Collecting Hopi Plaque Baskets: A Study of the Influences of External Consumer Dynamics and Collector Preferences

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Abstract

Native American craft collections afford a unique opportunity to explore the dynamic relationship between Native cultures and external consumers. Among the many Native American crafts that appeal to consumers, Hopi plaque baskets present an unusual case. Unlike other crafts that are produced specifically for external consumption, plaque baskets continue to be used within Hopi society. As a result, researchers have argued that plaques have maintained many of their traditional designs and forms despite their entry into the consumer market. To examine the impact of external consumers on Hopi plaque production, as well as to discover what can be revealed about collectors' motivations, this study analyzed 24 Hopi plaques from the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology that were obtained by five different individuals or husband-wife pairs. The methodology for this study involved a determination of consumer-preferred attributes on each plaque as well as an analysis of collector motivations based upon both plaque attributes and collectors' backgrounds. The findings dispute researchers' claims that Hopi plaques consistently maintain their traditional designs and forms, since the majority of the plaques within the collection exhibit physical evidence of external consumer influence. In addition, the analysis reveals that, while many of the plaques collected by the individual or husband-wife pairs of collectors share similar themes and physical attributes, these themes and attributes vary in ways that reflect each collector's ideas of authentic crafts. While this study was limited to a small collection, the analysis provides a promising methodology for understanding external consumer influence on craft production as well as the motivations behind the collection of particular objects.

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Introduction

Native American crafts provide a valuable means by which to examine the dynamic relationship between Native cultures and external consumers that began in the late 19th century. The desires and demands of consumers often lead to an infusion of new ideas, materials, and techniques in the production of Native American crafts (Deitch 1989). As a result, many traditional crafts come to be designed and produced specifically for sale to external consumers who possess varied preconceptions about the cultural and aesthetic practices of "Indian" societies. Hopi plaque baskets – flat, perfectly round basket trays – offer a unique craft to study because, unlike other Native American crafts that are produced specifically for external consumption, plaque baskets continue to be used within Hopi society (Bassman 1997; Teiwes 1996). In this thesis, I analyze the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology collection of Hopi plaque baskets collected prior to the 1960s, to examine the ways in which external consumer preferences influenced their design, production, and ultimately their collection.

The Hopi Tribe, a sovereign nation located in northeastern Arizona, inhabits twelve villages located on or at the base of three mesas. According to Hopi oral traditions and the tribe's official website, since "time immemorial the Hopi people have lived in *Hopituskwa* [Hopi land] and have maintained [a] sacred covenant with *Maasaw*, the ancient caretaker of the earth, to live as peaceful and humble farmers respectful of the land and its resources."[1] Sharing clan ties and following many traditional practices, the Hopi pride themselves on having "managed to retain our culture, language and religion [to this day] despite influences from the outside world." They also produce a variety of crafts, ranging from jewelry and pottery to katsina dolls and

[1] Official Website of the Hopi Tribe: http://www.hopi-nsn.gov/

plaque baskets (Bassman 1997; Teiwes 1996).[2] However, while tourist demand has significantly impacted the production of jewelry, pottery, and katsina dolls, researchers argue that it has had much less of an impact on plaque baskets that are produced for external consumption (Mauldin 1984; Whiteford 1988; Deitch 1989). In this thesis, one of my main goals in looking at the collection of Hopi plaque baskets from the Museum of Anthropology is to gain greater insight into the validity of these researchers' claims.

The first section of this thesis offers a review of the literature on external consumers – tourists, collectors, and anthropologists – considering the broad theoretical questions about ideas of authenticity and the impact of commoditization on the production and consumption of Native American crafts. Next, I provide an overview of the function of plaque baskets within Hopi society and their changes in production since the 1870s. Following this discussion, I proceed with an analysis of the plaque baskets in the collection, focusing particularly upon evidence of external consumer influences and collectors' motivations that may suggest collecting preferences.

External Consumers and Native American Craft Production

Authenticity and commoditization are two analytical lenses through which scholars have examined the complex relationship between external consumers (i.e. tourists, collectors, and anthropologists) and the production of Native American crafts.

[2] Katsinas, called *tithu* in Hopi, represent the spirit essence of all things in the real world – such as plants, animals, other people, or forces of nature – and function as spiritual guardians of Hopi life (Finger & Finger 2006). The Hopi carve small katsina dolls with symbolic likenesses of these spirits as mediums of instruction for their children (Deitch 1989). Since katsinas are very recognizable icons of Hopi culture, katsina dolls also have great appeal for external consumers (Deitch 1989).

Authenticity and Native American Crafts

Authenticity, according to sociologist Erik Cohen, connotes a "quality of pre-modern life, and of cultural products produced prior to the penetration of modern Western influences" (1988: 375). Anthropologist Brian Spooner, in his study of authenticity in craft production (1986), suggests that consumers' demand for authenticity is driven by a desire for products that represent the differences of people from cultures other than their own. In addition, Spooner asserts that many of these consumers search for authenticity not only in craft products themselves, but also in the social and cultural conditions under which they were produced. However, authenticity is a concept that outsiders to cultures "carry with them in their heads," and one that is "probably never to be found in other times, places, or peoples…at least until the tourists arrive" (Graburn 1999: 351). As a socially and personally constructed concept, authenticity thus varies and changes based upon who is defining it and in what context it is being defined (Littrell et al. 1993).

Influenced by their background, the prior knowledge they bring with them to other cultures, and the experiences that they seek, tourists, collectors, and anthropologists have different conceptions of authentic crafts. Tourists – that is, sightseers, usually of the middle class, who travel throughout the world "in search of experience" – have a particular passion for authenticity (MacCannell 1976: 1). Escaping from the mass production and industrialization of modern society, they leave their homes to find "the pristine, the primitive, the natural" in other times and other places (Cohen 1988: 374). They tend to search for authenticity in "varying degrees of intensity" based upon the "degree of their alienation from modernity" and the extent to which they seek to experience different cultures (Goldberg 1983: 486). Thus, tourists who are less concerned with the authenticity of their purchase are more likely to accept an object as

"authentic" than tourists with stricter definitions of authenticity, who would be more likely to reject it as "contrived" (Cohen 1988: 376). In general, though, many middle class tourists who are temporary visitors to other cultures tend to have relaxed standards of authenticity (Lee 1999; Cohen 1988). As part of their travels, many such tourists purchase Native American-made crafts in limited quantities as souvenirs (Lee 1999). According to curator Molly Lee, in contrast to collectibles, souvenirs are "valuable only to those who buy them" since they serve as objects by which to remember particular people and places encountered on trips to unfamiliar locales (1999: 270). In addition, in purchasing craft souvenirs, many tourists look for "quality items" which fit in their luggage, are made of durable materials, and are moderately priced (Smith 1996: 295). In order to "immortalize the 'authentic Other,'" they also look for crafts that are made by Native Americans themselves (Lee 1999: 271). However, many of the crafts that tourists ultimately purchase are mass-produced, have little use to Native Americans other than as commodities, and are bought from non-Native curio dealers (Lee 1999).

Collectors of cultural artifacts or art, meanwhile, tend to have more narrowly defined standards of authentic crafts than tourists (Lee 1999). According to historian and anthropologist James Clifford, "good collectors" learn to "select, order, [and] classify [objects] in hierarchies," as well as to create collections that are "tasteful and reflective" (1988: 218-219). Their collections of objects also contain what they feel "deserves to be kept, remembered, and treasured" from the "material world at a given historical moment" (1988: 231; 221). Thus, in contrast to the tourists who purchase objects to commemorate their trips to exotic locales, collectors tend to be more systematic and discerning in their consumption of craft objects. For example, many artifact collectors tend to specifically look for crafts that use natural dyes, have complex designs, and/or are relatively scarce in production (Lee 1999; Bassman 1997). In

addition, many artifact collectors attempt to find traditional types of crafts, rather than those "faked after meretricious color, designs or shapes" (Washburn 1984: 60). Art collectors also value traditional craft objects (Cohen 1988). To them, authentic crafts are those which have been untouched by Western influence and the trade associated with commoditization (Cohen 1988). They also emphasize "uniqueness" and "individuality" in their purchases of art objects and are willing to pay high prices for objects of "known and distinguished authorship" (Cohodas 1999:151). In their purchases of such objects, many art collectors attain the status of being "persons of knowledge and taste gallantly engaged in the preservation of Native tradition" (Cohodas 1999:148).

Like collectors, anthropologists also have a more rigorous definition of authentic crafts than tourists (Cohen 1988). As people who devote time to living with, interacting with, and/or observing members of other cultures, anthropologists seek to "recapture the society and culture of the people with whom they study as these had been before the contaminating contact with the Western world" (Cohen 1988: 375). Accordingly, for them, authenticity refers to a "quality of pre-modern life" and to cultural products created prior to the influence of tourism (Cohen 1988: 375). In consuming craft objects, they thus emphasize cultural products that are handmade from natural materials and that represent traditional craft forms, rather than modern "hybrid" forms (Cohen 1988; Clifford 1988: 231). In addition, they stress the importance of obtaining such objects directly from their producers rather than from non-Native curio dealers or traders (Cohen 1988). Many anthropologists are also interested in objects used by or specifically made for use by local people within a particular culture (Lee 1999). Furthermore, in contrast to the tourists who are unfamiliar with the cultures that they are temporarily visiting, anthropologists possess the "professional attitude" and "critical capacity" necessary to decide whether the traits they are

using to determine the authenticity of craft objects are "genuine or false" (Cohen 1988: 377). Such conceptions of authenticity are not limited to the minds of anthropologists, collectors, or tourists, though, since many Native American artists take such views into account when producing their crafts for external audiences (Deitch 1989; Lee 1999).

