each family, but cannot be discussed in detail due to sensitivity. When asked about the process of choosing designs, and where inspiration comes from, the beadworkers responded with a variety of answers.

> *A beadworker from Fort Mojave explained that the designs in the beadwork are unique to each maker, but many times the designs reflect things from nature, like turtles, cottonwood leaves, and mountains. The beaded cape is beautiful, but also symbolic.*

> *My maternal grandmother was known for her beautiful Mojave beadwork, and I have a maternal great-uncle who was also a well-known*

*beadworker. This is where I receive my inspiration as a beadworker, noted a Pipa Aha Macav cultural expert and artist.*

*One Quechan beadworker of Diné descent explained: When I married my husband and came to learn these traditions. Thirty-eight years ago it was explained to me that Quechan beaded capes should always have diamonds and ribbons in the designs, that is the tradition, that is what makes the cape Quechan.*

*A female beadworker from Fort Mojave explained that the designs on the capes represent things we see every day around us, the triangular design reminds us of the mountains, the zig-zag line is the fish bone like on the pots, and other things like the river. The colors represent these things too, blue for water, reds or browns for earth and fire, there are many colors now.*

## 6.2 Past Styles as Inspiration

Previous studies have identified historic photographs, museum collections, rock art images, and archaeological materials as sources of inspiration for reviving older styles, designs, and traditions for a culture or tribe (Brody 1976; Dubin 2001; Wright 2000). Historic beaded capes that exist within museum collections share similarities with capes worn and created by Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan community members today.

Contemporary River Yuman beadworkers carefully examined the photographs of beaded capes from museum collections, taken throughout the research phase of the current study. When asked if past styles inspired their work, Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan beadworkers shared a variety of perspectives.

> *An Arizona Indian Living Treasure Awardee and expert Quechan beadworker explains that she has diverged from traditional bead colors like red, black, and white and includes shades of purple for the city people, but the beadwork designs are always based on the old patterns passed down through generations of Quechan women.*

> *Yes, definitely, looking at the old capes in the tribal museum and some websites helps me get ideas and figure out how to make the designs happen, stated a female beadworker from Fort Mojave.*

> *These necklaces are Pipa Aha Macav style because of the designs and the way that we make our stitches. The count on our stitches is different than the other groups, we have always done it this way, noted a Fort Mojave beadworker.*

## 6.3 *Hunakch* as Ethnic Identifier

Dress and adornment act as ethnic identifiers in many societies (Meisch 1998: 147). The beaded cape is one element of dress that serves as an identity marker for

Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav women. Through clothing and ornamentation, human beings are able to indicate age, marital status, class, ethnicity, sex differences, and a personal sense of style (Boswell 2006: 440). Since 1880, beaded capes have come to represent female identity among many cultures across the Southwestern United States and California, each culture has unique designs, patterns, and construction techniques that enable differentiation between groups.

When asked about the ways that beaded capes hold meaning for River Yuman women, beadworkers and other community members explained that the cape represents their culture and identity.

> *One Quechan beadworker stated: The beadwork is part of my formal attire. It is identification of who I am here in this world and into the next world.*

> *Wearing the cape in our royalty pageant symbolizes my heritage, our culture, and the past. For me personally it reminds me of my ancestors, and our tribal traditions, just like going barefoot and wearing the dress. These are things that remind me of who I am and where I come from, explained a young woman representing her Quechan heritage as a Native royalty titleholder.*

> *Beadwork has always been a part of my life for as long as I can remember, it is a vital connection to my family, my grandmother, my*

*daughters, my six granddaughters, and my great-great granddaughters to come, noted one Quechan beadworker.*

*A Fort Mojave artist explained the capes, the beads, they represents our past and struggles. The Spanish brought the first glass beads and we embraced the beads because of their beauty, beadwork has continued since then just like our people. We are still here.*

*When my Aunt and Uncle get me ready before I dance or go to a gathering, I know that the event is particularly meaningful when they get out the box with my Aunt and Great Grandmother's beaded cape. I feel, I guess, pride or special, to be wearing a treasure that connects me to my relatives.*

## 6.4 Learning to Produce the Cape

Many of the beadworkers and artists participating in this research told stories of their experiences learning to work with beads. The process of learning to do beadworking varies by person. Figure 6.1 illustrates the people who instructed each interviewed beadworker in the art of beading by percentile. Seven beadworkers from a total of fourteen received their initial instruction in beadwork by their mother, and three artists received instruction from their grandmother. Among the other categories that were mentioned, two beadworkers received instruction from their maternal Aunt. Others artists received instruction in traditional Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav arts later in life, by either a friend or Mother In-law.

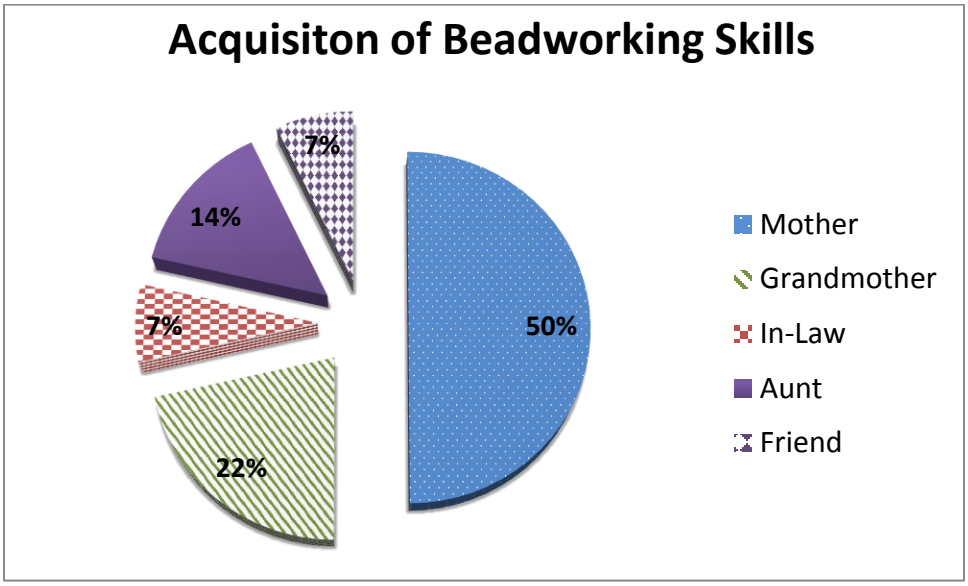


Figure 6.1 Acquisition of beadworking skills by instructor type.

Each beadworker agreed that learning to create the hunakch is a tedious process and a time-consuming activity. Many of the younger beaded cape wearers and beadworkers noted that they did not have access to an individual who could teach them how to construct the cape. When asked about learning to make beaded capes and the production sequence, the beadworkers who had knowledge of these aspects presented unique responses.

*One female beadworker from Fort Mojave stated: I learned to bead by taking apart an earring that my Grandma had given me as a template or a pattern. I learn by looking at things, it has always been like that for me. Learning is different for everyone, but for me I see it and learn to copy it*

*by looking at it. When I was about 12 years old my Grandma gave me a beaded cape to learn off of, that's when I learned how to bead the capes. A male beadworker from Fort Mojave explained the differences in beaded cape production between the Quechan and the Pipa Aha Macav. The Pipa Aha Macav make the cape so that it ends just below the shoulder, but the Quechan make their capes longer, past the shoulder to the middle of their arm.*

*A beadworker from Fort Mojave noted that you have to remember that everybody does it differently; everybody has their own design, their own color and symbol preferences, even different skill sets.*

*One Quechan female elder and expert beadworker said: It takes me one month to make a cape, but when I was younger, in my teens I could finish in seventeen days working day and night.*

*The traditional cape does not use a needle, we just use the string and beads on a loom. My boyfriend made me one out of a bookcase, so now I can string it up and make it the old way. It takes a long time, noted one Fort Mojave beadworker.*

*One Quechan artist states: The beadwork, the dancing, and the dress making have been my profession for the last twenty-four years. As I grew*

*up I have seen the elders living the same life style, and I thought I wanted to be just like them. I had no idea all that was involved but I have been willing to do it and stay with it and it has been an education.*

## 6.5 Social Norms and Cultural Regulations

Social norms and cultural regulations refer to the informal rules, norms, and customs established by a group that govern the activities, behaviors, and practices generally accepted by that group of people (Geertz 1973). The production of certain types of objects is gender specific in many cultures, with the enforcement of who can produce, and what can be produced falling under the jurisdiction of the community and their subsequent cultural regulations. In societies with a high and marked degree of sexual division of labor, there is little overlap between the activities of men and women; men would not perform female activities, nor would women attempt those of men (Parezo 1982: 125-126). There is also a tendency for the sex that uses an item to produce it (Murdock and Provost 1973: 212). The River Yuman societies exercised a great deal of flexibility with regard to gender roles, allowing for a more culturally acceptable crossover between genders in the production of various crafts (Devereux 1937; Forde 1931).