Using a variety of designs and production strategies, Native American artists have responded to demands of external audiences for authentic crafts that reflect Native American cultures as they existed before the rise of modern industrialization (Cohodas 1999). Foremost among these is the production of craft items that suggest the revival of past art forms through the avoidance of innovation and change in style, design, or form (Cohodas 1999). For example, in Alaska, Native American basket weavers have often returned to earlier styles, designs, and natural dyes after years of disuse, in response to a desire of collectors for traditional, authentic basket forms (Lee 1999). The marketing of rugs by Navajo weavers has also been influenced by understandings of what collectors and tourists view as authentic (Deitch 1989; Webster 1996). For instance, "old pieces infused with the patina of by-gone years" have been marketed to affluent collectors in search of authentic rugs, while twentieth century rugs produced with traditional nineteenth-century designs have been marketed to tourists who "crave authenticity at a price they can afford" (Webster 1996: 428). Similarly, the demand of external audiences for authentic Pueblo pottery has inspired a revival of traditional pottery designs (Deitch 1989). Although pottery production had declined among the Pueblo peoples in the 1500s and 1600s, as trade goods brought by the Spanish and later Americans replaced the traditional storage and cooking pots, an increase in tourism to the Southwest in the early twentieth century created a demand for pottery pieces with classic, traditional pueblo pottery designs (Deitch 1989). Following this demand, archaeologists and museums helped reintroduce many traditional designs

to Pueblo peoples who had forgotten the designs or believed them to be lost (Deitch 1989). Since then, pottery pieces produced in traditional ways with traditional designs have continued to be popular among external consumers (Deitch 1989). As this pottery example illustrates along with the Navajo rugs and the baskets produced by the Alaska Natives, external demand for the authentic has inspired the reintroduction of traditional forms into many different types of crafts. However, the authenticity of such crafts is sometimes questioned, and debates abound about whether crafts that are produced for and sold to external consumers are authentic expressions of the culture in which they are produced (Ettawageshik 1999).

Since authenticity is a socially constructed concept, determining whether specific crafts are authentic is complicated and debated, with one's stance in the debate tending to be influenced by his or her position within society (Cohen 1988). Frank Ettawageshik, for example, provides an emic, or insider, perspective in this debate, since he is a Native American potter and a descendent of a family of Odawa artists and tourist art dealers. He argues that even with the changes brought to Native American craft production by outsiders, crafts that are produced for the market remain authentic, since to "question the authenticity of tourist art [would mean to] question the authenticity of those who make it" (Ettawageshik 1999: 28). He further goes on to argue that tourist art is a manifestation of the interactions between Native Americans and non-Native Americans and that both cultures have adapted to each other and that "each remains equally authentic" (Ettawageshik 1999: 29). In contrast, according to the etic, or outsider, perspective offered by philosophy professor Larry Shiner, "authentic" art is only that which is made by a member of a small-scale society in that society's traditional style, with the intended purpose being for use in a traditional social or religious function. Furthermore, "inauthentic" art is that which is intended specifically for sale (1994: 226). However, according to philosophy

professor Joseph Margolis (1983), although art that is produced for sale may be called inauthentic art, such art is not the same as "fake" art, since faking or forgery involves an intention to deceive the buyer, while inauthenticity does not. Thus, the most significant determinants of the authenticity or inauthenticity of craft objects are the specific context in which such objects are used and the determination by the consumer as to whether the objects are authentic, while the fact that an object is a fake is something that is tested in regards to its age, appearance, and use (Shiner 1994; Margolis 1983). Interestingly, the search for authenticity by consumers has led not only to the production of more fakes, but also to an increased level of detail in fakes, so as to make it more difficult to identify them from originals.

To help deal with the problem of non-Natives creating fake copies of Native designs and craft objects, the Council for Indigenous Arts and Culture (CIAC) was formed in 1998 with tribal representatives from the Hopi Nation, Navajo Nation, Zuni, and Jemez Pueblos representing the majority of its membership. According to the CIAC's website, the purpose of this organization is to "foster, develop and contribute to the support and understanding of authentic Native American arts, crafts, customs, traditions, and cultures" by providing services to Native communities, governments, artisans, and law enforcement agencies. [3] To this effect, the CIAC has created a pamphlet entitled "Which is Authentic Indian Handmade?" (2000) to educate consumers about the "misrepresentation of Indian arts and craft products" and to warn them about the sale of "any good in a manner that falsely suggests it is Indian produced." It also provides a series of recommendations for consumers as ways in which they can support the CIAC in protecting Native American arts and cultures. For example, it encourages consumers to ask producers about where the piece that they are purchasing was made and with what materials

[3] Website for the Council for Indigenous Arts and Culture: http://www.ciaccouncil.org/history.shtml

(i.e. what type of metal and/or stones) and to obtain a receipt for the purchase that includes the name, address, and tribal affiliation of the artist. These recommendations correlate well with my previous discussion of art collectors and what they value in the objects they collect, since they emphasize the "uniqueness" and "individuality" of art objects and are particularly attracted to objects of "known and distinguished authorship" (Cohodas 1999:151). The recommendations in this brochure, along with the creation of CIAC and the overarching concerns and debates regarding the authenticity of Native American crafts, also reflect the extent to which commoditization has influenced Native American crafts and culture.

The Commoditization of Native American Crafts

According to Cohen, local customs, rituals, and folk and ethnic arts become "touristic services or commodities as they come to be performed or produced for touristic consumption" (1988: 372). Because of the geographical and cultural gap that often separates producers from consumers, the local production of crafts for the market is significantly influenced by intermediaries (Cohen 1993). Such people inform producers of the needs, tastes, and aesthetic desires of external consumers and control the quality of products that are produced (Cohen 1993; Silverman 1999). As a result of this influence, many aspects of traditional craft production have evolved to meet the demands of external consumers (Cohen 1988).

In their production for external audiences, many Native American artists have adapted the materials, forms, designs, and colors of their crafts to accommodate external demands, desires, and expectations (Cohen 1993). For instance, many crafts have changed in size, frequently becoming smaller and easier to transport, but sometimes becoming "disproportionately enlarged" (Cohen 1993: 5). Meanwhile, some motifs and designs of crafts

have become simpler in response to preferences of consumers for subdued forms, while others have become more elaborate because of the availability of new materials and paints (Cohen 1993). The transition to production for external consumers has also brought trends toward both "standardization" and mass production as well as toward the opposing tendency for "individuation," as top artists have developed personal styles of craft production (Cohen 1993: 5; Modi 2001). Furthermore, as external demand has increased for crafts, many types of previously functional objects have changed into decorative items, while new kinds of functional objects have been produced in response to the needs and lifestyles of consumers (Cohen 1993). With the increase in tourism to the American Southwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many such trends in craft production impacted Southwestern Native American crafts produced for the consumer market (Deitch 1989).

The influence of commoditization on Southwestern Native American crafts is evident in the production of such art forms as jewelry, pottery, Hopi katsina dolls, Navajo sand paintings, and Navajo rugs (Deitch 1989). Although much of the jewelry produced by the Navajo and Pueblo peoples was originally made for use by Native peoples in ceremonial contexts or to display wealth, the demand of tourists for souvenir "trinkets" of "personal adornment" has brought changes to jewelry production (Deitch 1989: 228). For instance, a wider range of jewelry styles is now produced, including necklaces, rings, bracelets, and bola ties, and distinctive regional styles of jewelry have resulted from individual creativity and suggestions by traders (Deitch 1989). Moreover, the workmanship and designs of jewelry are of the "highest quality, conforming to traditional patterns, but with a greater degree of style" (Deitch 1989: 233).

Traditional styles and designs are also incorporated into Pueblo pottery produced for external consumers, as is a decrease in size from pieces of "utilitarian value" to small, easy-to-

transport pieces of "saleable value" (Deitch 1989: 229). Even sacred art forms such as Hopi katsina dolls and Navajo sand paintings have entered the tourist market, albeit with their full symbolism and meaning distorted (Deitch 1989).[4] In addition, many recent forms of Hopi katsina dolls depict a degree of motion, rather than "more traditional fixed stances" and also incorporate the use of bright paint colors made from store-bought acrylic paints (Deitch 1989: 233). The production of Navajo rugs has also been heavily influenced by traders and their understandings of consumers (Kent 1976). Such influence, for instance, has brought about a shift from the production of blankets to rugs, an increase in the quality of weaving, a revival of traditional nineteenth century designs and dyes, and the outlawing of "certain garish colors" (Kent 1976: 96). As evidenced by these crafts, commoditization has thus influenced Native American craft production of the Southwest in a number of different ways, from changes in size to elaborations of forms and colors.