With regard to the beaded cape, an item traditionally worn and created by women, it was of interest to find information regarding the current cultural regulations regarding production. When asked if there are any cultural guidelines for beadworkers or beaded cape wearers several key points were explained.

*The traditions surrounding the beaded capes seem to be changing these days. Originally the capes were worn by married women only. We honor the old ways in our family, and I don't let my girls wear the cape until they are married, notes one Quechan beadworker.*

*One female beadworker from Fort Mojave explained that in the past women were generally the ones who made the beaded capes, but today some of the men do beadwork too, making beaded capes, or other little things like necklaces or key chains.*

*A beadworker from Fort Mojave explained that the designs of the Pipa Aha Macav are not to be used by other people who are not Mojave. These are our symbols and even though other groups have similar patterns we know our design differences, these represent us as Pipa Aha Macav.*

*An Arizona Indian Living Treasure Awardee and expert Quechan beadworker emphasizes the importance of working within the tradition of one's own tribe, you make your traditional tribal style so you know what the story is, and there is a story behind everything.*

6.6 Wearing the Cape

As an art form and a piece of ceremonial attire, the beaded cape holds both secular and non-secular roles among the River Yuman societies. The hunakch

holds multiple meanings relating to ethnic identity, gender, and cultural history. Native artists often create culturally significant materials specific to their own culture or belief systems, explaining that their need to acquire necessary materials for ceremonies or other events provides the foundation and interest in the types of materials that they produce (Dubin 2001; Wright 2000). Many of the beadworkers of Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav heritage do not wear the capes that they create, but sell those capes to others, and instead wear capes made by family members. The items made by family members hold greater meaning to the wearer.

Those who wear the beaded cape make a commitment to understanding the symbolism that their outfit displays. When asked if they wear a beaded cape at events or other gatherings, female beadworkers and community members presented their responses and reasons.

> *I sing and dance Bird at ceremonies and in competitions, and I always wear the bead capes made by my Aunt, noted one female beadworker from Fort Mojave.*

> *A cultural expert and artist from Fort Mojave noted that the beaded capes are worn at cultural events and powwows. The girls wear them at the royalty pageants pretty often, and of course, we wear the capes at ceremonies.*

*When wearing our beadwork in traditional colors, designed in our family images along with our certain technique, our relatives in this life know who we are. As we move into the next world, we wear our whole traditional attire and are acknowledged by family because of our wear, explains one Quechan/ Piipaash beadworker.*

*As a man, no I don't wear the cape, but I made beaded capes for my daughters. Men have their own types of beaded items that they wear, like the square-necklaces and sashes.*

*I don't sing or dance at these events (powwow), but I do when we have the ceremonies at the Big House (referring to the kar?ūk and ritual burning). I will wear the cape to those very important events, explained one Quechan beadworker from Tempe.*

Reflected in Figure 6.2 are the number of beadworkers and artists that make and sell traditional cultural materials both internally and externally, totaling to seventy-two percent of the interviewed artists. In contrast, Figure 6.2 also presents the number of beadworkers and artists that create beadwork or other cultural materials only for personal use, or gifting, but never for sale.

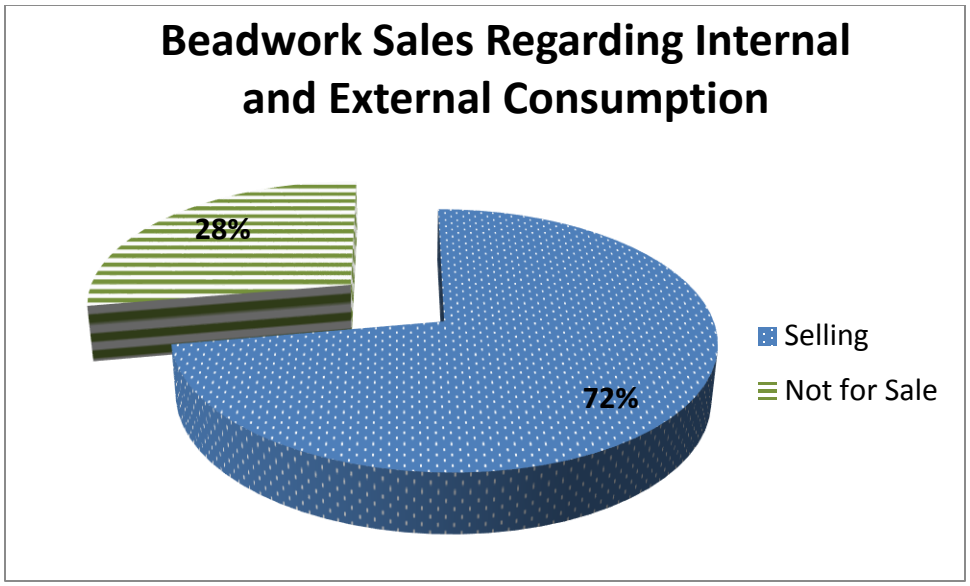


Figure 6.2 Percentage of Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav artists that sell traditional cultural materials in contrast with those that do not sell.

6.7 Changing Times and Styles

Respected Pipa Aha Macav elder, tribal singer, and artisan *Boudha Whev*, known by her English name as Henrietta Graves Peterson (Sherer 1965: 5), presented the Heard Museum with a beaded cape in 1964 (Heard Museum Catalog Number NA-SW-MH-J-36). Mrs. Peterson had a great interest in the preservation of the language, culture, and history of the Pipa Aha Macav, as demonstrated by her donation to the Heard Museum and her contributions to a number of ethnographic texts, such as *Clan Systems of the Fort Mojave Indians* (Sherer 1965). Elders, perceiving the rapidly changing world, were interested in preserving the "old ways" and often saw museums as a bank in which to deposit such knowledge, to be withdrawn later when the coming generations proved themselves worthy (Bernstein 1989: 11). The preservation of this example of a beaded cape serves as a prototype for those River Yuman members who may wish to use it as template and source of inspiration in the future. Mrs. Peterson had no way of knowing

that the skills needed to create the hunakch would be available fifty, sixty, or more years in the future.

Although the demand for the capes as part of the traditional dress remains high, there are few Mojave men and women willing to commit their energy and capital into this time-consuming process (Tsosie 1992: 46). These older styles and construction techniques are present to an extent within museum collections, but are limited within the communities. However, the tradition of creating beaded capes has persisted. Many traditional objects are still being made, but they incorporate both traditional and new types of materials and designs, and use colors that are either traditional or a matter of personal taste (Wright 2000: 215).

Figure 6.3 illustrates some of the color and form changes that Pipa Aha Macav beadworkers have embraced. When asked if the beadworkers and community members had noticed any changes in beadwork occurring over their lifetime, a variety of comments and concerns were voiced.

> *One beadworker from Fort Mojave explained that many of the younger people are not interested in the traditions and old ways, but some of them are interested in learning and so we make an effort to teach them.*

> *Not many people make the beaded capes anymore because it takes a lot of time and skill. I do beadwork, but I don't know how to make the capes, noted a female beadworker from Fort Mojave.*

*One Pipa Aha Macav female beadworker commented on the changing style, stating: Many of the beaded capes today are different from the old blue, white, and red ones, but like everything times and styles change. Some of them are bright colors, neon green, orange, sparkly beads, but it still means the same thing. You know, the dresses change colors too, but you can't have a cape without the dress and the shawl.*

*One Quechan beadworker explained that the new generations learned the old ways as times were changing. I worry that the new generation does not know exactly what traditions to carry on.*

The beaded cape as a cultural tradition continues to be a vital part of women's traditional attire, and serves as a marker of River Yuman identity. Innovation and change occur in American Indian cultures just as they do in popular American culture (Wright 2000: 217). The preservation of the cultural significance and meaning of the beaded cape remains the same, despite new production techniques, bead colors, and cape styles have changed substantially since their first appearance in the 1880's. Within a set of material resources, it is differences in technique, composition, color preference and combination, and motif, can simultaneously mark distinctions of culture groups, sex, age-set, region, ceremonial status and personal preference (Kratz and Pido 2000: 49). Many traditions alter or change slightly with time, and this is not to be considered the death of an art form, but simply its evolution with the changing views and life ways of a society. The cultural continuity associated with the development of the beaded cape as it came to be

known in the 1880's, now incorporates slight modification, and the addition of new elements.