The extent to which such commoditization is beneficial or detrimental to Southwestern Native American communities is debated. For example, Shelby Tisdale (1996) – Director of the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture and the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico – argues that by opening up the once-isolated Southwest for travel and exploitation, the railroad and tourism have revitalized Native American arts and crafts of the area. Accordingly, tourism has not only enabled Native Americans to participate in the larger monetary economy surrounding them, but has also reinforced pride in their local traditions and culture (Tisdale 1996). Similarly, cultural geography professor Lewis Deitch (1989) argues that rather than being disruptive, tourism has worked to extend local markets, thereby reviving old traditions (as in the

[4] For a more in-depth look at how Navajo sand painting has evolved from use in a religious to a commercial context, see Parezo (1983).

use of traditional designs in Navajo rugs produced for the consumer market), heightening productivity (as in the increase in Southwestern jewelry styles), and providing a source of local income. In contrast, tourists have sometimes become a "physical as well as a social burden" on Native American cultures, adversely impacting their local traditions and cultural products, while stimulating the loss of the "creative values of their traditional past" (Smith 1989: 11; Tisdale 1996: 457). However, according to Tisdale, many Native Americans realize that change has occurred and that there will be "no returning to a romanticized, mythical golden age" (1996: 457). As such, they have "set about finding new ways to take advantage of these changes while maintaining their own cultural identity and cultural values" (Tisdale 1996: 457).

The contemporary Hopi people, for instance, realize the importance of balancing the advantages and challenges of tourism in order to "improve our economy and safeguard our values and traditions" (Kooyohoema 2011: 1). Thus, while they understand the benefits that tourism brings to their villages – such as money, awareness, and opportunity – they also know that they must have rules to protect their traditional culture. An important feature of their culture and identity, for instance, is their religious independence and the maintenance of traditional lifestyles that support such independence, which some Hopi view as being detrimentally impacted by tourism (Arizona Tribal Tourism 2011). Accordingly, some villages are more open and welcoming to tourists than others and it is up to the villages themselves to decide whether their ceremonies are open to non-Hopi visitors (Sipaulovi Hopi Information Center 2009). If villages do decide to allow non-Hopi visitors to attend their ceremonies, it is considered proper ceremonial etiquette that visitors not approach kivas, ceremonial buildings, or Katsina resting places, so as to allow the Hopi to maintain their privacy in these important religious settings. In addition, non-Hopi visitors are not to ask questions of the Hopi people or talk during ceremonies,

since Hopi ceremonial knowledge is learned in stages based upon age and gender of the Hopi people. The ways in which the Hopi villages are managing tourism reveal that they are neither completely cut off from the outside world, nor fully open and accessible. Rather, they are working to find comfortable levels of interaction for both tourists and locals by developing tourism facilities compatible with village values (Arizona Tribal Tourism 2011).[5]

As illustrated by the above discussions, the relationship between external consumers – tourists, collectors, and anthropologists – and local Native American communities is complex and ever-changing. While the theoretical concepts of authenticity and commoditization reveal some insights into this complexity, the study of Native American crafts themselves presents a unique opportunity by which to examine the ways in which external consumer preferences have influenced their design, production, and ultimately their collection. In the remainder of this thesis, a collection of 24 Hopi plaque baskets from the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology informs my analysis of this relationship between external consumer influence and collector motivations.

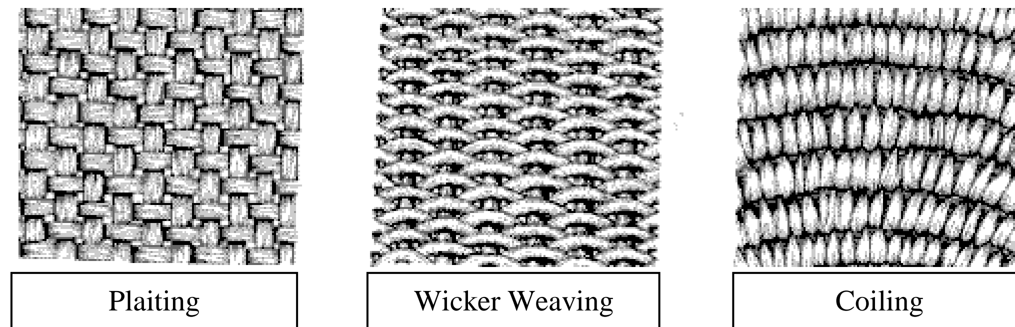
The Production and Function of Hopi Plaque Baskets

When constructing their baskets, female Hopi weavers use three distinct weaving techniques – plaiting, wicker weaving, and coiling (see *Figure 1*, page 20) (Teiwes 1996). In plaiting, the warp (the foundation) and the weft (the weaving elements) are usually of the same material and width and pass over and under each other at right angles, thereby creating a basket that is "flexible" or "semirigid" in construction (Teiwes 1996: 29). In wicker weaving, the weft

[5] As of March 2011, the Hopi people are in the process of reviewing and updating their current tourism policy so as to address important issues regarding visitors coming to their homelands (Arizona Tribal Tourism 2011).

– typically a more flexible fiber than the warp – is passed over and under the warp creating an "interlaced fabric" (Finger & Finger 2006: 41). Finally, in coiling, the warp – typically split yucca leaves, grasses, or twigs – provides the foundation around which the weft – commonly split yucca leaf – is wrapped into coils which are then stitched together (Teiwes 1996).

Figure 1: Hopi Basket Weaving Techniques[6]



Among the Hopi, specific mesas are associated with particular weaving techniques. Plaited baskets are made on all three mesas, while coiled baskets are produced on Second Mesa and wicker baskets on Third Mesa (Teiwes 1996). Wicker and coiled plaques are the most common form of basketry amongst the Hopi and play a significant role in the social interactions of Hopi families and clans (Teiwes 1996: 51).

The Hopi use plaques as ceremonial items in their rituals, as gifts to reaffirm ties between family and clan members, and as symbols for giving thanks and appreciation for favors or work done by the receiver of the plaques (Teiwes 1996; Finger & Finger 2006). Plaques play an especially significant role during Hopi weddings, in which they are used by the bride's family as "paybacks" to the groom's family for their gifts of foodstuffs and the bride's wedding outfit (Teiwes 1996: 52; Miller 1989). Small plaques are also given to infants at their first dance and are carried by boys to hold the *paaho* (prayer stick or prayer feather) during their initiation into

[6] *Figure 1* from Tanner (1976)

the Men's Societies (Finger & Finger 2006). Hopi girls, meanwhile, continue to receive ever-increasing sizes of baskets from the time they are infants until their initiation into the Katsina Society around the age of ten (Finger & Finger 2006). Girls then make their first baskets as part of their initiation into the Women's Societies about the time they are fourteen years old (Teiwes 1996; Finger & Finger 2006). During this initiation, girls stay in kivas for several days while they learn the techniques of basketmaking and other important cultural traditions from their godmothers (Teiwes 1996; Finger & Finger 2006). Following these days of "private kiva rites," two Women's Societies, the *Lalkont*, Lakon Society, and the *O'waqolt*, Owaqol Society, perform a public Basket Dance (Finger & Finger 2006: 56; Teiwes 1996; Fewkes 1899). At this dance, the dancers form a circle, sing, and hold plaques in front of them, which they move up and down while dancing (Finger & Finger 2006; Fewkes 1899). Members of the Women's Societies also throw gifts of foodstuffs and household items to their audience during and after their performances, with the most highly sought after items by the spectators being the plaques (Finger & Finger 2006; Fewkes 1899; Teiwes 1996). However, plaques are not only used within the everyday life and ceremonies of the Hopi, as they are also commodities valued by outside consumers (Finger & Finger 2006; Miller 1989). In turn, the production of plaques has been influenced by the market demands of consumers (Finger & Finger 2006; Miller 1989; Teiwes 1996).

Lured to the American Southwest by the expansion of the Santa Fe Railroad and the restaurants, hotels, and advertising of the Fred Harvey Company, visitors to the area increased exponentially after the 1880s, as people set out in search of the "romantic Southwest with its fascinating Native peoples" (Howard & Pardue 1996; Finger & Finger 2006: 58). During this time, many visitors trekked up to the Hopi Mesas in Northeastern Arizona, where they admired,

studied, and collected Hopi arts and crafts such as pottery, katsina dolls, and baskets (Finger & Finger 2006). Plaques collected from the 1870s to the early 1880s display a number of similar features, or so-called "traditional attributes," which include small size (less than 12 inches in diameter), subtle colors made with vegetal dyes, and geometric designs (Finger & Finger 2006: 58). From 1885 until the early 1900s plaques became larger and more colorful, with pictorial images such as birds, antelopes, and katsinas (Finger & Finger 2006; Whiteford 1988; Allen 1982). Such changes in production appear to have been influenced by external consumer demand relayed to the Hopi weavers primarily by the trader Thomas Varker Keam, who sold plaques to non-Native buyers at his trading post near First Mesa – Keams Canyon Trading Post (Finger & Finger 2006).

Around 1906, the production of plaques for external consumers – especially the wicker plaques from Third Mesa – declined in response to a number of different factors (Finger & Finger 2006). First, the opening of the Fred Harvey Company's Hopi House at the Grand Canyon, with its displays of Hopi crafts for sale, limited the number of visitors traveling to the Hopi Mesas to purchase such items first-hand (Finger & Finger 2006). Second, the transfer of ownership of Keams Canyon Trading Post to the Hubbell family in 1906 lessened the trading post's emphasis on Hopi basketry, since the Hubbells focused more on the marketing of Hopi pottery, Hopi katsina dolls, and Navajo textiles, with "seemingly little interest in Hopi basketry" (Finger & Finger 2006: 70). Third, the internal conflict caused by a clash of opinions over how to deal with the increasingly intrusive presence of non-Native outsiders and the ultimate split of residents at the Third Mesa village of Oraibi in 1906 caused Third Mesa to become "almost entirely closed to outsiders" and for their supply of plaques to slow to a "mere trickle" (Finger &

Finger 2006: 71).[7] From then until the 1930s, the interest of some of the Hopi weavers on Third Mesa in appealing to the tastes of non-Native consumers declined and they instead wove plaques for their own use within their society (Finger & Finger 2006). As a result, many wicker plaques produced from the 1910s to the 1930s tend to be of smaller sizes with less elaborate details and more subdued colors than those produced from the late 1880s to the early 1900s (Finger & Finger 2006). While coiled plaques continued to be produced and sold to external consumers during this time, the production of wicker plaques for sale was revitalized in the 1930s by art shows, such as the Museum of Northern Arizona's "Hopi Days," which started in 1933 (Finger & Finger 2006). With this revitalization has come an increased emphasis upon innovation and the use of bright aniline dyes to create bold, varied, elaborate, and detailed designs of katsinas and other geometrical shapes (Allen 1983; Tanner 1983). Most of the Hopi plaques that exist in museum collections today have been identified as dating from this era (Finger & Finger 2006).

Methodology Overview

To answer my questions about how the Hopi plaques in the Museum of Anthropology collection reflect external consumer influences and reveal differences in the motivations behind their collectors, the basis for my analysis proceeds as follows. I begin by summarizing changes in Hopi plaque production since the 1870s. Drawing from these trends, I then identify differences in consumer-preferred attributes – in this case, color, design motif, and size – evidenced by the plaques within the collection. Using this information as a guide, I follow with

[7] At Oraibi, the continuing tension created by the schism between the "friendlies" – those who wanted to act with the outside world – and the "hostiles" – those who did not – led to the Oraibi Split in 1906. This split resulted in the hostiles leaving Oraibi to found the village of Hotevilla and in the friendlies leaving to establish Kykotsmovi Village, sometimes called New Oraibi. One of the motivating factors in their establishment of Kykotsmovi may have been the trading post that was located there (Finger & Finger 2006; Whiteley 1988).

an analysis of variation in the collecting preferences and motivations behind the individuals whose plaques are in the collection. To do so, I rely heavily upon the background information provided in the museum accession records and files about each individual or husband-wife pair of collectors. It is my expectation that my analysis will reveal differences in the extent to which the plaques exhibit external consumer influence, varying by individual and his or her ideas of authentic Native crafts.

External Consumer Influence on Hopi Plaque Production

In analyzing the extent to which the Hopi plaques from the museum collection reflect external consumer influences, I begin by looking for various trends noted by researchers as to the influence of external demand on plaque production from the 1870s to the present. One of these trends is change in color, from subtle, natural colors made with vegetal dyes to vivid colors made with bright aniline dyes (Whiteford 1988; Allen 1982). This change to aniline dyes reflects not only their increased availability via trading posts and railroad networks, but also the fact that they were not as time-consuming or difficult to use as vegetal dyes (Whiteford 1988; Allen 1982; Teiwes 1996). In addition to color, design motifs of plaques have changed in response to external demand, from generalized geometric designs – such as flower petal or diamond patterns – to more detailed pictorial images – such as eagles, butterflies, and katsinas (Finger & Finger 2006). Sizes of the plaques also reflect external demand, since large (>12 inch) plaques have generally been in higher demand by consumers than small (<12 inch) plaques (Finger & Finger 2006). On the basis of these three categories of physical attributes – color, design motif, and size

– *Table 1* (below) presents a more in-depth look at the trends noted in Hopi plaque production since the 1870s.[8]

Table 1: Trends in Hopi Plaque Production, 1870s to Present

Time Period	**Color**	**Design Motif**	**Size**	**External Consumer Influence**
1870s - Early 1880s	Subtle colors; Vegetal Dyes	Traditional, generalized geometric designs	Small (<12 inches)	1870 – Earliest museum collection of plaques; Limited external influence
1885 - Early 1900s	Vivid colors; Multicolored plaques common	Pictorial imagery (i.e. birds, butterflies, katsinas)	Larger than earlier plaques	Changes initiated to appeal to external consumers; Consumer demand leads to katsina designs on plaques
1906 - 1930	Colors more subdued than plaques produced 1885-early 1900s	Less elaborate details; Pictorial images, including increased range of katsina designs and simplistic eagle forms	Smaller than plaques produced 1885-early 1900s	1906 Oraibi split influences sale of Third Mesa plaques; Third Mesa plaques collected from Hopi who favored interaction with outside world; Trading post at Kykotsmovi open
1930-Present	Bright aniline dyes on Third Mesa; Rims of wicker plaques white, black, or black and white; Natural colors still common on Second Mesa	Varied, elaborate, detailed designs; Range of designs; Eagle designs more detailed than earlier	Large plaques common; Average about 15-16 inches by mid-century	Growing external market for Hopi plaques encourages weavers to be innovative in plaque production and to increase use of bright colors and range of designs

Overall Analysis of Plaque Collection at Museum of Anthropology

Within the collection of 24 Hopi plaques at the Museum of Anthropology, the majority (17 or 71%) are wicker. As mentioned previously, wicker plaques are produced on Third Mesa (Teiwes 1996). Finger and Finger have suggested that "fewer Third Mesa wicker plaques are

[8] Based upon research by Judith Finger and Andrew Finger (2006) and Clara Lee Tanner (1983)

distributed commercially than Second Mesa coiled plaques" (2006: 97). Therefore, it is possible to theorize that a high proportion of the plaques in the overall collection were obtained in a location that was less commercially accessible. This high quantity of wicker plaques may also reflect individual collector preferences and motivations, as well as the possible collecting goals of the Museum of Anthropology.

In contrast to the preferences for the wicker production technique, *Table 2* (below) reveals a more evenly distributed difference in the color, design motif, and size of the plaques in the Museum of Anthropology collection.

Table 2: Physical Attributes of Plaques in Overall Collection

Physical Attribute		**N**	**%**
Color	Subtle	10	41.7
	Bright	14	58.3
Design Motif	Geometric	10	41.6
	Animal	6	25
	Katsina	8	33.3
Size	Small	14	58.3
	Large	10	41.7

As seen above, although the majority of the plaques in the overall collection have bright rather than subtle colors, there are also more small plaques than large plaques. This is interesting because according to *Table 1*, large size is frequently found in conjunction with bright colors. In terms of the design motifs of the plaques, the difference in number between geometric, animal, and katsina designs is too close to draw any definitive summations.

The coil and wicker plaques of the collection also display differences in consumer-preferred attributes. The wicker plaques show more evidence than the coil plaques of such commercial influences as bright colors, pictorial designs (animals or katsinas), and large size

(see *Table 3*, below). This is particularly intriguing in light of the above suggestion by Finger and Finger (2006) that there are fewer wicker plaques commercially distributed than coil plaques. These differences may be accounted for by the small size of the collection.

Table 3: Physical Attributes of Coil and Wicker Plaques in Collection

Physical Attribute		**n Coil**	**%**	**n Wicker**	**%**
Color	Subtle	6	60	4	40
	Bright	1	7.1	13	92.9
Design Motif	Geometric	5	50	5	50
	Animal	1	16.7	5	83.3
	Katsina	1	12.5	7	87.5
Size	Small	4	28.6	10	71.4
	Large	3	30	7	70

Analysis of External Consumer Influence on Hopi Plaques in Overall Collection

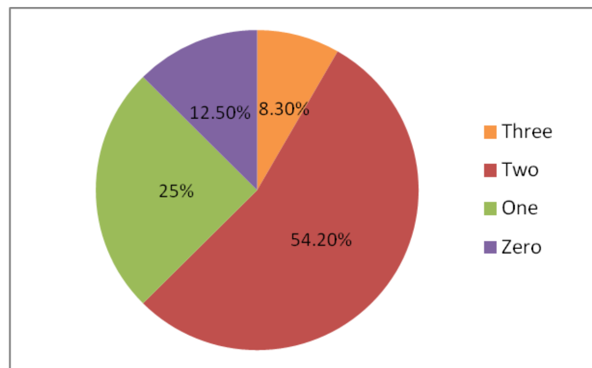
Drawing from this introductory summary of the overall plaque collection, the following section of this thesis delves into a deeper analysis of the physical attributes of the plaques, examining how different combinations of attributes shed light on the external consumer influences on the plaques. Based upon the above discussions of trends in Hopi plaque production and physical attributes of the overall plaque collection, *Table 4* (page 28) presents a breakdown of the plaques by the three attributes commonly preferred by external consumers – bright colors, pictorial designs, and large size. The shaded boxes indicate that a specific attribute appears on the plaque listed in the left-hand column.