Figure 6.3 Beadworker with beaded cape. Personal Photograph, August 2013.

Of concern for both Quechan and Pipa Aha Macav community members today, is the preservation and continuation of the skillset needed for the construction of beaded capes in the old style. In a published newspaper interview from 1993, an expert beadworker, and Arizona Indian Living Treasure Awardee from Fort Mojave, stated that she feared many of the secrets of the beautiful beads would pass away with her (Richards August 26, 1993: A1). This fear has been echoed by many of the beadworkers and artists interviewed as part of this study. Tsosie noted that in 1992 there were seventeen active

beadworkers on the Colorado River Indian Tribes Reservation and at Fort Mojave, yet only four had the knowledge and skill set to create the beaded capes, and only two were still actively making the beaded capes (Tsosie 1992: 46). From the interviews that took place during the course of this study, six beadworkers had the skill and knowledge of beaded cape construction in the style considered traditional dating from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Likewise, about eight to ten beadworkers had the knowledge and skills needed for beaded cape production using contemporary methods that include a needle and thread, or nylon cords.

The loss of expert beadworking skills is a problem, but efforts are being made to prevent a permanent loss of this important cultural tradition. Several cultural experts and elders are working to preserve their knowledge by instructing the younger generations. Expert Quechan/ Piipaash beadworker Yolanda Hart Stevens leads courses at the Heard American Indian Art museum in beading techniques (Doerflier 1991: C2) and supports art for the youth in her community (Stevens 2010). Steven's states, "It is important for me to realize and contribute my skill of beadwork; share the given knowledge and encourage my family and other young people to sustain the process" (Stevens 2009). In afterschool programs at elementary and high school levels near the Fort Yuma Quechan Reservation, Native teachers Ms. Lucia Duwaynie and Mr. Faron Owl teach classes in beadwork, dance, and the Quechan language (Roller Yuma Sun: Jan. 13, 2009). Instruction in beading techniques and explanation of the arts' cultural significance is being implemented so that the coming generations will have access to these skills and traditions. With efforts to promulgate traditional cultural arts, it would seem that cultural

preservation is heading in the right direction. Under these circumstances, traditional arts will prosper as an added dimension of group identity (Nahwooksy 1994: 90).

# CHAPTER 7

# BEADED CAPES AND ETHNIC IDENTITY: A TRADITION CONTINUES

Traditional River Yuman women's dress once referred to willow bark skirts, face and body paint, and beads of clay, shell, and later, many strands of Venetian glass beads. This was the customary female attire worn since time immemorial until the late 19th century. Today, the classification of traditional dress has come to include beadwork capes, calico shawls, and ribbon dresses in a variety of colors. An important consideration in the decision to wear traditional dress is the use of the outfit as an ethnic identifier at public events, both within and outside of the community (Tsosie 1992: 42). Since its initial creation by the River Yuman groups in the 1870's or 1880's, the beaded cape has continuously served as a marker of River Yuman gender and ethnic identity. This chapter examines the current role of beaded capes within River Yuman societies and presents some of the ways in which the capes continue to serve as markers of ethnic identity and symbols of cultural pride. Also present within this chapter, are the conclusions regarding insider and outsider views on the meaning and significance of the beaded cape.

## 7.1 Beaded Capes in the 21st Century

Today, beaded capes play an important role in defining River Yuman identity within public arenas, such as Native beauty pageants and powwows. In recent decades, the popularity of Native beauty pageants has grown among American Indian communities. The Fort Mojave Tribe has a beauty pageant each autumn, electing young

girls, tweens, and young adult women as cultural representatives to serve as liaisons from the tribe to the public. These young women attend various events, festivals, and other tribe's festivities and pageants. Younger Mojave women often wear the traditional dress and beaded cape when competing in American Indian beauty pageants to identify and distinguish themselves not only as Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav] but as "traditional Mojave [Pipa Aha Macav]" (Tsosie 1992: 42). Among Native beauty pageant contestants, the wearing of traditional cultural attire and adornment is the most notable difference from other types of beauty competitions. The role of the beaded cape as a marker of traditional Pipa Aha Macav identity reaffirms the assertion that the beadwork cape is a significant cultural item, representing River Yuman cultural pride. In Mayan beauty pageants, Indian queens are primarily elected on their aptitude for representing 'cultural authenticity' (Schackt 2005: 270). To compete as a beauty pageant contestant among the Pipa Aha Macav, a young woman must demonstrate both historical and cultural knowledge, and possess some level of Yuman linguistic competency. Beauty pageants and young girls speaking truths about their culture are not ancient traditions, but currently they serve as important arenas for the diffusion of consciousness and identity (Schackt 2005: 285).

In comparison, the powwow provides a venue for all ages and genders to display their heritage and cultural knowledge. A powwow by definition is an event where American Indians of many nations come together to celebrate their culture through the medium of music and dance, but it also represents a much more complex series of symbols and interactions that enable individuals to display and claim their heritage (Browner 2002: 1). Intertribal powwows held at various locations in California, Nevada, and along the Lower Colorado River bring together many members of the Yuman groups

that are to an extent, one big family, noted Roxanne Hunter (Personal Communication: March 10, 2014). Figure 7.1 presents an image of the diversity displayed by Xawiłł kwñchawaay, Quechan, and Pipa Aha Macav dress among the Native Royalty at the Native Hearts Powwow near Winterhaven, California in 2014. Local or tribally specific gatherings enable a more specific audience to read the meanings displayed by the beaded capes such as clan affiliation, mixed ethnicity, and home community. Among community members, the beaded capes assist in distinguishing specific details such as the artist or maker. In some cases, the beaded caped denotes an artist's lack of skill or knowledge through the use of mismatched or conflicting designs, or a poorly fitting cape that does not lay flat on the wearers' shoulders. In contrast, large-scale powwows provide a venue for the display of key cultural elements like ethnic identity, gender, and pride, visible through generalizable symbols like cultural attire. The beaded capes worn by River Yuman participants are less symbolic to those who are unaware of their deeper meaning, a premise reflected in the documentation of the beaded cape by outsiders who were never quite able grasp the complexity of the cape.

Anthropologist, Frederik Barth (1969) explains that ethnic groups who live in multicultural states develop markers, or signs of distinctiveness to separate themselves from others. As a people bordering two unique culture areas, the Southwest and California, the River Yuman people have found many ways to distinguish themselves from other surrounding groups through items such as the beaded capes that make visible a high level of group distinction. The construction, designs, patterns, colors, fit, and neck style of the Pipa Aha Macav, Quechan, and Xawiłł kwñchawaay beaded capes differ

from one another in several ways, subtle to those who are not familiar with the capes, but obvious to those who belong to the community.

Figure 7.1 Lower Colorado River Yuman Native Royalty welcome guests to Native Hearts Powwow 2014. Personal photograph, March 1, 2014, Winterhaven, California.

River Yuman men and women who live in the city, or off-reservation, often chose to reflect their ethnicity by wearing traditional dress with a contemporary twist in the color scheme, either based on personal preference or in some cases associated with colors used by Pan-Indian teachings, such as red, black, white, and yellow displayed by the medicine wheel. Traditional and non-traditional color combinations, diamonds, lines, triangles, linear bands, fringe, no fringe, coins on fringe, wearing a cape from one's family, and not wearing a cape at all; each of these elements symbolizes a different

cultural aspect. Details included in the construction of the beaded capes encode multiple layers of meaning, visible to all and interpreted differently by each society.