Table 4: Consumer-Preferred Attributes of Hopi Plaques at Museum of Anthropology

Accession Number	**Collector**	**Bright Colors**	**Pictorial Designs**	**Large Size (> 12 in)**
89-9-1	Titiev			
89-9-2	Titiev			
89-9-3	Titiev			
89-9-4	Titiev			
89-9-5	Titiev			
89-9-6	Titiev			
23939	Wilbert Hinsdale			
2812	Wilbert Hinsdale			
5211	Estella Hinsdale			
5241	Estella Hinsdale			
24388	Brink			
24389	Brink			
24390	Brink			
24395	Brink			
24396	Brink			
25589	Corbusier			
25591	Corbusier			
25592	Corbusier			
25593	Corbusier			
25594	Corbusier			
25595	Corbusier			
25596	Corbusier			
3095 a	Riggs			
3095 b	Riggs			

Further breaking this data down, *Figure 2* (page 29) depicts the percentage of plaques that exhibit three, two, one, or zero consumer-preferred attributes.

Figure 2: Percentages of Consumer-Preferred Attributes of Plaques



Of the Hopi plaques in the collection, 87.5%, or 21 of 24, exhibit consumer-preferred attributes. However, only two of the 24 plaques exhibit all three attributes, and thus the most evidence of having been influenced by external consumer preferences. These two plaques are depicted in *Figures 3a* and *3b* below.[9]

Figure 3: Brightly Colored Plaques with Pictorial Designs and Large Sizes. Plaque *3a*, on the left, from Brink Collection (Acc. #24396); Plaque *3b*, on the right, from Corbusier Collection (Acc. #25596).

While both of these plaques have bright colors, pictorial designs, and large sizes, the designs depicted on them differ greatly. However, both designs are elaborately detailed and made with bright colors. For example, the plaque in *Figure 3a* depicts a detailed black-and-white eagle design against a bright green background, while the plaque in *Figure 3b* depicts a bright, multi-colored Shalako or Cloud Maiden katsina design against an undyed background (Finger & Finger 2006).

[9] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

Since bright colors, pictorial designs, and large size are the three attributes most commonly preferred by consumers, one would expect to find more than just these two plaques with evidence of all three attributes. The fact that only these two exhibit all three attributes, however, points to the possibility that perhaps some of the attributes are more preferred than others by the consumers whose plaques are within this collection.

Table 5: Plaques with Two Consumer-Preferred Attributes

Physical Attributes	**N**	**%**
Bright Colors and Large Size	6	46.2
Bright Colors and Pictorial Designs	6	46.2
Large Size and Pictorial Designs	1	7.6
TOTAL	13	100

Thirteen of the plaques in the collection exhibit two consumer-preferred attributes, with bright colors and large size or bright colors and pictorial designs being the most common combinations of attributes (*Table 5*). This suggests that when two consumer-preferred attributes are displayed by the plaques in the collection, one of these attributes is likely to be bright colors, since bright colors are paired with another attribute – pictorial designs or large size – in the majority (12 of 13 or 92.3%) of the plaques with two attributes.

Table 6: Plaques with One Consumer-Preferred Attribute

Physical Attribute	**N**	**%**
Bright Colors	0	0
Pictorial Designs	5	83.3
Large Size	1	16.7
TOTAL	6	100

This conclusion is further supported by *Table 6,* where all six of the plaques with one consumer-preferred attribute have either pictorial designs or large size, while none have only bright colors. Thus, when bright colors are exhibited by the plaques within this collection, these plaques always have another attribute – either pictorial designs, large size, or both – that reinforces their external consumer influence.

Analysis of Collector Motivations

My analysis next delves into differences between the plaques acquired and donated by individuals or husband-wife pairs, paying particular attention to what these individuals' collections reveal about their ideas of authentic crafts. Before beginning this aspect of my analysis, it is necessary to restate some important distinctions made previously regarding the collecting preferences of anthropologists, artifact collectors, and tourists. First, while anthropologists and artifact collectors tend to have strict definitions of authentic crafts and specifically look for traditional craft forms, tourists tend to be less concerned with the authenticity of their purchases, frequently buying moderately-priced souvenirs to remember people and places encountered on their trips (Lee 1999; Washburn 1984). Second, whereas anthropologists and artifact collectors value the ability to obtain their crafts directly from the producers of the crafts themselves, tourists are more likely to obtain their crafts from more commoditized settings, such as trading posts (Cohen 1988). With these distinctions in mind, it is now possible to analyze the variation in the 24 plaques in the museum collection based upon the background and potential motivations behind the five collectors – including three husband and wife pairs – who obtained them.

Dr. Mischa and Mrs. Estelle Titiev: Six of the Hopi plaques in the collection were collected in the 1930s and 1940s by Dr. Mischa and Mrs. Estelle Titiev. Anthropologist Mischa Titiev conducted field research amongst the Hopi of Old Oraibi, on Third Mesa, during a few field seasons between 1932 and 1966 (Titiev 1972). While residing in Old Oraibi from August 1933 to March 1934, he kept a day-to-day diary, which has since been published in *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity* (1972). In the preface to this book, Dr. Titiev makes reference to his wife, Estelle, stating that "I am forever indebted to my patient wife, Estelle, who, since 1937, has accompanied me on all my trips to Oraibi" (Titiev 1972: ix).

Dr. Titiev also makes several references to Hopi plaques and the Hopi Basket Dance both in this book and in his other ethnographic study of the Hopi at Old Oraibi – *Old Oraibi: A Study of the Hopi Indians of Third Mesa* (1944). For example, he states that: "When a brother's daughter reaches the time of her initial Powamu celebration, during the first February after her birth, her aunts all prepare tiny plaques for her as gifts.[10] With each succeeding year the size of the plaque is increased until the girl reaches her Katcina initiation" around age ten (Titiev 1944: 27). He also describes a Basket Dance he attends in 1933, in which "each woman motioned up and down with her plaque in time to the song" and then threw the plaques to the crowd at the end of the dance (Titiev 1972: 293). In addition, at the end of his book *The Hopi Indians of Old Oraibi: Change and Continuity*, as he is describing the changes that have taken place at Old Oraibi between his first visit in 1932 and his visits in the 1960s, he writes that: "As a seasonal activity toward the end of summer, most of Oraibi's women still make twined plaques, trays, or

[10] The Powamu is a February ritual aimed at promoting fertility and germination. During Powamu, the entire adult male Hopi population imitates the forced growing of crops, the Powamu chief appears in the role of *Muyingwa* – the principal God of germination – and maidens carry trays full of young plants into the village as evidence of the results associated with the Powamu. Large numbers of Katsinas appear at the Bean Dance that occurs during Powamu. The initiation of children into the Katsina cult accompanies the Powamu celebration (Titiev 1944). See also Voth (1901).

baskets…Painted designs are now made with purchased aniline dyes, and not with earthen or vegetable coloring materials" (1972: 332). However, it is unclear from Dr. Titiev's books and the museum accession records and files how Mischa and Estelle obtained the plaques that they did. Since they lived in the Hopi villages, though, it is possible that they could have purchased the plaques from the basketmakers directly or at a local trading post. Another possibility is that they may have been given some of the plaques by a Hopi person whom they knew well.[11]

Table 7: Physical Attributes of Plaques Collected by Dr. Mischa and Mrs. Estelle Titiev

Physical Attribute		**N**	**%**
Color	Subtle	5	83.3
	Bright	1	16.6
Design Motif	Geometric	4	66.7
	Animal	2	33.3
	Katsina	0	0
Size	Small	5	83.3
	Large	1	16.6

The Titiev collection is comprised of three coil plaques and three wicker plaques. While the three coil plaques in the collection have similar flower petal geometric designs and natural colors, the two collected in the 1940s (*Figures 4a* and *4b*, page 34) have both brown and black colors, while the one collected in the 1930s (*Figure 4c*) has only black. [12] All three flower petal designs are detailed and two of the coil plaques have attached hanging loops, supposedly for the purpose of hanging them as decoration.

[11] For complete listing of Titiev plaques, see *Table 12* in Appendix
[12] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

Figure 4: Plaques from Titiev Collection. Plaque 4*a*, on the left, (Acc. #89-9-1); Plaque *4b*, in the center, (Acc. #89-9-2); Plaque *4c*, on the right, (Acc. #89-9-3).

Of the three wicker plaques, two (*Figures 5a* and *5b*) have similar detailed eagle motifs, with black bodies and wings and white decoration on the tail feathers, eyes, and wing tips. Both of these eagle motifs are surrounded by colored backgrounds and white and tan alternating rectangles around the outside edge of the plaques.

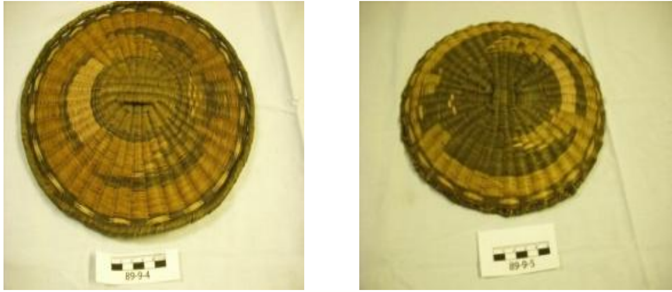


Figure 5: Plaques from Titiev Collection. Plaque *5a*, on the left, (Acc. #89-9-4); Plaque *5b*, on the right, (Acc. #89-9-5).