Powwows provide an opportunity to highlight the cultural and ceremonial knowledge of all ages through dances, demonstrations of cultural activities, singing, storytelling, and playing culturally specific games. The Powwow is often cited for its importance in contemporary Native life as a constituent of tribal and American Indian identity, and as a communicative arena in which common experiences help create and sustain a common ground of memory, experience, and identity (Mattern 1999: 129). The Native royalty pageant is a venue for young women to display their ethnicity and cultural knowledge, whereas the powwow serves as an outlet for all ages to represent their ethnic identity through clothing, singing, and dancing.

## 7.2 Explaining the Absence of Beaded Capes in Museum Collections

Museums play a large role in determining what is considered traditional or authentic, for producers as well as consumers (Dubin 2001: 83). The limited presence of capes within museum collections has prolonged the understanding that River Yuman beaded cape is a product of Western influence, and subsequently, devoid of meaning. The general absence of beaded capes within museums has deterred previous material culture studies on these items. Other deterrents for researching the beaded cape include the frequent mislabeling of cultural affiliation. Incorrect and incomplete documentation for many of the River Yuman beaded capes supports the basic assertion of this research, that outsiders frequently misinterpret the beaded cape.

Based on the late-adoption of this item as a part of River Yuman women's dress, and its incorporation of Euro-American elements, many collectors, researchers, and other non-Native visitors to the region saw this item as inauthentic or non-traditional. With knowledge of the pre-contact origin that the netted cape has, perhaps a more favorable view of the beaded cape as "traditional" or authentic will surface. The history of collecting bears witness to centuries of American, and European imagining, especially in the overwhelming professional and popular preference for racially, or culturally authentic goods (Dubin 2001: 83). In the past, outsider views of the beaded cape place it within the context of tainted by Western influence because of the style, function, and use of European glass beads; therefore, it is not seen as purely Native like pottery or weavings. Even in recent years, the desire to identify American Indian art as uncontaminated by Western influence exists within museums and art galleries around the world (Fisher 1992: 45). Minimal collecting of beaded capes relates to outsider views of the cape as a product of Western influence, but several other reasons assist in understanding the absence of beaded capes in museum collections. Explanations for the absence of these items includes the long-standing River Yuman practice of ritual burning at death, and the lack of access to beaded capes by non-Native collectors and visitors.

Cultural traditions such as ritual burning after death and the memorial burning or Kar?ūk, at the one year anniversary of a person's death are fundamental in defining River Yuman identity and are a major factor in the lack of River Yuman material culture housed within museum collections (Tsosie 1992; Furst 2001). Cultural regulations specify since time immemorial that all personal possessions must be destroyed at the time

of an individual's cremation. The following passage describes how the protocol for River Yuman cremations came to be established.

> Matavilye's passing was the first death in the world, and sorcery caused it. The People cremated his body and burned the Great Dark House to the ground. Matavilye's demise and subsequent immolation established the pattern for human death and funerals. The Mojave's later cremated all the adult dead and destroyed by fire virtually all the deceased's property, including their house (Furst 2001: 23).

Early ethnographers described the cremation ritual and made notes of the items and quantity of goods burned with the deceased. Alfred Kroeber wrote in his field notes while among the Mojave that "beaded capes, and items worn by women were burned with them when they died, but no specific funeral dress was worn" (Kroeber, Field Notes, 1904: 34). In a second example, Pat Magill's account of a Quechan kar?ūk from the 1930's is presented.

> As flames engulfed the images, treasures of the mourners were added to the pyre, as the mourning intensified the mourners dance and wail, they also remove parts of their clothing to toss on the pyre. Those who have not worn extra dresses have brought other gifts. Exquisite beaded berthas, belts, baskets, flutes and gourd rattles were ruthlessly tossed on the flames with much wailing. Men removed extra shirts, hats and those who had shoes threw them in the fire. The cost of all the clothing burned must amount to five or six hundred dollars, which is no small sum to raise when people are as poor as the Yumans (Magill 1930: 174).

The practice of ritual burning greatly diminished the availability of an excess of River Yuman material culture, making it difficult for outsiders to purchase a large number of ethnographic materials during a single visit, a different scenario than the ways that many other American Indian collections took shape. Personal items that were collected appear to have been purchased or traded for directly from living community members, as was the practice of Alfred Kroeber, Davis, Heye, Ten Kate, and others. Of all the collectors gathering River Yuman materials, Kroeber was able to accumulate the largest amount due to his frequent visits to Needles, California.

With regard to accessibility, we again turn to collections-formation processes and an analysis of the selection of materials while in the field. Museum collections, by necessity are a sampling of the larger whole that have been selected from the available objects in the field, and what we know of Native culture is greatly dependent upon which objects are chosen (Bernstein 1989: 2). Factors contributing to difficulties with the acquisition of beadwork capes may relate to gender difference, with males representing the majority of collectors in the late 19$^{th}$ and early 20$^{th}$ century, a time when predominately women were serving as both beadworker and beaded cape wearer. Interaction between Euro-American's and River Yuman women would have been difficult with regard to language barriers, and propriety would have restricted interactions governed by social norms. Of further difficulty is the concern expressed by River Yuman community members on permanent separation from their personal belongings, a threat to both their family's well-being, and their soul at the time of death if the destruction of personal property did not occur on the funerary pyre.

If River Yuman beaded capes were easily accessible then it would seem likely that more of the capes would appear in museum collections, rather than the void that exists. Bernstein supports the position that contact with Native people was no doubt difficult due to language barriers and the physical isolation of Indian settlements (Bernstein 1989: 11). Certainly, this is a relevant point with regard to small towns such as Parker, Arizona, and Winterhaven, California, as well as outlying settlements closer to Needles. Bernstein illustrates the problematic issues of accessibility in the acquisition of Pomo basketry near Ukiah, California.

> Primary collections of Pomoan basketry tend to focus on baskets produced by members of Pomoan groups living in the vicinity of the Anglo town of Ukiah, California, to which the train from San Francisco traveled. By comparison, we know little of Northern Pomo basketry, for travel to those communities was considerably more difficult (Bernstein 1989: 11).

The collection of American Indian items from towns predominately located along or near railroad lines in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is not a unique situation limited to the Pomo, but also greatly influenced the collection of River Yuman material culture, and the items of many other Native cultures. Southern Pacific Railroad lines ran directly through Yuma, Arizona, and also Needles, California as early as 1887 (Historical Map of Southern Pacific's Rail Lines 1869-1944). It is important to note that beaded items, pottery, and clay dolls were sold at the train station (Kroeber and Harner 1955: 2), but few beaded capes were purchased there. Actually, most beaded capes were acquired after an extended period of interaction with the community, such as the beaded capes collected by Ten Kate (1883); Kroeber (1908); Davis (1923); and Mrs. Dougan (1943). Based on

the ease of access provided by the railroad, Quechan or Pipa Aha Macav items dominate collections housing River Yuman materials, leaving historic examples of Xawiłł kwñchawaay material culture greatly underrepresented likely due to their distance from cities and railroads.

Contemporary opinions from River Yuman people vary with regard to the beaded capes housed within museum collections. Some people favor the presence of historic beadwork capes permanently housed within the safety of the museum. While others claim that River Yuman material culture is and always was intended for use among the community members only, and never for display or sale. Future research may find valuable a study of views from community members, regarding institutional decisions to display, repatriate, or restrict access to beaded capes and other River Yuman material culture items available within museum collections.

## 7.3 Conclusion

The beaded cape illustrates cultural continuity within American Indian traditional arts, bringing to light both positive and negative aspects of modernization and outsider influences. Continuity within culture depends on the innovation and creativity of artists who encode art with meanings, images, symbols, and designs that were meant to be passed on to future generations (Brascoupé 1994: 94). The beaded cape represents many things, most especially creativity and innovation. It has evolved through time due to changing styles, materials, techniques and colors, yet it continues to hold traditional meanings and symbolizes ethnic identity. The inescapable fact of individual design and creation of ornaments brings the personal side of ethnicity to mind (Kratz and Pido 2000:

45). The beaded cape, dancing, singing, pottery, beliefs, language, all these things together represent the heart of River Yuman culture and signify the cultural continuity that the communities along the Lower Colorado River have been able to preserve since Euro-American contact, reinforcing elements that have survived since time immemorial. The beaded cape demonstrates cultural continuity, which Barnet (1953; 1983) defines as the persistence of elements through time. By demonstrating the continuation of elements used since time immemorial, like the netted cape, and with the addition of new ideas grafted onto old ideas, the River Yuman beaded cape epitomizes continuity and cultural preservation through rapidly changing times.