While five of the six Titiev plaques have subtle colors and small sizes, the plaque pictured in *Figure 6* (below) does not share either of these features. Rather, it has bright colors arranged in a series of concentric circles radiating out from the center and it is three inches larger than the next largest plaque in the group.

Figure 6: Plaque from Titiev Collection (Acc. #89-9-6).

As stated earlier, in looking for authentic Native crafts, anthropologists emphasize natural materials and traditional color, design, and production techniques, rather than crafts that show visible manifestations of external consumer influence (Cohen 1988). The anthropologist Mischa Titiev may have been motivated by many of these same desires. Accordingly, five out of the six plaques in the Titiev collection have traditional attributes – natural dyes and traditional colors and designs. Again, the only plaque that does not fit this theorization is the plaque in *Figure 6*, with its bright colors and large size. It is notable, though, that this plaque was collected in 1937 – the same year that Dr. Titiev states in his diary was the first year that his wife, Estelle, accompanied him on his trip to Old Oraibi. Based upon this, it can be inferred that this collection represents not only Dr. Titiev's ideas as an anthropologist, but also those of his wife, who may have been less influenced by anthropological ideas of the "traditional."

<u>Dr. Wilbert B. and Mrs. Estella Hinsdale:</u> Two of the Hopi plaques in the collection were collected by Dr. Wilbert Hinsdale prior to 1929 and two by his wife, Estella, prior to 1926. Although Dr. Hinsdale was Professor of Materia Medica, Therapeutics, and Clinical Medicine (later Internal Medicine) and dean of the Homeopathic Medical College at the University of Michigan, he had a "lifelong interest" in archaeology and donated many Native American artifacts to the Museum of Anthropology (University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology 2012). He was also given the honorary title of custodian in charge of the collections in Michigan Archaeology in 1922 and was named the Associate in Charge of the Great Lakes Division in 1931, after the establishment of the Museum of Anthropology. While in this position, he was responsible for the first systematic attempts to identify, organize, and record the prehistory of Michigan.

Of the plaques collected by Dr. Hinsdale, one was collected by him and "others" prior to 1928 and one by him and University of Michigan Anthropology Lecturer Dr. Julian Steward in 1929, as part of an expedition sponsored by the Museum of Anthropology. According to a 1934 letter written by Dr. Hinsdale, although he is "personally buying a few [Indian baskets] now and then," these are "not to gratify my own desire to possess them, but thinking I should be able to transfer the ownership to the university."

The two plaques collected by his wife Estella prior to 1926 were offered to the University of Michigan as a gift from Dr. Hinsdale in 1936 in memory of his wife. In a letter from Carl Guthe – the Director of the Museum of Anthropology – to the Honorable Board of Regents, Guthe states that: "The specimens demonstrate careful and judicious consideration on the part of Dr. and Mrs. Hinsdale during the period they were collected."[13]

Table 8: Physical Attributes of Plaques Collected by Dr. Wilbert and Mrs. Estella Hinsdale

Physical Attribute		**N Wilbert**	**%**		**N Estella**	**%**
Color	Subtle	2	100	Subtle	0	0
	Bright	0	0	Bright	2	100
Design Motif	Geometric	1	50	Geometric	1	50
	Animal	1	50	Animal	0	0
	Katsina	0	0	Katsina	1	50
Size	Small	1	50	Small	1	50
	Large	1	50	Large	1	50

Both Wilbert and Estella Hinsdale collected one large coil plaque and one small wicker plaque. As seen in *Figures 7a* and *7b* (page 37) both of their coiled plaques depict a geometric design with four points radiating out from the center of the plaque. [14]

[13] For complete listing of Hinsdale plaques, see *Table 13* in Appendix
[14] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

Figure 7: Plaques from Hinsdale Collection. Plaque *7a*, on the left, (Acc. #2812); Plaque *7b*, on the right, (Acc. #5241).

However, the coiled plaque collected by Dr. Hinsdale (*Figure 7a*) has subtle, natural colors, while that collected by his wife (*Figure 7b*) has brighter colors. The designs on their wicker plaques also differ, as the one collected by Dr. Hinsdale (*Figure 8a*) depicts an eagle motif in subtle colors, while the one collected by Estella depicts a brightly-colored katsina (*Figure 8b*).

Figure 8: Plaques from Hinsdale Collection. Plaque *8a*, on the left, (Acc. #23939); Plaque *8b*, on the right, (Acc. #5211).

According to Finger and Finger, eagles are "important to Hopi ceremonial life" (2006: 37). Perhaps Dr. Hinsdale, who was familiar with Native American cultures and objects from his work at the Museum of Anthropology, knew enough about the significance of the eagle in Hopi culture to purposefully obtain a plaque with an eagle design. The same could also be said, though, of the katsina depicted on the plaque collected by Estella, since katsinas are very important in Hopi culture and ceremonial life. However, the fact that both of Dr. Hinsdale's

plaques have subtle colors, while both of Estella's have bright colors leads to the suggestion that Dr. Hinsdale – who was collecting with the Museum of Anthropology in mind – was more concerned with obtaining objects with traditional attributes (particularly subtle, natural colors) than his wife. His motivations in collecting thus appear similar to those of Dr. Titiev, since both collectors were influenced by anthropological ideas of the traditional.

Earl B. Brink: Five of the plaques in the collection were donated by Earl B. Brink. Although the accession records do not specify who collected them – stating "unknown," how or why Brink obtained them, or Brink's level of familiarity with the Hopi culture, a note in the file on this collection states that they were collected during the 15 years before 1949. According to a letter in the file dated Feb. 10, 1949, Earl Brink was an insurance man during the late 1920s and 1930s with headquarters in Phoenix. During this time, he acquired a "considerable collection of archaeological material from what seems to me to be the Hohokan [sic] area and the intermediate zone to the north" (Letter 1949). He put his collection up for sale on February 1, 1949, and it was acquired by the University of Michigan in March for the purposes of "research, exhibition, and instructional use" (Letter 1949). [15]

Table 9: Physical Attributes of Plaques Donated by Earl Brink

Physical Attribute		**N**	**%**
Color	Subtle	1	20
	Bright	4	80
Design Motif	Geometric	2	40
	Animal	2	40
	Katsina	1	20
Size	Small	1	20
	Large	4	80

[15] For complete listing of Brink plaques, see *Table 14* in Appendix

The plaques in the Brink collection share many similar attributes. For example, four out of the five plaques are large in size (approximately 13 inches for all four of these). Even the plaque that is the smallest of the group (that which is pictured in *Figure 10a*) is 11.8 inches, which is at the very upper end of the size limit for the "small" plaques. In addition, four out of the five plaques are wicker and all of these wicker plaques have bright colors.

Two of the wicker plaques in the collection (*Figures 9a* and *9b*) depict similar double spiral designs with two spirals coming from the edge and meeting in the center of the plaque. [16]

Figure 9: Plaques from Brink Collection. Plaque *9a*, on the left, (Acc. #24388); Plaque *9b*, on the right, (Acc. #24390).

The other two wicker plaques have animal motifs, one of which is a blue butterfly (*Figure 10a*) and the other of which is an eagle (*Figure 10b*). In contrast to the eagles depicted on the Titiev plaques, though, this eagle is more detailed, perhaps pointing to a preference by Brink in collecting plaques with striking, detailed designs.

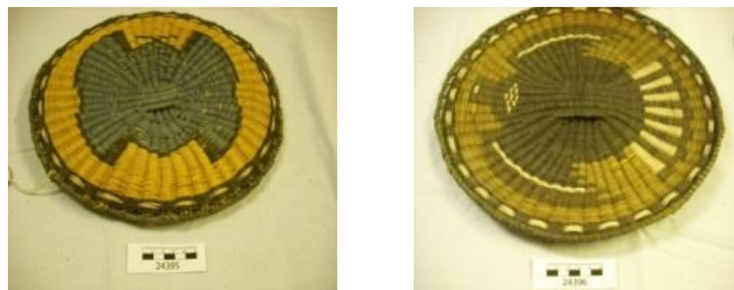


Figure 10: Plaques from Brink Collection. Plaque *10a*, on the left, (Acc. #24395); Plaque *10b*, on the right, (Acc. #24396).

[16] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

The only coiled plaque of the group depicts a Crow Mother katsina image (*Figure 11*) made with black and red dyes against a natural background.

Figure 11: Plaque from Brink Collection (Acc. #24389).

While the designs of these plaques differ, they are all similar in that they are very detailed and have a striking image depicted against a subtle background. Based upon the similarities in the level of detail, bright colors, and large size of these plaques, it can be proposed that Earl Brink was collecting them more for decorative purposes than with the aim of specifically collecting objects with traditional attributes, like Dr. Titiev and Dr. Hinsdale. In addition, since all of these plaques share a common theme – detailed, striking designs – it can be concluded that perhaps what he felt "deserves to be kept, remembered, and treasured" from the "material world at a given historical moment" were plaques with eye-catching design motifs (Cohen 1988: 231; 221). The extent to which his plaques exhibit the attributes most highly demanded and preferred by consumers also points to a potential location at which he may have obtained them – a trading post off the Hopi Mesas, which would have been catering to consumer demands.