The absence of the beaded cape within museum collections makes a statement about the perspectives of outsiders. Views of collectors and those of other outsiders noted the culturally significant River Yuman beadwork cape as less important than pottery, weaponry, and other cultural materials that were seen as purely Indigenous and untainted by Western influence. The introduction of glass beads to the Native cultures in the Southwest and California came via the Spanish in the 16$^{th}$ century, and other elements of the cape were brought to the River Yuman groups during the late 19$^{th}$ century. The tradition of wearing and creating the hunakch continues today. Subtle variations in designs, construction, netting technique, fringe styles, colors, and size serve as markers for distinguishing cultural heritage and define a woman's ethnic identity. Today, as it was in the past, the cape is encoded with multiple layers of meaning, and displays complex messages for those that are able to read them. For Pipa Aha Macav and Quechan community members who are able to decode the story that the beadwork tells, the hunakch represents family and personal history, community, ethnicity, and tells much

about the artist and wearer. For outsiders, the beaded cape may simply represent beauty and fine artistry.

Beaded capes hold meaning in many ways, to a variety of people, those who are of River Yuman ethnicity and those who are not. This research has presented the ways that the beaded capes hold meaning from the viewpoints of contemporary River Yuman men and women; the perspective of collectors, whether tourist, professional, or hired; and the views of beadworkers and beaded cape wearers. Each perspective places importance and meaning on the beaded cape in a different way. Non-River Yuman collectors found very different messages displayed by the beaded cape than the meanings ascribed by the makers and wearers. Heye's stated aim was to gather and preserve for students everything useful in illustrating and elucidating the history and anthropology of the aborigines of the Western hemisphere and to disseminate the knowledge gained by its research (Ganteaume 2010: 275). Ten Kate found the beaded capes beautiful and tedious in construction, and found value in their artistry. In contrast, Kroeber was very systematic in his collecting and was careful to gather items that represented all facets of non-Westernized River Yuman culture, from cradleboards to baskets. By his final collecting excursion to Fort Mojave in 1908, the beaded cape came to be included in the lot of acquired goods, finally having been accepted in Kroeber's view as an item of prominence and use among the River Yuman women. Kroeber's reluctance to gather items that were influenced in some way by Euro-American's attests to his theoretical background and desire to preserve the ways of the California cultures as they were prior to contact.

Of these three main collectors, and those highlighted in the fifth chapter, the reasons that collectors generally overlooked or were ambiguous to beaded capes have

become apparent. Some collectors found beauty in the beaded capes; others saw nothing more than an accessory stemming from Western origins, while other collectors were not even able to gain access to material culture items within the community. Of key importance is the fact that River Yuman traditions and cultural regulations greatly limited the availability of stockpiles of material culture, in turn limiting the amount of goods that collectors could buy, barter, or steal.

There has never been any doubt among River Yuman community members that beaded capes are meaningful and culturally significant, but to the untrained eye and the collectors preconceived notions of what River Yuman ethnographic items should look like, the delicate, finely constructed beadwork cape was too Westernized. Primitive items displayed in museums have influenced public perceptions of Native people for hundreds of years. As a significant piece of material culture used to display meaning through visual cues, the cape greatly surpasses previously recorded labels such as women's accessory; ladies personal adornment item, and of course, "jewelry".

The cape symbolizes something different for everyone. To the River Yuman groups the beaded cape ties them to the land, the river, their families, cultural heritage for the past, present and future. For non-Native collectors, the value of the beaded cape was its representation as an item of beauty, ingenuity, progress, and to an extent acculturation. The multiple perspectives associated with the beaded cape attest to the long standing uncertainty about beaded cape origins, the extent of western influence, and meaning beyond a piece of jewelry. For the people that wear and make the beaded cape it serves as a visual cue that the River Yuman communities are as fluid and dynamic as the Colorado River. Times change, people change, even the river has changed, but the old ways and

traditions endure just like the Pipa Aha Macav, and the Quechan. The tradition of wearing and creating the beaded cape will endure for many more generations, and will most likely continue to embrace new elements, colors, and forms but the symbolism and the meanings that it displays will continue to remain the same.

# APPENDIX A

# BEADED CAPE INVENTORY

| Catalog Number | Museum | Culture | Date Acquired | Collector |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 362-69 | Rijsmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands | Quechan | 1883 | Herman ten Kate |
| Unknown | Rijsmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands | Mohave | 1883 | Herman ten Kate |
| Unknown | Museum fur Volkerkunde Berlin-Dahlem, Germany | Quechan | 1884 | Jacobsen |
| Unknown | Museum für Völkerkunde der Stadt Freiburg im Breisgau | Mohave | 1884 | Rudolf Cronau |
| 44-40-10/27486 | Harvard Peabody Archaeology and Ethnology Museum | Mohave | 1889-1894 | Daniel Dorchester |
| 44-40-10/27487 | Harvard Peabody Archaeology and Ethnology Museum | Mohave | 1889-1894 | Daniel Dorchester |
| E-2868 | Arizona State Museum | Quechan | 1889 | Mrs. Lulu E. Carr |
| 17582.1 | Chicago Field Museum | Mohave | 1898 | George Dorsey |
| 17582.2 | Chicago Field Museum | Mohave | 1898 | George Dorsey |
| E-552 | Arizona State Museum | Quechan | c.1900 | Herbert Brown |
| E-553 | Arizona State Museum | Quechan | c. 1900 | Herbert Brown |
| 1985.46.4 | The Fralin University of Virginia Art Museum | Mohave | 1900 | Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Otis Odell III |
| 2009.1.9 | Portland Art Museum | Mohave | c.1900 | Elizabeth Cole Butler |
| Unknown | San Diego Museum of Man | Mohave | c.1900 | Unknown |
| Unknown | San Diego Museum of Man | Quechan | c.1900 | Unknown |
| E210954-0 | National Museum of Natural History | Mohave | 1901 | Mrs. Georgia Carr |
| 1-13868 | Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology | Mohave | 1908 | A. L. Kroeber |
| 1-13867 | Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology | Mohave | 1908 | A. L. Kroeber |
| 19/3804 | National Museum of the American Indian NMAI | Mohave | c. 1910 | William M. Fitzhugh |
| 236227 | National Museum of the American Indian NMAI | Mohave | 1911 | Byron Harvey III |
| 09/70 | National Museum of the American Indian NMAI | Mohave | 1919 | George Gustav Heye |
| 123146 | National Museum of the American Indian NMAI | Mohave | 1920 | Col. James F. Randlett |
| 120952 | National Museum of the American Indian NMAI | Quechan | 1923 | Edward Harvey Davis |
| AC.1932-01 | Denver Natural Science Museum | Mohave | 1932 | Unknown |
| 648. G. 137 | Autry National Center of the American West | Mohave | 1935 | Colonel John Hudson Poole |

| Catalog Number | Museum | Culture | Date Acquired | Collector |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 770.G.20 | Autry National Center of the American West | Quechan | 1938 | William H. Burnham |
| NA-SW-MH-J-85 | The Heard Museum | Mohave | 1930-1940 | Unknown |
| 70.64.11 | Maxwell Museum of Anthropology | Cocopah | 1940's | Unknown MM.B03. FLF1.a |
| 149.G.94 | Autry National Center of the American West | Quechan | Prior to 1943 | Gift of Ms. Rose Dougan, artist is Mrs. Black |
| 1936.102 | Denver Art Museum | Mohave | 1936 | Purchased from Chicago Field Museum 1936 |
| 1948.115 | Denver Art Museum | Mohave | 1948 | Gift from Altman Antiques, Los Angeles (Ralph Altman) |
| 1948.127 | Denver Art Museum | Mohave | 1948 | Purchase from Altman Antiques, Los Angeles (Ralph Altman) |
| E6780 | Museum of Northern Arizona | Mohave | 1950-1978 | Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Barth |
| NA-SW-MH-J-36 | The Heard Museum | Mohave | 1964 | Henrietta Graves Peterson |
| NA-SW-MH-J-15 | The Heard Museum | Mohave | 1965 | Purchased from artist at Parker Fair 3/20/1965 |
| Unknown | Colorado River Indian Tribes Museum (10 Bead Capes) | Mohave | 1900-1990 | *Total of 10 capes |
| E210954-0 | National Museum of Natural History | Mohave | 1970 | Michael Phillip Tsosie |
| 205BE | The Heard Museum | Mohave | Prior to 1970 | Mr. Richard L. Cleland |
| Unknown | San Bernardino County Museum | Mohave | ND | Unknown |
| Unknown | San Bernardino County Museum | Mohave | ND | Unknown |
| SAR 1994-4-247 | School of American Research | Mohave | 1970 | Rick Dillingham |
| SAR 1994-4-248 | School of American Research | Mohave | 1970 | Rick Dillingham |
| SAR 1994-4-250 | School of American Research | Mohave | 1970 | Rick Dillingham |
| SAR 1994-4-251 | School of American Research | Mohave | 1970 | Rick Dillingham |
| NA-SW-CP-J-15 | The Heard Museum | Quechan | 1980 | The Heard Museum |
| NA-SW-CP-J-10 | The Heard Museum | Quechan | 1980's | The Heard Museum |
| NA-SW-CP-J-11 | The Heard Museum | Quechan | 1980 | The Heard Museum |
| NA-SW-CP-J-5 | The Heard Museum | Quechan | 1980 | The Heard Museum |