<u>Dr. Harold D. and Mrs. Louise Corbusier:</u> Seven of the plaques in the collection were collected by Dr. Harold D. and Mrs. Louise Corbusier. According to the accession file for this collection, both of the Corbusiers were part of the University of Michigan Class of 1899. After graduating,

Dr. Corbusier served as an army medical officer and later as an instructor in orthopedic surgery at Post-Graduate Hospital in New York (Grant County Obituary Text). He was also the son of a medical officer in the U.S. army – Colonel William Corbusier – who was stationed throughout Indian Territory from the Civil War until the 1890s and who took part in various Indian campaigns, especially against the Apache of northern Arizona (among whom he was stationed shortly after Harold was born), the Cheyenne, and the Sioux.

As stated in a letter written by the donor of the plaques – the daughter of Harold and Louise Corbusier – the collection was made before her father's death, "ten years before." This would imply that the collection was made before 1950, the year of Harold's death (Grant County Obituary Text). They were donated to the Museum of Anthropology after Louise's death in 1966.

According to the Corbusiers' daughter's obituary from 2006, she and her parents lived in both Plainfield, New Jersey, and Santa Fe, New Mexico (*The New York Times*, 10 December 2006). Perhaps these plaques were collected while Harold and Louise Corbusier were residing in Santa Fe. While it is unclear from the accession records and files if the Corbusiers' actually visited the Hopi Mesas during their lifetimes, it can be inferred that they were interested both in Hopi culture and in the American Southwest since they also donated a large collection of Hopi katsina dolls and southwestern pottery to the Museum of Anthropology along with the Hopi plaques.[17]

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[17] For complete listing of Corbusier plaques, see *Table 15* in Appendix

Table 10: Physical Attributes of Plaques Collected by Dr. Harold and Mrs. Louise Corbusier

Physical Attribute		**N**	**%**
Color	Subtle	2	28.6
	Bright	5	71.4
Design Motif	Geometric	0	0
	Animal	1	14.3
	Katsina	6	85.7
Size	Small	6	85.7
	Large	1	14.3

Of the seven plaques in the Corbusier collection, six are wicker. All six of these wicker plaques depict katsina designs, five of which are made with bright colors (*Figures 12a*, *12b*, *12c*, *13a*, and *13b*).[18]

Figure 12: Plaques from Corbusier Collection. Plaque *12a*, on the right, (Acc. #25591); Plaque *12b*, in the center, (Acc. #25592); Plaque *12c*, on the left, (Acc. #25593).

Figure 13: Plaques from Corbusier Collection. Plaque *13a*, on the left, (Acc. #25595); Plaque *13b*, on the right, (Acc. #25596).

[18] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

One of the Corbusiers' katsina plaques (*Figure 14*) does not fit in with these other five in the collection. Whereas these five have bright colors and range from about 10-13 inches in size, the plaque in *Figure 14* has subtle, natural colors and is only 5.5 inches in size. In addition, the coiled edge around it is worn, whereas the other five katsina plaques have solid coiled edges.

Figure 14: Plaque from Corbusier Collection (Acc. #25594).

Based upon its worn edge and subtle colors, it appears to be older than the other plaques in the collection, although none of the dates are specified for when any of these plaques were made or collected. According to Finger and Finger, smaller plaques, around six-eight inches in diameter, were oftentimes made as "children's gifts" (2006: 69). Perhaps that was the case for this plaque. However, it is difficult to prove anything beyond the fact that it is an anomaly from the rest of the plaques in the Corbusier collection.

The only plaque of this group that does not depict a katsina is a coiled plaque with an eagle motif (*Figure 15*). The detail of this eagle and the hanging loop attached to the top of the plaque both point to the possibility that this plaque may have been used for decorative hanging purposes.

Figure 15: Plaque from Corbusier Collection (Acc. #25589).

As to the motivations behind the Corbusiers' in obtaining these plaques, it is clear that they were particularly attracted to katsina designs, since six out of the seven plaques in their collection have this design and since they also amassed a large collection of katsina dolls, which they later donated to the museum. Perhaps they collected these plaques and dolls as physical reminders of katsina dances they had seen, or maybe they collected them because they viewed the katsina as an iconic image of the Hopi people and culture. While it is not specified why these plaques with katsina designs were collected, the bright colors, elaborate designs, and hanging loops on many of them all point to the likelihood that they were used by the Corbusiers' for decorative purposes.

Oliver S. and Mollie H. Riggs: Two of the Hopi plaques in the collection were collected prior to 1930 by Oliver S. and Mollie H. Riggs. According to a letter from Carl Guthe, dated December 16, 1930, these plaques were a gift to the museum from Mrs. Riggs in memory of her late husband, Oliver S. Riggs, of the University of Michigan Law Class of 1889. In the letter (1930), Guthe further goes on to state that these plaques are part of "a collection of archaeological specimens collected by [Mollie Riggs'] husband and herself among the remains of Indian civilizations of North America…over a period of years while they were living in [the] northwestern states." He also writes that "from time to time, the material which they obtained personally was added to by the purchase of several private collections" and that "their intention while gathering it was to give it to UM" (Guthe 1930). [19]

[19] For complete listing of Riggs plaques, see *Table 16* in Appendix

Table 11: Physical Attributes of Plaques Collected by Oliver and Mollie Riggs

Physical Attribute		N	%
Color	Subtle	0	0
	Bright	2	100
Design Motif	Geometric	2	100
	Animal	0	0
	Katsina	0	0
Size	Small	0	0
	Large	2	100

It is not specified in the accession records whether the two plaques in the Riggs collection at the museum were collected by Oliver and Mollie Riggs themselves or obtained through the purchase of a private collection. However, the two plaques are very similar to each other. Both have bright colors and the same geometric design – a series of different colored concentric circles radiating out from a red-orange center (see *Figures 16a* and *16b*).[20] Both are also large in size and made by the wicker production technique. In addition, it is notable that although these plaques were collected earlier than those by the Titiev's – prior to 1930 versus the 1930s and 1940s, respectively – both of them have brighter colors than all but one of the Titiev plaques (see *Figure 6*, page 34).

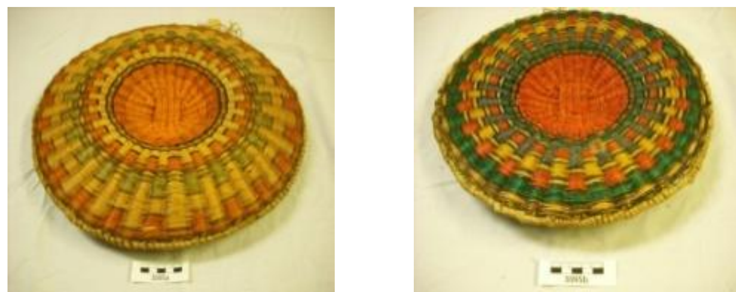

Figure 16: Plaques from Riggs Collection. Plaque *16a*, on the left, (Acc. #3095 a); Plaque *16b*, on the right, (Acc. #3095 b).

[20] Personal Photographs taken by Author (November 18, 2011)

Based upon the bright colors and large size of these plaques, it can be suggested that Oliver and Mollie Riggs, like Estella Hinsdale, Earl Brink, and Harold and Louise Corbusier, were not as concerned as the Titiev's and Dr. Hinsdale in obtaining objects with traditional attributes. In addition, since the two plaques from Oliver and Mollie Riggs are so similar in design and brightness of color, it can be inferred that this is the style that particularly attracted this couple in their collection of plaques, just as the katsina design did for the Corbusiers'.

Summary of Collector Motivation Analysis

As previously stated, according to James Clifford, "good collectors" learn to "select, order, [and] classify [objects] in hierarchies" (1988: 218). In accordance with his assertion, all of the collectors in my analysis above appear to have been systematic and discerning in their selection of plaques. Likewise, the majority of the plaques for each collector or husband-wife pair of collectors reflect variations on certain recognizable themes. For example, all of the coiled plaques collected by Mischa and Estelle Titiev have flower petal patterns and two of their wicker plaques have eagle motifs. In addition, both of the plaques collected by Dr. Hinsdale have subtle colors and both of those collected by Estella Hinsdale have bright colors. All of the plaques collected by Earl Brink share a similar theme of detailed, colorful, striking designs against subtle backgrounds, while six of the Corbusiers' plaques depict katsina designs, and both of the plaques collected by Oliver and Mollie Riggs have similar colors and circular patterns.

According to Molly Lee (1999), in looking for authentic Alaska Native baskets at the turn of the twentieth century, artifact collectors tended to search only for baskets made with natural materials and dyes and that exhibited traditional designs. However, this statement does not hold true for any of the different plaque collections that I have analyzed above, since each collector

has at least one plaque (and usually several) without natural dyes or traditional designs. Her statement does highlight the motivations behind anthropologists searching for authentic crafts, though, since anthropologists are known to be particularly interested in crafts made from natural materials that represent traditional forms (Cohen 1988). In accordance with these motivations, the plaques collected by the anthropologist of the group – Dr. Titiev – exhibit the most evidence of traditional materials and forms, as five out of the six are made with subtle, natural colors and traditional, geometric and eagle designs. Similarly, Dr. Hinsdale, who was familiar with Native American people and cultures from his work at the Museum of Anthropology, also collected plaques made with subtle, natural colors and traditional designs.