# APPENDIX B

## INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

# Beadworker Interview Questions

1) Who taught you this skill, these techniques?

2) Please tell me about the designs that you choose, where does your inspiration come from?

3) Do you remember seeing capes worn by your mother, grandmother, etc.?

4) Do past styles inspire your own work?

5) Have you viewed beaded capes in museums?

6) In what ways do these beaded capes hold meaning for River Yuman women?

7) What do the beaded capes symbolize in your opinion?

8) Do you sell beaded capes? To whom?

9) Are there any cultural guidelines for beadworkers?

10) Are men allowed to create beaded capes? Are all women allowed to make capes, or are there family, age, or other restrictions?

11) What are some of the changes occurring in beadwork that you have seen in your lifetime?

12) In what context, or what occasions do you wear the beaded capes at today?

# APPENDIX C

## PHOTOGRAPH PERMISSION FORMS

PEABODY MUSEUM
*of* ARCHAEOLOGY & ETHNOLOGY
Harvard University, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 02138-2019

## Contract for Permission to Use or Publish Photographs

President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (hereinafter, "Peabody Museum - Harvard") supplies an image in the requested format for one-time use only and for the purpose listed in the attached, "Statement of Intended Use Form." Any additional use, such as on an end paper or dust jacket on a book or as any other advertisement constitutes a separate use and must be applied for in writing. Additionally, any subsequent edition reissue, translation, etc., in any medium constitutes reuse and must be applied for in writing. There is a reuse fee.

By signing below, the Requestor agrees to the following Terms and Conditions and Credit Guidelines:

**I hereby agree to the terms and conditions and credit guidelines set forth in the Peabody Museum - Harvard Contract for Permission to Use or Publish Photographs:**

**Requester signature** Katherine Brooks Date 1/28/2014

Invoice#14PA0140 KB (please initial)

Date 1/30/2014

Use Approved (Peabody Museum - Harvard authorized signature)

**Note: Countersigned permission form and invoice for use fees will be sent to the attention of the person requesting permission unless otherwise noted. Permission for use is not authorized until form has been countersigned by Peabody Museum - Harvard. Permission is contingent upon payment of all fees.**

PHOEBE A. HEARST
MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY

**University of California at Berkeley**
103 Kroeber Hall
Berkeley, CA 94720-3712
(510) 642-6842 • Fax: (510) 642-6271
email:aegbert@berkeley.edu • http://www.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu

**5. Permission**

The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley, grants the one-time, nonexclusive right to the undersigned Licensee to reproduce the materials indicated in this agreement for the usage indicated herein. The granting of rights for PAHMA materials is contingent on the payment of all fees. Payment in advance of publication or production of product is required. By signing this form, the Licensee confirms the accuracy of the above representations and agrees to comply with the terms of this document, and any additional terms attached to this form by PAHMA. If the request is approved, a fully executed copy of this agreement will be returned with an invoice and the materials for which the permission has been granted.

All reproductions must show the following credit:

X Copyright © Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California, Photography by _____, Catalogue No._____).

□ Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California Photography by _____, (Catalogue No._____).

*I have read and understood this agreement and accept its terms and conditions.*

Licensee (please print) Katherine Brooks

Title _____

Signature Katherine Brooks

Date 1-3-2014

*For Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley:*

ALICJA EGBERT

Media Collections Manager

Signature Alicja E. Egbert

Date 1/9/14

# APPENDIX D

# INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AND TRIBAL RESEARCH APPROVAL FORMS

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.

Human Subjects
Protection Program

1618 E. Helen St.
P.O. Box 245137
Tucson, AZ 85724-5137
Tel: (520) 626-6721
http://orcr.arizona.edu/hspp

**HSPP Correspondence Form**

**Investigator:** Katherine Brooks, PhD Candidate **Department:** American Indian Studies

**Advisor:** Richard Stoffle, PhD

**Project No./Title:** 13-0389 Interviews with Lower Colorado River Yuman Beadworkers Regarding Practice, Artistry and Technique

**Expiration Date: N/A**

**IRB Committee Information**

Administrative Action

**FWA Number:** FWA00004218 **Administrative Review – New Project**

**Documents Reviewed Concurrently**

F200 (signed 2013-05-22; revised 2013-06-12)

Consenting Instruments:

Informed Consent Form (version 2013-06-11)

F107 (version 2013-06-11)

Data Collection Instruments:

Interview Questions

Other (define):

CV Brooks

CRIT Research Code

**Determination**

**Approved** as submitted effective as of the signature date below

**Comments**

- **Research Site Authorization Requirement:** Clearance from official authorities for sites where research is to be conducted must be obtained prior to performance of this study at those sites. Evidence of this must be submitted to the HSPP office.

**Regulatory Determination(s)**

✓ **Exempt Approval 45 CFR 46.101(b)(2):** Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures or observation of public behavior.

Mariette Marsh

Digitally signed by Mariette Marsh
DN: cn=Mariette Marsh, o=HSPP, ou=Chair Designeee, email=marshm@email.arizona.edu, c=US
Date: 2013.06.14 16:21:26 -07'00'

Mariette Marsh, MPA, CIP Date
Assistant Director, University of Arizona IRB
MM:cb
cc: Scientific/Scholarly Reviewer
cc: Claudia Nelson, Director, Native Peoples Technical Institute
cc: Katherine Lehman, Department of Anthropology

**Reminders:** **No changes to a project may be made prior to IRB approval except to eliminate apparent immediate hazard to subjects.**

References Cited

Anza, Juan Bautista De
1776[1930] Diary of Juan Bautista de Anza, October 23, 1775- June 1, 1776. Herbert Eugene Bolton, trans. Electronic document, http://archive.org/stream/anzascalifornia e03bolt/anzascaliforniae03bolt_djvu.txt, accessed May 13, 2013.

Bal, Mieke
1994 Telling Objects: A Narrative Perspective on Collecting. *In* The Cultures of Collecting. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds. Pp. 97-115. London: Reaktion Books.

Barnett, Homer G.
1953 Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Barth, Fredrik
1969 Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference. London: Allen and Unwin.

Bee, Robert L.
1981 Crosscurrents along the Colorado: The Impact of Government Policy on the Quechan Indians. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Bee, Robert L., and Frank Porter
1989 The Yuma. New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishing.

Bergson, Henri
1911 Creative Evolution. New York, NY: Henry Holt and Co.

Berlo, Janet Catherine
1992 The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Bernstein, Bruce
1989 Ethnographic Museum Collections and Their Use by Anthropologists. Museum Anthropology 13(1): 2-17.

Bieder, Robert E.
1986 Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880: The Early Years of American Ethnology. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Boswell, Rosabelle
2006 Say What You Like: Dress, Identity and Heritage in Zanzibar. International Journal of Heritage Studies 12(5): 440-457.

Browner, Tara
2002 Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Powwow. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Burcaw, G. Ellis
1997 Introduction to Museum Work. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

California Route 66 Preservation Association
2003 Route 66 in Needles, California. http://www.cart66pf.org /Map/66east.html, accessed Feb. 2, 2014.

Carey, Margret
1998 Gender in African Beadwork. *In* Beads and Bead Makers: Gender, Material Culture, and Meaning. Lidia D. Sciama and Joanne B. Eicher, eds. Pp. 83-93. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic Press.

Champagne, Duane, ed.
1999 Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Chilisa, Bagele
2012 Indigenous Research Methodologies. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cochrane, Susan and Max Quanchi
2011 Hunting the Collectors. *In* Hunting the Collectors: Pacific Collections in Australian Museums, Art Galleries and Archives. Susan Cochrane and Max Quanchi, eds. Pp. 1-12. Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Coe, Ralph T.
2003 The Responsive Eye: Ralph T. Coe and the Collecting of American Indian Art. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Colombi, Benedict J.
2010 Indigenous Peoples, Large Dams, and Capital-intensive Energy Development: A View From the Lower Colorado River. In Indians and Energy: Exploitation and Opportunity in the American Southwest. Sherry L. Smith and Brian Frehner, eds. Pp. 89-110. Santa Fe: School of Advanced Research Press.

Conrad, David E.
1969 Whipple Expedition in Arizona, 1853-1854. Arizona and the West 11(2): 147-178.

Davis, Edward Harvey
1968 Yuma Koorook. Pacific Coast Archaeological Society Quarterly 4(1): 35-45.

De Williams, Anita Alvarez
1983 Cocopa. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest V. 10. William C. Sturtevant, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, volume ed. Pp. 99-112. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Densmore, Frances
1932 Yuman and Yaqui Music. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 110. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Devereux, George
1941 Mojave Beliefs Concerning Twins. American Anthropologist 43(4):573-592.
1948 Mojave Coyote Tales. Journal of American Folklore 61(241):233-255.

Dilworth, Leah
1996 Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Path. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Doerflier, Susan
1991 Artists Draw Bead on Traditional Craft. The Arizona Republic Thursday, Sept. 12: C2-C3.

Dubin, Margaret
2004 Collecting Native American Art in the Twenty-First Century. *In* First American Art: The Charles and Valerie Diker Collection of American Indian Art. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian. Bruce Bernstein and Gerald McMaster, eds. Pp. 15-25. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
2001 Native America Collected: The Culture of an Art World. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Eicher, Joanne and Barbara Sumberg
1995 World Fashion, Ethnic and National Dress. *In* Dress and Ethnicity. Joanne B. Eicher, ed. Pp. 295-306. Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd.

Erickson, Paul A. and Liam D. Murphy
2008 A History of Anthropological Theory. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fane, Diana, with Ira Jacknis, and Lise Breen
1991 The Language of Things: Stewart Cullin as Collector. *In* Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum. Diana Fane, Ira Jacknis and Lise Breen, eds. Pp. 13-28. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Fauntleroy, Gussie
2007 Beadwork: Artists from the Northern Plains to the Southwest. Native Peoples Magazine: 34-38.

Fisher, Jean
1992 In Search of the 'Inauthentic': Disturbing Signs in Contemporary Native American Art. Art Journal 51(3): 44-50.

Font, Pedro
2011[1775-1776] With Anza to California, 1775-1776: The Journal of Pedro Font, O.F.M. Alan K. Brown, trans. Norman, OK: Arthur H Clark Company.

Forde, C. Daryll
1931 Ethnography of the Yuma Indians. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 28(4): 83-278.

Fowler, Catherine S., and Don D. Fowler
1996 Formation Processes of Ethnographic Collections: Examples from the Great Basin of Western North America. *In* Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies. W. David Kingery, ed. Pp.129-144. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Furst, Jill Leslie
2001 Mojave Pottery, Mojave People: The Dillingham Collection of Mojave Ceramics. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Garcés, Fray Francisco
1900[1775-1776] On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, Missionary Priest, in His Travels through Sonora, Arizona, and California, 1775-1776. Elliot Coues, trans. New York, NY: Harper.

Geertz, Clifford
1973 The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Gifford, E.W.
1933 The Cocopah. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 31(5):257-333.

Gordon, Beverly and Melanie Herzog
1988 American Indian Art: The Collecting Experience. Exhibition Catalogue, Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 7-July 3. Madison, WI: The Regents of the University of Wisconsin System.

Green, Michael K.
1995 Issues in Native American Cultural Identity. New York, NY: Lang Publishing.

Halpern, A.M. with Amy Miller, and Margaret Langdon
1997 The Kar?ūk: Native Accounts of a Quechan Mourning Ceremony. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Harrington, John Peabody
1908 A Yuma Account of Origins. Journal of American Folklore 21(82):324-348

Harris, Marvin
2001[1968] The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories of Culture. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

Hilpert, Bruce E.
1996 The Colorado River Yumans: Relations on the River. *In* Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico. Thomas Sheridan and Nancy J. Parezo, eds. Pp. 213-236. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Hinton, Leanne
1984 The Mojaves. *In* Spirit Mountain: An Anthology of Yuman Story and Song. Leanne Hinton and Lucille J. Watahomigie, eds. Pp. 281-282. Tucson: Sun Tracks and The University of Arizona Press.

Hovens, Pieter, with Duane Anderson, Ted J. Brasser, and Laura N. K. van Broekhoven
2010 The ten Kate Collection 1882-1888: American Indian Material Culture. ERNAS Monographs, 4. Leiden, Netherlands: National Museum of Ethnology.

Howard, Kathleen L. and Diana F. Pardue.
1996 Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art. Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing.

Hutchinson, Elizabeth.
2011 The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hyman, Colette A.
2012 Dakota Women's Work: Creativity, Culture, and Exile. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Kaemlein, Wilma
1967 An Inventory of Southwestern American Indian Specimens in European Museums. Tucson: Arizona State Museum.

Kelly, William H.
1942 Cocopa Gentes. American Anthropologist 44: 675-691.

Kidwell, Clara Sue
1999 Every Last Dishcloth: The Prodigious Collecting of George Gustav Heye. *In* Collecting Native America, 1870-1960. Shepard Krech , and Barbara A. Hail, eds. Pp. 232-258. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kratz, Corinne, and Donna Pido
2000 Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Aesthetics in Massai and Okiek Beadwork. *In* Rethinking Pastoralism in Africa: Gender, Culture and the Myth of the Patriarchal Pastoralist. Dorothy Hodgson, ed. Pp. 43-71. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Krech, Shepard
1999 Introduction. *In* Collecting Native America, 1870-1960. Shepard Krech and Barbara A. Hail, eds. Pp. 1-24. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kroeber, Alfred L.
1902 Preliminary Sketch of the Mojave Indians. American Anthropologist 4: 276-285.
1940 Stimulus Diffusion. American Anthropologist 41: 1-20.
1976[1925] Handbook of the Indians of California. New York: Dover.

Kroeber, Alfred L. and Michael J. Harner
1955 Mojave Pottery. University of California Anthropological Records 16(1): 1-30.

Kroeber, Theodora
1970 Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kutavere, Inyo with Jack Jones, and Alfred L Kroeber
2002 In the Desert with Hipahipa (1902). *In* Surviving through the Days: Translations of Native California Stories and Songs, A California Indian Reader. Herbert W. Luthin, ed. Pp. 436-460. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lambert, A.
1859 The Ladies Complete Guide to Needlework and Embroidery. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers.

Lee, Molly
1999 Zest or Zeal? Sheldon Jackson and the Commodification of Native Art. *In* Collecting Native America, 1870-1960. Shepard Krech and Barbara A. Hail, eds. Pp. 25-42. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lentis, Marinella
2011 Art Education in American Indian Boarding Schools: Tool of Assimilation, Tool of Resistance. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of American Indian Studies, Tucson, University of Arizona.

Lomawaima, K. Tsianina
1996 Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898-1910: Politics, Curriculum and Land. Journal of American Indian Education 35(3): 5-32.

Mallory, Henry R.
1879 Colorado River Agency. *In* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879. Pp. 3-6. Washington, DC: Government Printing Agency.

Mattern, Mark
1999 The Powwow as a Public Arena for Negotiating Unity and Diversity in American Indian Life. *In* Contemporary Native American Cultural Issues. Duane Champagne, ed. Pp. 129-144. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

McMullen, Ann
2005 Beauty Surrounds Us. Exhibit Text, Case 4, Women's Accessories. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution National Museum of the American Indian.