In contrast, Estella Hinsdale, Earl Brink, Harold and Louise Corbusier, and Oliver and Mollie Riggs do not appear to have been as concerned with traditional attributes as Dr. Titiev and Dr. Hinsdale, since the majority of their plaques have bright colors, elaborate animal and katsina designs, and are large in size. In fact, their consumption patterns seem to align more with those of tourists than with those of informed collectors and anthropologists, such as the characteristic of obtaining objects as souvenirs to remember people and places encountered on trips (Lee 1999). The consumption patterns of the different individuals also reflect the likely ways through which they obtained their plaques. For instance, the Titiev's and perhaps Dr. Hinsdale had the opportunity to purchase or receive plaques from the basketmakers themselves, while the other individuals more likely obtained them off the mesas in more commoditized settings, such as trading posts or tourist destinations like Fred Harvey's chain of souvenir shops (Howard & Pardue 1996). The intended purpose for which the collectors were obtaining the objects also could have impacted variations in collecting tendencies. For example, it is likely that many of the plaques were collected specifically for decorative purposes. This is evidenced

by their attached hanging loops (which may have been added by the collectors themselves), along with their striking designs and bright colors.

As the above analysis illustrates, each collector made specific choices in obtaining their Hopi plaques. These choices reflect their personal preferences within the larger construct of what it means to collect.

Conclusion

My goal in writing this thesis was to explore how the interaction between Native cultures and external consumers has been manifest in the production of Native American crafts, as well as what the study of a museum's collection of Native crafts can reveal about its collectors. I began with a review of previous examinations of authenticity and the impact of commoditization on Native American craft production and consumption, followed by a summary of the use of and changes in the production of Hopi plaques. Finally, my analysis of the Hopi plaque collection at the Museum of Anthropology revealed insights into the external consumer influences on and collector motivations behind this particular collection of plaques.

Researchers have argued that, because of the vital role that plaques continue to play in Hopi society, they have maintained many of their traditional physical attributes despite their entry into the external consumer market (Mauldin 1984; Whiteford 1988; Deitch 1989). However, my analysis revealed that 21 of the 24 plaques in the museum's collection showed evidence of consumer-preferred attributes. This was evidenced by varied combinations of bright colors, non-traditional designs, and/or large size.

The physical attributes of, and external consumer influence on, the plaques served as a foundation upon which I then analyzed the potential motivations behind their collection.

Through this analysis it became clear that, while many of the plaques collected by individuals or husband-wife pairs of collectors shared similar themes and physical attributes, these themes and attributes varied across the different collections. However, a number of similarities did emerge in the potential motivations behind the collection of the plaques, which generally reflected each collector's ideas of authentic Native crafts.

Returning to my earlier discussions of authenticity and commoditization, my analysis of the Hopi plaques reinforces the assertion of researchers that authenticity is a personally constructed concept dependent upon context (Littrell et al. 1993). As such, my analysis generally supports, yet at times contradicts, the theories on authenticity as they relate to artifact collectors. It is more consistent, however, with the research about anthropologists and their perception of authenticity. In addition, through the widely varied purchasing choices made by this very small group of collectors, this collection contributes to the complicated debate about what comprises an authentic craft. Furthermore, in terms of the commoditization of Native American crafts, it is clear that the majority of the plaques in the collection display evidence – whether that is change in color, size, or design – of adaptations to accommodate external demands, desires, and expectations (Cohen 1993).

Although it is possible to theorize some conclusions from this collection, these can only be informed speculations. One reason for this is that they specifically pertain to one small sample size of Hopi plaques. Furthermore, a number of questions are still left unanswered, leaving my initial study of the plaques open to further research. For example, it would be advantageous to delve deeper into research regarding the extent to which the consumer-preferred attributes in plaque production have since become integrated into the plaques used within Hopi society. This also raises questions about the Hopi peoples' preferences for their own plaques,

such as if they use bright, aniline dyes or natural dyes, what kind of design motifs they weave into their plaques, and what sizes of plaques they produce for their own use.

In terms of the specific collection analyzed in this thesis, one question that arises concerns the dates at which these plaques were produced. Knowing these dates would help clarify the differences between their colors, designs, and sizes. Also, what role has fading played in the colors that are now visible on the plaques? Were some of the colors that now appear to be subtle once brighter colors that have since faded? In addition, why are there anomalies in the different collections, such as the bright plaque (*Figure 6*, page 34) in the Titiev collection and the small, subtle katsina plaque in the Corbusier collection (*Figure 14*, page 43)? Along with these questions, it would also be beneficial to conduct more research on the background of the different collectors and what kinds of other objects, if any, they collected. Such knowledge would help to inform differences in the collecting styles of the collectors as well as their motivations in obtaining particular objects.

In this thesis, I was able to take a Southwestern Native American craft collection that few other researchers have studied in-depth – Hopi plaques – and establish a promising methodology for analyzing questions about external consumer influence on craft production and motivations behind the collection of certain objects. My resulting analysis not only shed light on this particular collection, but also revealed just how complex the issues of authenticity and commoditization are in relation to the production and consumption of Native American crafts of the Southwest.

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Appendix

Table 12: Hopi Plaques Collected by Dr. Mischa and Mrs. Estelle Titiev

Accession Number	Color	Design Motif	Dimensions	Other Features	Production Technique	Location of Production	Date Collected
89-9-1	Subtle; Natural	Geometric (Six petal flower pattern)	Small (9.6 in)	Hanging loop	Coil	Songoopavi, Second Mesa	1940s
89-9-2	Subtle; Natural	Geometric (Eight petal flower pattern)	Small (9.8 in)	NA	Coil	Songoopavi, Second Mesa	1940s
89-9-3	Subtle; Natural	Geometric (Five petal flower pattern)	Small (9.4 in)	Hanging loop	Coil	Songoopavi, Second Mesa	1930s
89-9-4	Subtle; Natural	Animal (Bird motif)	Small (10.2 in)	NA	Wicker	Old Oraibi, Third Mesa	1937
89-9-5	Subtle; Natural	Animal (Bird motif)	Small (8.9 in)	NA	Wicker	Old Oraibi, Third Mesa	1937
89-9-6	Bright	Geometric (Five concentric rings of different colors)	Large (13 in)	NA	Wicker	Old Oraibi, Third Mesa	1937

Table 13: Hopi Plaques Collected by Dr. Wilbert and Mrs. Estella Hinsdale

Accession Number	Color	Design Motif	Dimensions	Production Technique	Location of Production	Collector	Date Collected
23939	Subtle; Natural	Animal (Bird motif)	Small (12 in)	Wicker	Old Oraibi, Third Mesa	Dr. Wilbert B. Hinsdale and others	Prior to 1928
2812	Subtle; Natural	Geometric (Four points, possibly petal flower pattern)	Large (14.2 in)	Coil	Second Mesa	Dr. J.H. Steward, W.B. Hinsdale	1929
5211	Bright	Katsina (Shalako or Cloud Maiden Katsina)	Small (12 in)	Wicker	Third Mesa	Mrs. Estella Hinsdale	Prior to 1926
5241	Bright	Geometric (Four triangles come out from center, surrounded by other colors)	Large (14.2 in)	Coil	Second Mesa	Mrs. Estella Hinsdale	Prior to 1926

Table 14: Hopi Plaques Donated by Earl B. Brink

Accession Number	Color	Design Motif	Dimensions	Other Features	Production Technique	Location of Production	Date Collected
24388	Bright	Geometric (Double Spirals)	Large (13.8 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1949
24389	Subtle; Natural	Katsina	Large (13 in)	Hanging loop	Coil	Second Mesa	Prior to 1949
24390	Bright	Geometric (Double Spirals)	Large (13 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1949
24395	Bright	Animal (Butterfly)	Small (11.8 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1949
24396	Bright	Animal (Bird motif)	Large (13 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1949

Table 15: Hopi Plaques Collected by Dr. Harold D. and Mrs. Louise Corbusier

Accession Number	Color	Design Motif	Dimensions	Other Features	Production Technique	Location of Production	Date Collected
25589	Subtle; Natural	Animal (Bird motif)	Small (9.1 in)	Hanging loop	Coil	Second Mesa	Not specified
25591	Bright	Katsina (Kokopelli Maiden or Flirting Girl Katsina)	Small (10.4 in)	Attached string for hanging	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified
25592	Bright	Katsina (Moisture Drinking or Butterfly Maiden Katsina)	Small (12 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified
25593	Bright	Katsina (Sun Katsina)	Small (12 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified
25594	Subtle; Natural	Katsina (Katsina Maiden)	Small (5.5 in)	Coiled edge broken	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified
25595	Bright	Katsina (Long Hair Katsina)	Small (9.8 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified
25596	Bright	Katsina (Shalako or Cloud Maiden Katsina)	Large (13 in)	Some frayed coils around edge	Wicker	Third Mesa	Not specified

Table 16: Hopi Plaques Collected by Oliver and Mollie Riggs

Accession Number	Color	Design Motif	Dimensions	Other Features	Production Technique	Location of Production	Date Collected
3095 a	Bright	Geometric (Series of concentric circles)	Large (16.5 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1930
3095 b	Bright	Geometric (Series of concentric circles)	Large (13.6 in)	NA	Wicker	Third Mesa	Prior to 1930