McVaugh, Rogers
1956 Edward Palmer Plant Explorer of the American West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Meisch, Lynn A.
1998 Why Do They Like Red? Beads, Ethnicity and Gender in Ecuador. *In* Beads and Bead Makers: Gender, Material Culture, and Meaning. Lidia D. Sciama and Joanne B. Eicher, eds. Pp. 147-178. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic Press.

Moore, Ellen
2003 Navajo Beadwork: Architectures of Light. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Murdock, George P. and Catherina Provost
1973 Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. Ethnology 12: 203-205.

Nagel, Joane
1996 American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Nahwooksy, Fred
1994 Continuity and Change in Native Arts. Theme Issue, "Native American Expressive Culture," Akwe:kon Journal XI(3-4): 85-92.

Nelson, E.W.
1913 Obituary: Herbert Brown. The Condor 15(5): 186-187.

Orchard, William C.
1929 Native American Beadwork. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Packer, Rhonda
1994 Grace Nicholson: An Entrepreneur of Culture. Southern California Quarterly 76(3): 309-322.

Palmer, Edward
1870 Observations on the Mojave Indians. Manuscript 7510. National Anthropological Archives: Smithsonian Institution.

Parezo, Nancy J.
1982 Navajo Sandpaintings: The Importance of Sex Roles in Craft Production. American Indian Quarterly 6(1): 125-148.
1983 Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Act to Commercial Art. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Parezo, Nancy J., with Kelley A. Hays, and Barbara F. Silvac.
1987 The Mind's Road: Southwest Indian Women's Art. *In* The Desert Is No Lady: Southwestern Landscapes in Women's Writing and Art. Vera H. Norwood and Janice Monk, eds. Pp.146-173. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Pearce, Susan M.
1992 Museums, Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
1995 On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition. London: Routledge.

Penney, David W.
1991 Floral Decoration and Culture Change: A Historical Interpretation of Motivation. American Indian Culture and Research Journal 15(1): 53-77.

Phillips, Ruth B.
1998 Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Phillips, Ruth B. and Christopher B. Steiner
1999 Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Prucha, Francis Paul
1988 The Indians in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Quinn, Charles Russell and Elena Quinn
1965 Edward H. Davis and the Indians of the Southwest United States and Northwest Mexico. Downey, CA: Elena Quinn.

Raibmon, Paige
2005 Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth Century Northwest Coast. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Richards, Robin
1993 Rainbow of Colors Accentuates Traditional Art Form for Artisan. Kingman Daily Miner, August 26: A1

Ritter, Eric W.
2006 Historic Indian Contact at Laguna Guerrero Negro, Baja California. Papers on Culture Contact, Proceedings of the Society for California Archaeology 19:3-15.

Roller, William
2009 Group Aims to Boost Native American Graduation Rate. http://ndnnews.com/2009/01/group-aims-to-boost-native-american-graduation-rate/, accessed Jan. 28, 2014.

Rolston, Scott L.
2011 The Big Picture Man: Reflections on the Life and Thought of Alfred Louis Kroeber. New York, NY: iUniverse, Inc.

Rowe, John Howland
1961 A. L. Kroeber. The Teocentli 25: 1-3.

Ryerson, Scott H.
1976 Seri Ironwood Carving: An Economic View. *In* Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World. Nelson H. H Graburn, ed. Pp.119-136. Berkeley: University of California Press.

San Diego History Center
2014 About Edward H. Davis. http://www.sandiegohistory.org/aboutdavis, accessed November 3, 2013.

Schackt, Jon
2005 Mayahood Through Beauty: Indian Beauty Pageants in Guatemala. Bulletin of Latin American Research 24(3): 269–287.

Schlereth, Thomas J., ed.
1982 Material Culture Studies in America: 1876-1976. Nashville, TN: American Association of State and Local History Press.

Sciama, Lidia D., and Joanne B. Eicher
1998 Beads and Bead Makers: Gender, Material Culture, and Meaning. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic Press.

Scrivner, Fulsom Charles
1970 Mojave People. San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company.

Seaburg, William R.
1994 Collecting Culture: The Practice and Ideology of Salvage Ethnography in Western Oregon, 1877-1942. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Sherer, Lorraine M.
1994 Bitterness Road: The Mojave: 1604 to 1860. Ballena Press Anthropological Papers No. 41. Menlo Park, CA: Ballena Press.
1965 The Clan System of the Fort Mojave Indians. Los Angeles: The Historical Society of Southern California.

Sleeper-Smith, Susan
2009 Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Smithsonian Institution National Museum of Natural History
2011 Guide to Collections Records: Ethnology and Archaeology Collections. http://anthropology.si.edu/cm/collection_guide.htm, accessed June 21, 2011.

Spier, Leslie
1978[1933] Yuman Tribes of the Gila River. New York: Dover.

Stevens, Yolanda Hart
2010 Artist's Statement. http://www.solenationhealth.com/Yolanda-Hart-Stevens.html, accessed January 20, 2014.
2009 Yolanda Hart Stevens. http://asumapping.wordpress.com/maping-home/maping-artists-alumni/yolanda-stevens/, accessed Jan 10, 2014.

Steward, Julian H.
1962 Alfred L. Kroeber 1876-1960: A Biographical Memoir. Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences.

Stewart, Kenneth M.
1983 Mojave. *In* Handbook of North American Indians: Southwest V. 10. William C. Sturtevant, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, volume ed. Pp. 55-70. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Swentzell, Rina
1994 Accommodating the World: Cultural Tourism Among the Pueblos. Theme Issue, "Native American Expressive Culture," Akwe:kon Journal XI(3-4): 134-137.

Ten Kate, Herman Frederik Carel, and Pieter Hovens
1995[1888] Ten Kate's Hemenway Expedition Diary, 1887-1888. Journal of the Southwest 37(4): 635-700.

Thompson, Judy
2013 Women's Work, Women's Art: Nineteenth-Century Northern Athapaskan Clothing. Montréal, Quebec, Canada: McGill-Queens University Press.

Tice, Karin Elaine
1995 Kuna Crafts, Gender, and Global Economy. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Tisdale, Shelby J.
1997 Cocopah Identity and Cultural Survival: Indian Gaming and the Political Ecology of the Lower Colorado River Delta, 1850-1996. PhD dissertation, Department of American Indian Studies, University of Arizona.

Topping, Gary
1997 Gila Monsters and Red-Eyed Rattlesnakes: Don Maguire's Arizona Trading Expeditions, 1876-1879. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Town of Parker, Arizona
2013 Historical Perspective. http://www.townofparkerarizona.com/history.html, accessed Feb. 2, 2014.

Trennert, Robert A.
1982 And the Sword Will Give Way to the Spelling-book: Establishing the Phoenix Indian School. Journal of Arizona History 23(1): 35-58

Tsosie, Michael P.
1992 Historic Mojave Bead Capes. American Indian Art Magazine Winter: 36-49.

Underhill, Lonnie E. and Edward Palmer
1984 Dr. Edward Palmer's Experiences with the Arizona Volunteers 1865-1866. Arizona and the West 26(1): 43-68.

Union Pacific Railroad
ND Historical Map of Southern Pacific's Rail Lines, 1869-1944. http://www.up.com/aboutup/history/photos/historical_maps/index.htm, accessed November 1, 2012.

United States Bureau of Reclamation
2003 Parker Dam and Power Plant. http://www.usbr.gov/lc/region/pao/parker.html, accessed Feb. 2, 2014.

Venegas-Burriel, Miguel
1757 *Noticia de la California y de su Conquista Temporal, y Espiritual Hasta el Tiempo Presente*, Vol 3. Madrid, España: Viuda de Manuel Fernández.

Wallace, William J.
1947 The Dream in Mojave Life. Journal of American Folklore 60: 252-258.

Wallace, William J., and Edith S. Taylor
1947 Mojave Tattooing and Face-Painting. Southwest Museum Leaflets 20: 1-13.

Wilder, Carleton S.
1942 The Arizona State Museum History. Kiva 7: 26-29.

Wright, Cathy L.
2000 Contemporary Ute Artists: Revival and Innovation. *In* Ute Indian Arts and Culture: From Prehistory to the New Millennium. William Wroth, ed. Pp. 215-226. Colorado Springs, CO: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center.

Young, James O.
2008 Cultural Appropriation and the Arts. Malden, MA: Blackwell.